This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

THE

ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATORS.

SIR F. DRAKE
DAMPIER

The English Circumnavigators

THE MOST REMARKABLE VOYAGES ROUND THE

WORLD

BY ENGLISH SAILORS.

WILLIAM P. NIMMO

LONDON, 14, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND.

AND EDINBURGH.

THE

ENGLISH CIRCUMNAVIGATORS:

THE

MOST REMARKABLE VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD

BY

ENGLISH SAILORS.

WITH A

PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THEIR LIVES AND DISCOVERIES.

EDITED WITH NOTES, ETC., ETC.,

BY

DAVID LAING PURVES.

WILLIAM P. NIMMO:
LONDON: 14 KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND;
AND EDINBURGH.
1874.

203. f. 465.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED BY M'FARLANE AND ERSKINE
(late Schenck & M'Farlane),
ST JAMES' SQUARE.

PREFACE.

WHEN we reflect how much our daily comfort, our national prosperity, and present maritime greatness has been slowly, yet solidly, built on the discoveries of the early navigators; and how much, on the whole, has depended on accurate geographical research; we may come to a record of the more famous of their voyages with increased interest and desire to profit thereby. With a spirit of healthy inquiry abroad, as to the basis of our geographical knowledge and maritime pre-eminence, little apology is needed in placing before the public, in a cheap and handy volume, the voyages which have given to Drake, Dampier, Anson, and Cook, a world-wide renown. The exigencies of space and the desire to produce the volume in a cheap and convenient form, have led to the use of a synopsis in Cook's two first Voyages, and to the omission of some unimportant details in Dampier and Anson. These omissions, unless trifling in matter or amount, are in most cases mentioned in the notes. Authentic portraits of the four Navigators have been introduced as a frontispiece; and also four Mercator maps have been added, showing the routes of each of the Voyagers, and taken from the original draughts.

Some may be inclined to class the doings of Drake, Dampier, and Anson with those of an ordinary privateering expedition, alleging that ambition or hatred of the Spaniard alone inspired their movements, without taking into account the broad results which have flowed from their voyages of circumnavigation. The privateering may be credited to the spirit and circumstances of the times, while we have reaped the fruit of their bravery in increased nautical experience; and the accounts of their voyages, whether undertaken to harass the Spanish settlements in the Pacific Ocean or for purely scientific purposes, form in themselves a brilliant chapter in our naval history,—a chapter, too, of our history which men will turn aside to read, and feel the better for reading, when many hosts of our annual ephemeral publications have been published, reviewed, and forgotten. Truly, the end has more than justified the means! New countries have been discovered, commerce has been quickened and increased a hundredfold, the national mind has been broadened, while our national ideas and enterprise are gradually leavening every continent and known island in the globe. And with truth these early Navigators might have said—

> "Through Hope, and Faith's transcendent dower,
> We feel that we are greater than we know."

In the hand of Providence they forged at least one link in the chain of circumstance, whereby

> "The whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

LIST OF PLATES AND MAPS.

PLATES.

Portraits of Drake, Dampier, Anson, and Cook, ... *Frontispiece.*
Arms of Sir Francis Drake, ... *Vignette.*

MAPS.

The World on Mercator's projection, illustrating— PAGE

Drake's voyage, 1577-80, ... 33
Dampier's voyage, 1679-91, ... 113
Anson's voyage, 1740-44, ... 319
Cook's voyages, 1768-80, ... 477

CONTENTS.

DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Dedication, ... 35
Equipment of the Pelican, Elizabeth, Marigold, Swan, and the Christopher for the voyage, ... 36
Set sail from Plymouth, ... 37
At Mogador, ... 37
Among Cape Verd Islands, ... 39
Volcanoes of Fogo and Brava, . . . 41
Off the Coast of Brazil, ... 43
Severe storms, ... 45
Barbarous customs of the natives, . . 47
In Port St Julian, ... 49
Trial and execution of Thomas Doughty, ... 52, 53
Islands of St George and Elizabeth, . 55
Passage through Straits of Magellan, 56, 57
On the coast of Peru, ... 61
Help received from the Indians, . . 63
Cruelty of the Spaniards, ... 65
The Llama, ... 67
The Catholics of Lima, ... 69
Earthquake off Nicaragua, ... 71
At Guatulco, ... 72
Sufferings through extreme cold, . . 73
In Bay of San Francisco, ... 75
Customs of the natives, . . . 76, 77
A visit from the King, ... 79
Courted by the natives, ... 81
Departure from the Californian coast, . 83
Molucca or Spice Islands, ... 85
At Ternate, ... 86, 87
At anchor off Crab Island, ... 91
Helpless on a shoal, ... 93
Off the coast of Celebes, ... 95
Visit from the Rajahs of Java, . . 97
Voyage Home, ... 97
At Sierra Leone, ... 97
Arrival at Plymouth, ... 98

DRAKE'S LAST VOYAGE.

Expedition to the West Indies, . . 99
Quarrel with Sir John Hawkins, . . 100
Death of Sir John Hawkins, . . . 102
Rio de la Hacha taken, ... 103
Burning of La Rancheria, . . . 103
Treasure taken at Nombre de Dios, . 106
Death of Sir Francis Drake, . . . 107
The homeward voyage, ... 109
At anchor in the Channel, . . . 110
Remarks on Spanish possessions in the West Indies, ... 110
End of Maynarde's Narrative, . . 110

DAMPIER'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

The Author's account of himself, . 115-121
The Epistle dedicatory, ... 121
Preface, ... 122, 123
The Introduction, containing the Author's departure from England into the West Indies and the South Seas to the time of his leaving Captain Sharp, . 123-125

CHAPTER I.

His return out of the South Seas to his landing at the Isthmus of America, 125-129

CHAPTER II.

His return by land over the Isthmus, 129-135

CHAPTER III.

His traverses among the West India Islands and coast, and arrival in Virginia, ... 135-151

CHAPTER IV.

His departure for the South Seas again; his touching at the Islands of Cape Verd and the African coast, and arrival at the Isle of Juan Fernandez, . 151-160

CHAPTER V.

His course thence northward to the Isles of Lobos and Gallapagos, to Caldera Bay, Realejo, and Amapalla, in the kingdom of Mexico, ... 160-173

CHAPTER VI.

He goes back towards Peru to the Isle Plata, Point Santa, Hellena, Manta, Paita, Lobos, Puna, Guayaquil, and Plata again, ... 173-184

CHAPTER VII.

His progress northward again to the River Santiago, Tomaco, the Isle Galleo, Isle Gorgonia, the Pearl Islands, &c., in the Bay of Panama, . 184-199

CHAPTER VIII.

He proceeds along the Mexican coast to the keys of Quibo, Realejo, and the harbour of Guatulco, ... 199-207

CHAPTER IX.

He coasts along to Acapulco, Petaplan, Estapa, Couma, Sallagua, Cape Corrientes; thence to the Isles of Chametly, Bay of Valderas, Isles of Pontique, other Isles of Chametly, Massaclan, Rosario, River Santiago, Santa Pecaque, Isles of Santa Maria, Valderas, and Cape Corrientes again, . . 207-222

CHAPTER X.

He stands over the Southern Ocean for the East Indies, and arrives at Guam, one of the Ladrone Isles, . . 222-227

CHAPTER XI.

His arrival at Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, and of its natural state, ... 227-232

CHAPTER XII.

The political state of Mindanao, . 232-240

CHAPTER XIII.

Occurrences during the Author's stay at Mindanao, ... 240-250

CHAPTER XIV.

He departs towards Manilla in the Isle of Luconia; touching at Bat Island and the Isle of Mindora, and leaving Luconia, he goes to Pulo Condore, on the coast of Cambodia, to Pulo Obi, in the Bay of Siam, and to Pulo Condore again, ... 251-259

CHAPTER XV.

He goes to the Island of St John on the coast of China, to the Isles Pescadores near Formosa, and the Bashee or five islands between Formosa and Luconia, called Orange, Monmouth, Grafton, Bashee, and Goat Isles, . . . 259-274

CHAPTER XVI.

He coasts along the east side of Luconia, Mindanao, and other of the Philippines, and touching at the Islands of Celebes and Callasusung in the Island of Bouton, he arrives at New Holland, ... 274-285

CHAPTER XVII.

He goes thence, touches at the Island Trieste and another, and steering along the west coast of Sumatra, arrives at the Island of Nicobar, where he stays ashore, and the ship departs, . 285-292

CHAPTER XVIII.

He stands over from thence in an open boat to Passange Jonca, and thence to Achin; and after several traverses comes to Bencoolen, all on the Island of Sumatra, ... 292-304

CHAPTER XIX.

He ships himself for England, and arrives at the Cape of Good Hope, 304-310

CHAPTER XX.

His departure thence to St Helena, and arrival in the Downs. . . . 310-316

ANSON'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

Dedication, ... 321 | Introduction, ... 322

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.
Of the equipment of the squadron; the incidents relating thereto from its first appointment to its setting sail from St Helens, ... 324-331

CHAPTER II.
The passage from St Helens to the Island of Madeira, with a short account of that island, and of our stay there, 331-334

CHAPTER III.
The history of the squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, . . 335-340

CHAPTER IV.
From Madeira to St Catherine's, . 340-343

CHAPTER V.
Proceedings at St Catherine's, and a description of the place, with a short account of Brazil, . . . 343-345

CHAPTER VI.
The run from St Catherine's to Port St Julian, with some account of that port, and of the country to the southward of the River of Plate, . . . 345-349

CHAPTER VII.
Departure from the Bay of St Julian, and the passage from thence to Straits Le Maire, ... 349-352

CHAPTER VIII.
From Straits Le Maire to Cape Noir, 352-356

CHAPTER IX.
Observations and directions for facilitating the passage of our future cruisers round Cape Horn, ... 356

CHAPTER X.
From Cape Noir to the Island of Juan Fernandez, ... 356-361

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.
The arrival of the Centurion at the Island of Juan Fernandez, with a description of that island, ... 362-367

CHAPTER II.
The arrival of the Gloucester and the Anna pink at the Island of Juan Fernandez, ... 367-371

CHAPTER III.
A short narrative of what befell the Anna pink before she joined us, with an account of the loss of the Wager, ... 371-380

CHAPTER IV.
Conclusion of our proceedings at Juan Fernandez, from the arrival of the Anna pink to our final departure from thence, ... 380-386

CHAPTER V.
Our cruise from the time of our leaving Juan Fernandez to the taking the town of Paita, ... 386-394

CHAPTER VI.
The taking of Paita, and our proceedings till we left the coast of Peru, . 394-403

CHAPTER VII.
From our departure from Paita to our arrival at Quibo, ... 404-408

CHAPTER VIII.
Our proceedings at Quibo, . . . 408-409

CHAPTER IX.
From Quibo to the coast of Mexico, 409-413

CHAPTER X.
An account of the commerce carried on between the city of Manilla on the Island of Luconia and the port of Acapulco on the coast of Mexico, 413-418

CHAPTER XI.
Our cruise off the port of Acapulco for the Manilla ship, ... 419-421

CHAPTER XII.
Description of the harbour of Chequetan and of the adjacent coast and country, ... 421-422

CHAPTER XIII.
Our proceedings at Chequetan and on the adjacent coast till our setting sail for Asia, ... 422-427

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.
The run from the coast of Mexico to the Ladrones or Marian Islands, . 428-433

CHAPTER II.
Our arrival at Tinian, and an account of the island and of our proceedings there till the Centurion drove out to sea, 433-438

CHAPTER III.
Transactions at Tinian after the departure of the Centurion, ... 438-441

CHAPTER IV.
Proceedings on board the Centurion when driven out to sea, . . . 441-443

CHAPTER V.
Employment at Tinian till the final departure of the Centurion from thence, with a description of the Ladrones, 443-445

CHAPTER VI.
From Tinian to Macao, ... 445-448

CHAPTER VII.
Proceedings at Macao, ... 448-455

CHAPTER VIII.
From Macao to Cape Espiritu Santo; the taking of the Manilla galleon, and returning back again, ... 455-463

CHAPTER IX.
Transactions in the River of Canton, 463-469

CHAPTER X.
Proceedings at the city of Canton, and the return of the Centurion to England, ... 469-474

COOK'S VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

Life of Captain James Cook, ... 477-479

COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE.

Sails from Plymouth, ... 479
Touches at Rio Janeiro, . . . 479
Lands on Tierra del Fuego, . . . 480
Voyage round Cape Horn, . . . 480
First sight of Otaheite, ... 480
Arrival of the Endeavour at Otaheite, . 481
Reception by the natives, . . . 482
A visit paid to two chiefs, . . . 483
Erection of a fort, ... 487
Cases of theft, ... 489
Changeable temperament of natives, . 491
Mr Banks's visit to Oberea, . . . 492
Tubourai Tamaide's use of tobacco, . 493
A visit to Tootahah, ... 497
Names bestowed by the natives, . . 499
The natives attend Divine service, . 501
Mr Banks has his clothes stolen, . . 503
Preparations to observe transit of Venus, ... 505
Treatment of the dead, ... 507
Oamo's visit to the fort, . . . 511
Circumnavigation of the island, . . 513
Description of a "morai," . . . 517
Explorations made by Mr Banks, . 519
Preparations for leaving the island, . 523
At anchor in the Downs, . . . 529

COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

In command of the Resolution and Adventure, ... 529
Arrival at the Cape, ... 530
Voyage to the southward, . . . 530
In Dusky Bay, New Zealand, . . 530
Visit to Otaheite, ... 531
New Zealand revisited, . . . 532
Examination of Antarctic Seas, . . 533
At Otaheite and Society Islands, . 534, 535
Naming of Sandwich Island, . . 535
At New Zealand again, . . . 536
Southern Thule, ... 537
Story of Captain Furneaux's men, . 537
Discoveries made by French navigators, ... 538, 539
Results of Cook's second voyage, . . 541
Passage from Atlantic to Pacific Ocean, 541
Preparations for a third voyage, . . 541

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

BOOK I.

Transactions from the beginning of the voyage till our departure from New Zealand.

CHAPTER I.
Various preparations for the voyage; Omai's behaviour on embarking; passage of the Resolution from Deptford to Plymouth; complements of the crews of both ships, and names of the officers: departure of the Resolution, 541-546
CHAPTER II.
Passage of the Resolution to Teneriffe; reception there; refreshments to be met with, ... 546-547
CHAPTER III.
Departure from Teneriffe; danger of the ship near Bonavista; Isle of Mayo; Port Praya; arrival at the Cape of Good Hope; junction of the Discovery; Mr Anderson's journey up the country, ... 547-551
CHAPTER IV.
The two ships leave the Cape of Good Hope; two islands, named Prince Edward's, seen, and their appearance described; Kerguelen's Land visited; arrival in Christmas Harbour; description of it, ... 551-556
CHAPTER V.
Insularity of Kerguelen's Land, . . 556
CHAPTER VI.
Passage from Kerguelen's Land to Van Diemen's Land; arrival in Adventure Bay; incidents there; interviews with the natives; their persons and dress described; account of their behaviour, ... 557-561
CHAPTER VII.
The passage from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand; employments in Queen Charlotte's Sound; transactions with the natives there; intelligence about the massacre of the Adventure's boat's crew; of the two young men who embark to attend Omai, . . 561-567

BOOK II.

From leaving New Zealand to our arrival at Otaheite, or the Society Islands.

CHAPTER I.

Prosecution of the voyage; behaviour of the two New Zealanders on board; an island called Mangeea discovered; transactions with the natives; an account of their persons, dress, and canoes, ... 567-570

CHAPTER II.

The discovery of an island called Wateeoo; visits from the natives on board the ships; Mr Anderson's narrative of our reception on shore; Omai's expedient to prevent their being detained, ... 570-579

CHAPTER III.

Hervey's Island visited; fruitless attempt to land there; reasons for bearing away for the Friendly Islands; Palmerston's Island touched at; arrival at the Friendly Islands, ... 579-582

CHAPTER IV.

Intercourse with the natives of Komango and other islands; arrival at Annamooka; transactions there; the passage from Annamooka to Hapaee, 582-585

CHAPTER V.

Arrival of the ships at Hapaee, and friendly reception there; presents and solemnities on the occasion; single combats with clubs; wrestling and boxing matches; the night-entertainments of singing and dancing particularly described, ... 585-591

CHAPTER VI.

Description of Lefooga; a female oculist; singular expedients for shaving off the hair; description of Hoolaiva; departure from the Hapaee Islands; some account of Kotoo; return of the ships to Annamooka; arrival at Tongataboo, ... 591-596

CHAPTER VII.

Friendly reception at Tongataboo; the observatory, &c., erected; a grand "haiva," or entertainment of songs and dances, given by Mareewagee; exhibition of fireworks; manner of wrestling and boxing; distribution of the cattle; Poulaho's present, and "haiva," 596-607

CHAPTER VIII.

Some of the officers plundered by the natives; a "fiatooka" described; observations on the country entertainment at Poulaho's house; his mourning ceremony; Messrs King and Anderson visit the King's brother; their entertainment; another mourning ceremony; remarks on the country they passed through; preparations made for sailing; an eclipse of the sun imperfectly observed, ... 607-612

CHAPTER IX.

A grand solemnity called "Natche," in honour of the King's son, performed; the manner of passing the night at the King's house; departure from Tongataboo and arrival at Eooa, . 612-621

CHAPTER X.

Advantages derived from visiting the Friendly Islands; the number of the islands; account of Vavaoo, of Hamoa, of Feejee; voyages of the natives in their canoes; persons of the inhabitants of both sexes, ... 622-629

CHAPTER XI.

Employments of the women at the Friendly Islands; of the men; agriculture; construction of their houses their places of worship; government; manner of paying obeisance to the King; account of the royal family. . 629-639

BOOK III.

Transactions at Otaheite and the Society Islands, and prosecution of the voyage to the coast of North America.

CHAPTER I.

The Island Tooboual discovered; arrival in Obeitepeha Bay at Otaheite; Omai's reception and imprudent conduct; account of Spanish ships twice visiting the island; interview with the chief of this district; the "Olla," or god, of Boiabola; a mad prophet, arrival in Matavai Bay, ... 640-645

CHAPTER II.

Interview with Otoo, King of the Island; employments on shore; European animals landed; a revolt in Eimeo; war with that island determined upon in a council of chiefs; a human sacrifice on that account; a particular relation of the ceremonies at the great "morai," where the sacrifice was offered; other barbarous customs of this people, ... 645-656

CHAPTER III.

Omai and Oedidee give dinners; fireworks exhibited; a remarkable present of cloth; manner of preserving the body of a dead chief; another human sacrifice; Etary and the deputies of a chief have audiences; a mock-fight of two war-canoes; naval strength of these islands; manner of conducting a war, ... 656-661

INTRODUCTION.

A SHORT account of the lives of the English Circumnavigators may reasonably come within the compass of a brief introduction to their more famous voyages, now produced and presented to the public in a handy and compact form, and also lend additional interest to the details of these voyages.

It may be noted here that Dampier, at page 115, gives a relation of the main incidents of his life previous to his voyage round the world, and also that at the beginning and end of Cook's Voyages a sketch of the life and discoveries of that great navigator is given, so that these particulars will here only require to be slightly supplemented.

Among the voyagers and naval heroes flourishing in the times of Queen Elizabeth, a high place must be given to Sir Francis Drake for his courage and persevering bravery, displayed in almost every enterprise, successful or unsuccessful, with which he was identified. His father is said to have been a poor yeoman, inhabiting a humble cottage at Tavistock, Devonshire, where his son, Francis, was born in or about the year 1539 or 1541; but having embraced the Protestant religion, he was compelled to fly into Kent, where, for some time, the family are said to have inhabited the hull of a ship on the sea coast. His family being in poor circumstances, and Francis being the eldest of twelve sons, was early inured to hardihood, and was trained as a sailor from earliest youth. He was apprenticed to the master of a bark trading on the coast, and making occasional voyages between Zealand and France, in which employment he is said to have proved himself so painstaking and diligent, that his old master, having no children of his own, at his

death bequeathed to him his bark and all its belongings. He continued this coasting trade for some time, but these narrow seas proving insufficient for his adventurous spirit, and fired with the idea of the possible wealth to be gained from an expedition to the New World, he gladly took advantage of an opportunity to join Captain John Hawkins in a voyage to the Spanish Main. Selling his vessel, he embarked his fortune and his person in this expedition at Plymouth in 1567. Hawkins had previously made two voyages to the West Indies, part of his traffic having been the purchasing of negroes at Guinea, and selling them again to the Spaniards in the West Indies. This nefarious trade was sanctioned by a treaty between Henry VIII. and Charles V., and still countenanced by Elizabeth. Of this expedition, consisting of eight vessels, some of them very small, the largest, the Jesus of Lubeck (700 tons), had been lent by Queen Elizabeth to help forward the enterprise. Drake's ship was called the Judith (50 tons), and which, notwithstanding the perils of the voyage, by skilful seamanship, he brought safely home. This expedition proving unfortunate, and losing all he had, he returned with an enlarged experience, and an increased and growing hatred towards the Spaniards. Thomas Fuller quaintly interpreted his feelings thus—"The King of Spain's subjects had undone Mr Drake, therefore Mr Drake was entitled to take the best satisfaction against the King of Spain," which, in his own fashion, he proceeded to do. In 1570 and 1571 he made at least two voyages to the West Indies, where, in addition to his knowledge of navigation, as Camden says, "he got some store of money there by playing the seaman and the pirate." On the 24th of May 1572,[1] he sailed from Plymouth in command of the Pasha of 70 tons, and the Swan of 25 tons, the latter commanded by his brother, and both carrying the enormous force of six-and-forty men! In the end of July he came in sight of Santa Martha, and a few days afterwards, was unexpectedly reinforced by another English bark, the Lion, commanded by Captain Rouse, and with thirty men on board. The Lion willingly joined the Pasha and the Swan, when they sailed

[1] The leading points in the narrative, pp. 17 and 19, are condensed from "Sword and Pen."—W. P. Nimmo, London and Edinburgh.

together for Nombre de Dios. Leaving his ships in charge of Rouse, he selected three-and-fifty men, and with these he landed under cover of the night of July 22d, and made his attack upon the town. Dividing his men into two companies, he directed one to capture and take possession of the fort, which was done. Then, with the other, he marched silently into the market-place, where he beat his drums and sounded his trumpets, and by the suddenness of the surprise, frightened the Spaniards into a frenzy of amazement. Some of them, however, recovered their senses sufficiently to fire a volley of shot, which wounded Drake in the leg; but they were soon put to flight. The English then helped themselves to whatever they could lay their hands upon, and afterwards carried back their wounded commander to the pinnace,—having only one man killed (a trumpeter) in this daring action.

At the Island of Pinos Captain Rouse withdrew from the enterprise; but Drake undauntedly pushed on to the Sound of Darien. Here his tact established a very friendly feeling between himself and the Indians, who had suffered greatly from the cruelties of the Spaniards; and being informed by them that a Spanish convoy of gold and silver was on its way from Panama to Nombre de Dios, he resolved upon intercepting it. In this he did not succeed, but during his overland journey, he enjoyed one splendid spectacle. Having arrived, on the 11th of February, on the summit of a considerable eminence, the chief of the Symerons pointed out to him "a goodly and great high tree," in which they had cut and made steps to ascend to the top; and at the top they had fashioned a convenient bower, capable of accommodating ten or twelve men. Drake climbed this natural watch-tower, and was rewarded with a prospect of the great Pacific Ocean, over whose waters brooded an atmosphere of mystery and romance; and, inspired by a sight so glorious, he uttered a prayer to Almighty God to grant him life and leave to plough its glittering waters with an English keel. Though he did not surprise the treasure convoy, he captured about 100 mules, each loaded with 300 pounds' weight of silver, and carried off as much as his men could find stowage for. After some hair-breadth escapes, he regained the shore in safety, embarked his men and booty in his boats; and having returned to

their two small vessels, they set out on their homeward voyage, which was accomplished in three-and-twenty days. He arrived in Plymouth on Sunday the 9th of August 1573. It appears "when the news of his arrival reached the church, there remained few or no people with the preacher, the congregation broke up to welcome him." A relation of this voyage was published by his nephew, and revised by himself.

Drake's thoughts were now directed to the best means of realising his dream of ploughing the Pacific Ocean with English keels. While gathering help and enlisting supporters, he served with the Earl of Essex in an Irish campaign; and his tactics and brilliant valour secured him the patronage of Queen Elizabeth. He was thus enabled, towards the close of 1577, to sail from Plymouth, with five vessels, the largest of which was 100 and the smallest 15 tons. This was destined to prove his great voyage of circumnavigation, which occupied about two years and ten months. The execution of Thomas Doughty in the course of this voyage has been regarded as one of the most doubtful acts in Drake's life, although he is represented as being perfectly honest and straightforward in the act, regretting Doughty's death, but looking upon it as necessary for the safety of the expedition. A probable supposition about Doughty's guilt has been that he intended making off with one of the ships, and trying his own fortune.

Looked at as a mere commercial speculation it may be regarded as exceedingly profitable, those who invested any money in it being repaid at the rate of £47 for every £1 ventured,[1] although much of the treasure brought home had been previously sequestered and restored to its rightful owners, at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador.

Of the benefits accruing to England from this voyage, and the manner in which it was accomplished, Mr W. D. Cooley remarks:[2] "Drake was the first Englishman who passed the Straits of Magellan, or who sailed under English colours in the Pacific Ocean. . . . It is remarkable that he should attempt, with so weak a fleet, to achieve a navigation long since abandoned by

[1] Barrow's "Life of Drake," p. 177.

[2] "Maritime and Inland Discovery," pp. 258-261.

the Spaniards on account of its extreme difficulty and danger. He arrived at the tempestuous regions of the Magellanic Straits in the winter season, and yet he effected his passage through them in the short space of seventeen days. . . . Perfect in his seamanship, relying implicitly on his own resources, and possessing that high courage which is unacquainted even with the bodings of fear, he was, in all seasons and latitudes, perfectly at home on the ocean. In the ease and certainty with which he shaped his course through unknown seas, he bears a resemblance to his celebrated countryman Captain Cook. . . . England was at that time awakening to a sense of its internal strength, and rising rapidly to that maritime superiority which it has since so proudly maintained. The pursuit of fame, and love of chivalrous exploits, suited with the temper of the court in the reign of Elizabeth. Men of fortune and of education hurried into every path of enterprise which promised them honour and distinction. Not a few followed the track of Sir Francis Drake; and such was the ardour resulting from the success of his voyage, that in the course of sixteen years the English sent no fewer than six expeditions to the South Seas."

Drake had the honour of receiving the Queen on board his ship, April the 4th, 1581, and after dinner Elizabeth bestowed the honour of knighthood on her famous subject. She also gave orders that the Golden Hind should be preserved as a monument of the national glory, and of her great captain's enterprise; and so for long years it was kept in Deptford dockyard until it fell into decay, when all that remained sound in her timber was converted into a chair for the Oxford University, and Cowley the poet addressed to it the following lines:

"To this great ship, which round the world has run,
And matched in race the chariot of the sun,
This Pythagorean ship (for it may claim,
Without presumption, so deserved a name,
By knowledge once, and transformation now),
In her new shape, this sacred port allow.
Drake and his ship could not have wished from Fate
A more blessed station, or more blessed estate,
For, lo! a seat of endless rest is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in heaven."

Drake was next employed as commander-in-chief of the great fleet despatched in September 1585 against the Spanish West Indies. They made a successful attack on San Domingo, and, after a desperate struggle, carried Carthagena. Then, after doing infinite damage, and securing immense booty, Drake brought back his fleet to England in perfect safety.

At this time he is said to have visited Virginia, and it is stated by Camden with regard to this voyage, that he was the first to bring tobacco to England, though Raleigh was the first to make its use popular. On the same authority it is stated that from the books, papers, and charts which were taken from an East India ship which he captured off the coast of Spain in 1587, originated the first suggestion for undertaking our East Indian trade, and suggested an application to the Queen for liberty to establish an East India Company.[1]

It is aside from our present purpose to enter minutely into the story of the defeat of the "Invincible Armada" of Spain, in which Drake played such a high and honourable part. We may, however, be excused giving an extract from one of Drake's letters written to Lord Walsingham, 31st July 1588, during the heat of the fight, and which with little verbal alteration resolves itself into blank verse. It may be taken as an example of a mind when under strong emotion expressing itself poetically.

"We have the army of Spain before us,
And by God's grace shall wrestle a pull with him.
Never was anything pleased me better
Than seeing the enemy flying
With a southerly wind to the northwards.
God grant you have a good eye on Parma,
By God's grace, if we live, we'll so handle
This Duke of Sidonia, he'll wish himself back
To St Mary's, safe 'mid his orange trees."

A childish rhyme of the period which has thus been translated, testifies how far the dislike and terror of his name had entered into the Spanish mind:

"My brother Don John
To England is gone,

[1] "Life of Sir Francis Drake," reprinted from "Biographia Britannica," *pp. 49, 50.*

To kill the Drake,
And the Queen to take,
And the heretics all to destroy."

This dislike attended even on his memory, for it is said when the news of his death reached Panama, two days of religious festivities were celebrated in honour of his death and damnation.

In April 1589 he took the command of the naval portion of a joint expedition against Spain. Corunna was captured, but owing to disease appearing among the land forces, little else was done or attempted, and Drake returned to England. For some time he addressed himself to civil pursuits, and in 1592-3 sat in Parliament as the representative of Plymouth. In 1594 he was again called to active service, Queen Elizabeth's government having determined on a new expedition against the Spanish colonies. It consisted of six royal and twenty private ships, and Drake and Hawkins were associated in the command.

The narrative of this ill-fated expedition, written by Thomas Maynarde, is given at page 98 of the present work. When they had taken and plundered in succession Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios, it became evident that Drake's career was nearly ended. He was seized with a severe illness, which, acting fatally on an already weakened frame, terminated in his death on the 20th December 1596. His body was placed in a leaden coffin, the solemn service of the Church was read over it, and then it was lowered into the deep. A contemporary epitaph very fitly says—

"Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave;
The sea, that was his glory, is his grave;
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, Here lies Sir Francis Drake."

With regard to the character and personal appearance of Sir Francis Drake we would close with the language of contemporary evidence. The first is from Stowe's Annals as quoted in Barrow's "Life of Drake," and the second from Fuller's "Worthies of England."

"He was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad breasted, rounde headed, broune hayre, full bearded; his eyes round, large, and clear, well favoured, fayre, and of a cheerfull countenance. His name was a terror to the French, Spaniard, Portugal, and Indians. Many princes of Italy, Germany, and other, as well enemies as friends, in his lifetime desired his picture. He was the second that ever went through the Straights of Magellanes, and the first that ever went rounde aboute the worlde. He was lawfully married unto two wives, both young, yet he himself and two of his brethren died without issue. He made his brother Thomas his heire, who was with him in most and chiefest of his imployments. In briefe, he was as famous in Europe and America as Tamberlayne in Asia and Affrica."

"He was of stature low, but set and strong grown; a very religious man towards God and His houses, generally sparing the churches wherever he came; chaste in his life, just in his dealings, true of his word, merciful to those that were under him, and hating nothing so much as idleness."

The incursions of the buccaneers on the Spanish settlements in the South Seas, though undertaken in the first place for gain and plunder, helped to familiarise our English seamen with the geography of the South American coast, and the other islands in the South Seas. The derivation of the word "buccaneer" is ascribed to the method which prevailed in Cuba at that time of killing, and curing the flesh of the cattle, according to the Carib method, on hurdles raised a few feet above the fire. This apparatus, the meat, and also the method of preparing it, the Indians called *boocan*, and hence those sailors who were engaged in supplying it to the cruisers and others were called *buccaneers*. Many of these adventurers were Englishmen, carrying on a smuggling trade both by sea and land. They all, without exception, plundered the Spaniards, and under this bond and unity of aim, they were sometimes called the *brethren of the coast*. Those who did their plundering on shore were called freebooters, and those who mainly cruised against the Spaniard were called buccaneers. If, in the case of a war with *Spain*, a commission could be obtained, these buccaneers became

privateers. The ordinary buccaneer set propriety at defiance by dirtiness and negligence in dress. Every buccaneer leader had a mate, who was heir to all his money, and in some cases they held a community of property.

Among the more notable of the buccaneers who have left a record of their doings in the South Seas, we must place the name of Captain William Dampier, whose Voyage Round the World is given at page 113 of the present volume. While reading this narrative, we feel that he was one of the most acute of observers, readily remarking anything which at that time would be counted new or extraordinary, although these details at the present time, with our amazingly increased facilities of travel, and increased familiarity with the places and people described, may be ranked as more commonplace. In the "author's account of himself" (pp. 115-121), we have a concise narrative of his early training and way of life, with a graphic sketch of logwood cutting in Campeachy Bay, till the date of his joining with the buccaneers in 1679. His Voyage Round the World may be considered as a natural continuation of the story of his life, as it deals with all the public and personal affairs in which he was concerned up till the date of his return to England in September 16th, 1691.

Dampier having recommended himself very favourably to public attention by the publication of his "Voyage Round the World," at the instance of the Earl of Pembroke, he was given the command of an expedition, ordered by King William in 1699 for the discovery of new countries, and the examination of New Holland and New Guinea. A vessel called the Roebuck was equipped for this purpose. After visiting New Holland, he sailed for New Guinea, which he descried on January 1st, 1700. He had explored the west and north-west coasts of Australia, and given his name to a small archipelago, east of North-west Cape. After exploring the coasts of New Guinea, New Britain, and New Ireland, he returned. In the homeward voyage the Roebuck sprang a leak off the Island of Ascension. Dampier and his men were forced to stay ten weeks on the island, but they were eventually picked up by three English ships of war, and conveyed to England.

Although his last voyage had been partially unfortunate as far

the loss of the vessel was concerned, we find that he was next given command of the St George, a vessel of 26 guns, which, with the Cinque Ports of 16 guns, had been fitted out by English merchants on a privateering expedition to the South Seas. As the sequel shows, he did not shine as a commander, being, it is said, at times too familiar with his men, at other times using injudicious severity with frequent bursts of ill-temper. The story of the crew of this somewhat mutinous expedition may be interesting, as it contains the incidents in the life of Alexander Selkirk, which form the groundwork of De Foe's world-famous "Robinson Crusoe," and also as being otherwise so extraordinary as to demand special notice. It is thus related by Mr W. D. Cooley :[1]

"When the two ships [the St George and the Cinque Ports] arrived at the Island of Juan Fernandez in the South Sea, a dispute arose between Captain Stradling, the commander of the Cinque Ports, and his crew; and the latter absolutely refused to allow him to come on board. These differences were hardly reconciled by the mediation of Dampier, when a large ship was seen at a distance; on which our privateers stood out to sea in such haste that Stradling left behind him on the island five of his men, with a great proportion of his stores. The strange ship proved to be French, and of superior force, so that the chase was soon relinquished. Soon after, on the coast of Peru, our English privateers seized a prize, which gave birth to fresh altercations, and in consequence Dampier and Stradling parted company. The latter of these touched again at Juan Fernandez, where he found two of the men whom he had left there on his former visit to that island. But while the Cinque Ports lay here he had some disagreement with Alexander Selkirk, the master of the ship, who, in the heat of his dissatisfaction, and dreading the leaky state of the ship, chose to remain alone on the island, rather than to continue any longer under the command of Stradling. His desire was complied with; and he was set on shore, with his clothes, bedding, a firelock, one pound of gunpowder, a hatchet, cooking utensils, some tobacco, and his books. Before the ship departed, however, Selkirk changed his mind, and wished to return on board, but the

[1] "Maritime and Inland Discovery," vol. ii., pp. 317-321.

captain would not receive him. Stradling afterwards cruised on the coast of Peru till his vessel, already in a sinking state, ran ashore on the Island Gorgona, where the captain and seven men, all that remained of the crew, were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. The St George was not more fortunate. Dampier quarrelled with his chief mate, Mr Clipperton, who, having induced one-and-twenty of the men to join him, seized the small prize bark of about 10 tons, which contained all their ammunition and the greatest part of their provisions. Clipperton cruised successfully on the coasts of New Spain, and afterwards crossed the Pacific in his little vessel to Macao,—one of the most extraordinary voyages ever performed. After the desertion of Clipperton, Dampier attacked the Manilla galleon, but without success; and its failure added to the discontent of his crew, who now felt alarmed at the bad condition of the crazy vessel. Dampier wished to continue in the South Sea, but the majority of the crew were otherwise inclined. A prize bark of about 70 tons burden was fitted up for those who wished to go to India. In this little vessel embarked thirty-seven men, and among them William Funnel, who afterwards wrote the history of the voyage. On their arrival at Amboyna, they were taken prisoners by the Dutch, who at first treated them with some severity, but afterwards sent them home in their fleet to England. Dampier in the meantime remained in the St George, with only nine-and-twenty men. He plundered the town of Puna, and cruised along the coast of Peru till his ship was no longer able to keep the sea. They then embarked in a brigantine which had been taken from the Spaniards; and stripping the St George of everything that might prove useful on their voyage, they left her riding at anchor near a small island on the coast. When Dampier arrived in the East Indies he was unable to produce his commission, which had probably been stolen from him by some of his discontented followers; his ship and goods were therefore seized by the Dutch, and he was for some time detained in custody.

"The miserable failure of this expedition was sufficient to discourage any speculations of a privateering nature; and it came to be admitted as a principle, that cruising *might* be a gainful trade for

buccaneers, yet that there could be no hopes of realising large profits by expeditions fitted out by merchants, and in the ultimate success of which every individual on board did not feel an immediate interest. But the indefatigable Dampier, unused to any industry but that of pillaging the Spaniards in the South Sea, addressed himself to the merchants of Bristol so earnestly and repeatedly, flattering their hopes with the rich plunder to be obtained in the Spanish settlements, that he at length prevailed upon them to fit out an expedition. They accordingly equipped two stout ships for the purpose, the one of 30, and the other of 26 guns, and with crews amounting jointly to 321 men. Great care was taken in the choice of the officers. Captain Woodes Rogers was appointed to the command in chief; and Dampier, whose character as a skilful seaman was still high, and whose circumstances were reduced, engaged himself as his pilot. Their voyage to the Pacific was prosperous; and they steered directly to that grand resort of privateers, the Island of Juan Fernandez. But on approaching the island, they had cause to suspect that the Spaniards had established a garrison upon it, as a fire was distinctly seen during the night; and accordingly a small boat was sent to reconnoitre. As the boat drew near, a man was seen on the shore waving a white flag; and on her nearer approach he called to the people in the boat in the English language, and directed them to a landing-place. As the boat did not return so soon as was expected, the pinnace was sent in search of her. The circumstance which caused the delay is thus narrated by Captain Woodes Rogers: 'The pinnace came back immediately from the shore, and brought abundance of crayfish, and with a man clothed in goat-skins, who looked more wild than the first owners of them. He had been on the island four years and four months. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who had been master of the Cinque Ports galley, a ship which came here with Captain Dampier, who told me he was the best man in her; so I immediately agreed with him to be a mate on board our ship. It was he who made the fire last night, judging our ships to be English.'

"During the first eight months of his residence on the island,

Selkirk found it difficult to bear up against melancholy and the tediousness of his solitary life. He built himself two huts with pimento-trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun so long as his pound of powder lasted. When his powder was all expended, he was obliged to catch the goats by running them down; and he grew so active as to be able to outstrip a good dog. . . . His last shirt was nearly worn out when Captain Rogers arrived here; and he had forgotten his language, or lost the power of articulation so much by disuse, as to be hardly intelligible.

"Alexander Selkirk always remembered with pleasure his residence on Juan Fernandez. He was only thirty years of age when first left there; and when the pains of loneliness had worn off, and his health was improved by exercise, temperance, and a fine climate, he became sensibly attached to his wild but tranquil life."

Little is known of Dampier's personal history after this voyage, although he remained at sea up till 1711. After forty years' wandering over the world, he seems to have sunk into obscurity, as no record remains of how or when he died.

George Anson, Lord Anson, Baron Soberton, the third in order of the English Circumnavigators, was the second son of William Anson, Esq., of Shugborough, in Staffordshire. His great-grandfather, who was an eminent barrister in the reign of James I., had purchased and founded the family mansion where he was born, 23d April 1697. Little is positively known about his early history and nautical training, save that his name was first found entered as a volunteer in the books of the Ruby, under date January 1712. His services being transferred from the Ruby to the Hampshire ship of war, he then received his acting orders as second lieutenant, on the 9th May 1716. From this date, up till 1724, his progress was as follows: Promoted to the command of the Weasel sloop in 1718, raised to the rank of post captain in 1724, with the command of the Scarborough man-of-war. The Scarborough was at this time ordered to defend the coast of South Carolina against pirates, and to prevent illicit commerce with the Bahamas. His popularity among the settlers of South Carolina

must have been considerable, as we find that his name was attached to several towns and districts, such as Anson's County, Anson's Ville, Anson's Mines, &c. He returned to England in 1730, was cruising again on the American coast in 1733, but returned again in 1735.

On the 9th December 1737, Captain Anson was appointed to the command of the Centurion, a ship of 60 guns, and despatched to the African coast, ostensibly with a view to the protection of our merchants engaged in the gum trade, from the annoyance of French ships of war. A resolution having been come to by the Ministry to strike a blow against the Spanish power in the West Indies, South Seas, and at Manilla, two officers were selected for this purpose—Captain Anson and Captain James Cornwall. On Anson's arrival at Spithead, 10th November 1739, he found a letter awaiting him from Admiral Sir Charles Wager, ordering him to proceed at once to the Admiralty. The first programme submitted to him, to say the least of it, was both difficult and dangerous, and may be taken as a proof of the confidence entertained in his ability as a seaman. He was to attack and carry Manilla with part of his squadron, while another part, under Cornwall, was to go round Cape Horn into the Southern Ocean, attacking and destroying the Spanish settlements on the South American coasts, then crossing the Pacific to join the previous squadron at Manilla, and there await further orders. This scheme was never fully carried out, the proposed expedition to Manilla being dropped; but the part of the plan which was to have been entrusted to Cornwall was eventually carried out by Anson.

On the 10th January 1740, Anson was appointed commodore of the squadron which was designed to share in the riches which they imagined Spain derived from her possessions in the South Seas. Before sailing, he made himself acquainted with the best printed and manuscript accounts of the Spanish settlements on the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico. The victualling and manning of this squadron was a notorious example of avaricious and heartless jobbery. In addition to the fact that several of the vessels *were scarcely* seaworthy and badly manned, the troops sent on

board were worn-out pensioners from Chelsea, not one of whom returned alive.

The account of this voyage, by Rev. Richard Walter, forms the third voyage of circumnavigation in the present volume.

On the 3d May 1747, Anson achieved a brilliant victory over a French fleet bound for the Indies, off Cape Finisterre. In recognition of this service, he was created a peer under the title of Lord Anson, Baron of Soberton, in the county of Southampton, and shortly afterwards made Vice-Admiral of England. In 1751 he was appointed first Lord of the Admiralty, a position he held, except for a short interval, until his death.

On 30th July 1761 he sailed from Harwich in the Charlotte yacht, to convey the future queen of George III. to England. In the month of February 1762, in assisting at the ceremony of accompanying the queen's brother, Prince George of Mecklenberg, to Portsmouth, he caught a cold which proved fatal on 6th June 1762. In April 1748 Lord Anson had married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Lord Hardwicke, who died without issue, 1st June 1760.

In business Anson was slow to decide, but quick to execute. In matters of ceremony and correspondence he was awkward, and in writing showed marks of a defective education. This was more than compensated by other sterling qualities of mind and character. In society he was modest and reserved, it being said of him, "he had been round the world, but never in it." The Duke of Newcastle observed of him: "There never was a more able, a more upright, or a more useful servant of his king and country, or a more sincere and valuable friend."

Little need be added by way of supplement to the brief, yet pointed, remarks on the life and discoveries of Captain Cook, which are given at the beginning and end of his Voyages. A word might be said about the method of dealing with Cook's Voyages in the present edition. The first two Voyages—with the exception of a particular narration of Cook's stay at Otaheite, from Dr Hawkesworth's "Voyages"—are from "Maritime and Inland Discovery," in Dr Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia." The

account from the Cyclopædia is brisk and pithy, and always interesting. It may give the reader a clear and vivid outline, not overburdened with detail, of what Captain Cook accomplished previous to his third voyage. The Third Voyage, of most general interest, has been specially chosen, and is a reprint of his Journal, originally published in 1784, in three quarto volumes—the first and second being written by Cook himself, the third by Captain King, who had sailed as one of the Resolution's lieutenants, but returned to England in command of the Discovery. Necessities of space have compelled the omission of many passages directly ascribed to Mr Anderson, surgeon of the Discovery. In every case these were scientific and technical in their character; and the lapse of a century has given us abundant light on many matters which at the time of Cook's last voyage were but imperfectly known, or subjects of crude and vague speculation.

At the close of Captain Cook's Journal, the transactions on returning to the Sandwich Islands, with the tragic episode at Owhyhee, are the only portions of Captain King's volume here given. As the death of Captain Cook notably diminishes the interest of the voyage, and as there is little in the homeward route which has not been as well described by the older navigators, this may not be regretted by the general reader.

Although little more than three centuries have elapsed since the globe was first circumnavigated, and its sphericity fairly proved, the merchant enterprise which always follows on the track of geographical discovery has been sufficiently astonishing.

Previous to 1841 the tonnage of British vessels in the foreign and colonial trade of this country was about eight millions; by the latest return it was above twenty-six millions. While our merchant vessels are crowding all the navigable waters of the globe, our fleet is not behind in importance and efficiency. Admiral Porter, of the United States Navy, has reported that the British fleet was never in a better condition as regards ships, armament, officers, and men. We could hold our own against the three principal maritime Powers, and in fifteen months' time no enemy's ship could leave port without the certainty of capture.

DRAKE'S

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1577—1580.

C T I C O C E A N
North East C.
Liakov Is. or New Siberia
Kara Sea
S I B E R I A
I A N E M P I R E
A S I A
Yakutsk
Okhotsk
SEA OF OKHOTSK
BEHRING SEA
Aleutian Is.
Petropaulovsk
L. Baikal
Kiakhta
Sea of Aral
Bokhara
CHINESE EMPIRE
Pekin
Sea of Japan
Yezo
JAPAN
Yedo
ISLANDS
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
CHINA
Shanghai
Formosa
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
ARABIAN SEA
Madras
BAY OF BENGAL
Ceylon
Maldive Is.
Philippine Islands
Marianne or Ladrones
Marshall Is.
Caroline Is.
Pelew Is.
Moluccas Is.
Borneo
Celebes
Papua
Solomon Is.
Java
Batavia
Islands
Timor
Chagos
Amirante
INDIAN OCEAN
Cornwallis
New Hebrides
Fiji Is.
New Caledonia
AUSTRALIA
Western Australia
South Australia
Queensland
Brisbane
Perth
Sydney
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Melbourne
Tasmania
Amsterdam I.
St. Paul
Kerguelen I.
Mc Donnells
Royal Company Is.
Macquarie I.
Emerald I.
Clarie Id.
Kemp Id.
Balleny Is.
Supposed Antarctic Continent

THE WORLD

Encompassed

By

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE,

Being his next Voyage to that to *Nombre de Dios*

Formerly imprinted;

Carefully collected out of the Notes of Master FRANCIS FLETCHER, *Preacher in this imployment, and divers others his followers in the same;*

Offered now at last to publique view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of *heroick spirits, to benefit their Countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.*

LONDON:

Printed for Nicholas Bovrne,
And are to be sold at his shop at the
Royall Exchange. 1628.

THE VOYAGE ABOUT THE WORLD

BY SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

TO

THE TRULY NOBLE

ROBERT EARL OF WARWICK.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

FAME and envy are both needless to the dead because unknown; sometimes dangerous to the living when too well known; reason enough that I rather choose to say nothing, than too little, in praise of the deceased author, or of your Lordship my desired fautor.[1] COLUMBUS did neatly check his emulators, by rearing an egg without assistance. Let the slighter of this voyage apply. If your Lordship vouchsafe the acceptance, 'tis yours; if the reader can pick out either use or content, 'tis his; and I am pleased. Example being the public, and your Lordship's favour the private, aim of

Your humbly devoted,

FRANCIS DRAKE.[2]

EVER since Almighty God commanded Adam to subdue the earth, there have not wanted in all ages some heroical spirits which, in obedience to that high mandate, either from manifest reason alluring them, or by secret instinct enforcing them, thereunto, have expended their wealth, employed their time, and adventured their persons, to find out the true circuit thereof.

Of these, some have endeavoured to effect this their purpose by conclusion and consequence, drawn from the proportion of the higher circles to this nethermost globe, being the centre of the rest. Others, not contented with school points and such demonstrations (for that a small error in the beginning groweth in the progress to a great inconvenience) have added thereunto their own history and experience. All of them in reason have deserved great commendation of their own ages, and purchased a just renown with all posterity. For if a surveyor of some few lordships, whereof the bounds and limits were before known, worthily deserve his reward, not only for his travel, but for his skill also in measuring the whole and every part thereof, how much more, above comparison, are their famous travels by all means possible to be eternized, who have bestowed their studies and en-

[1] Favourer, patron.

[2] Nephew of "the General," as Drake is called throughout Mr Fletcher's narrative.

deavour to survey and measure this globe, almost unmeasurable? Neither is here that difference to be objected which in private possessions is of value: "Whose land survey you?" forasmuch as the main ocean is by right the Lord's alone, and by nature left free for all men to deal withal, as very sufficient for all men's use, and large enough for all men's industry.

And therefore that valiant enterprise, accompanied with happy success, which that right rare and thrice worthy captain, Francis Drake, achieved, in first turning up a furrow about the whole world, doth not only overmatch the famous Argonauts, but also outreacheth in many respects that noble mariner, Magellan, and by far surpasseth his crowned victory. But hereof let posterity judge. It shall for the present be deemed a sufficient discharge of duty to register the true and whole history of that his voyage, with as great indifference of affection as a history doth require, and with the plain evidence of truth, as it was left recorded by some of the chief and divers other actors in that action.

The said Captain Francis Drake, having in a former voyage, in the years 1572 and 1573 (the description whereof is already imparted to the view of the world[1]), had a sight, and only a sight, of the South Atlantic; and thereupon, either conceiving a new, or renewing a former, desire of sailing on the same in an English bottom, he so cherished, thenceforward, this his noble desire and resolution in himself, that notwithstanding he was hindered for some years, partly by secret envy at home, and partly by public service for his Prince and country abroad (whereof Ireland, under Walter Earl of Essex, gives honourable testimony), yet, against the year 1577, by gracious commission from his sovereign, and with the help of divers friends adventurers, he had fitted himself with five ships:

1. The Pelican, Admiral, burthen one hundred tons, Captain-General Francis Drake.

2. The Elizabeth, Vice-Admiral, burthen eighty tons, Captain John Winter.

3. The Marigold, a bark of thirty tons, Captain John Thomas.

4. The Swan, a fly-boat of fifty tons, Captain John Chester.

5. The Christopher, a pinnace of fifteen tons, Captain Thomas Moon.

These ships he manned with one hundred and sixty-four able and sufficient men, and furnished them also with such plentiful provision of all things necessary, as so long and dangerous a voyage did seem to require; and, amongst the rest, with certain pinnaces ready framed, but carried aboard in pieces, to be new set up in smoother water when occasion served. Neither had he omitted to make provision also for ornament and delight, carrying to this purpose with him expert musicians, rich furniture (all the vessels for his table, yea, many belonging even to the cook-room, being of pure silver), and divers shows of all sorts of curious workmanship, whereby the civility and magnificence

[1] It was written by Philip Nichols, preacher, and subsequently published by the navigator's nephew, heir, and godson, Sir Francis Drake. In the course of an expedition to intercept a convoy of treasure from Panama to Nombre de Dios, Drake was conducted by a friendly native chief to a "great and goodly tree" upon the ridge of the hills, from a bower or look-out in the top of which both the Atlantic and the Pacific could be seen. When Drake had beheld that sea, "of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God of His goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea." Calling up his men, he acquainted them, John Oxenham especially, with his resolve, which all approved. Oxenham, indeed, more than kept his promise to follow his chief, for two years later, crossing the Isthmus with a devoted band, he built a pinnace, launched it on the South Sea, and took two Spanish ships; but being made prisoner on his return, he was executed at Lima.

of his native country might, amongst all nations whithersoever he should come, be the more admired.

Being thus appointed, we set sail out of the Sound of Plymouth[1] about five o'clock in the afternoon, November 15, of the same year 1577, and running all that night SW., by the morning were come as far as the Lizard, where meeting the wind at SW. (quite contrary to our intended course), we were forced, with our whole fleet, to put into Falmouth. The next day, towards evening, there arose a storm, continuing all that night and the day following (especially between ten of the clock in the forenoon and five in the afternoon) with such violence, that though it was in a very good harbour, yet two of our ships—the Admiral, wherein our General himself went, and the Marigold—were fain to cut their mainmasts by board; and for the repairing of them, and many other damages in the tempest sustained (as soon as the weather would give leave), to bear back to Plymouth again, where we all arrived the thirteenth day after our first departure thence [November 28]. Whence, having in a few days supplied all defects, with happier sails we once more put to sea, December 13, 1577. As soon as we were out of sight of land, our General gave us occasion to conjecture in part whither he intended, both by the directing of his course, and appointing the rendezvous, if any should be severed from the fleet, to be the island Mogador. And so sailing with favourable winds, the first land we had sight of was Cape Caulin[2] in Barbary, December 25, Christmas Day, in the morning. The shore is fair white sand, and the inland country very high and mountainous; it lies in 32° 30′ N. latitude: and so coasting from hence southward about eighteen leagues, we arrived the same day at Mogador, the island before named.

This Mogador lies under the dominion of the King of Fesse,[3] in 31° 40′, about a mile off from the shore, by this means making a good harbour between the land and it. It is uninhabited, of about a league in circuit, not very high land, all overgrown with a kind of shrub breast high, not much unlike our privet, very full of doves, and therefore much frequented of goshawks and such-like birds of prey, besides divers sorts of sea-fowl very plenty. At the south side of this island are three hollow rocks, under which are great store of very wholesome but very ugly fish to look to. Lying here about a mile from the main, a boat was sent to sound the harbour, and finding it safe, and in the very entrance on the north side about five or six fathoms' water (but at the south side it is very dangerous), we brought in our whole fleet, December 27, and continued there till the last day of the month, employing our leisure the meanwhile in setting up a pinnace, one of the four brought from home in pieces with us. Our abode here was soon perceived by the inhabitants of the country, who coming to the shore, by signs and cries made show that they desired to be fetched aboard, to whom our General sent a boat, into which two of the chief of the Moors were presently received, and one man of ours, in exchange, left aland, as a pledge for their return. They that came aboard were right courteously entertained with a dainty banquet, and such gifts as they seemed to be most glad of, that they might thereby understand that this fleet came in peace and friendship, offering to traffic with them for such commodities as their country yielded, to their own content. This offer they seemed most gladly to accept, and promised the next day to resort again, with such

[1] To throw the Spaniards off their guard, the destination of the fleet was given out as Alexandria; and to give countenance to the report the course first steered was towards the Straits of Gibraltar.

[2] In lat. 32° N., long. 10° W.

[3] Fez, the northern portion of the Empire of Morocco.

things as they had, to exchange for ours. It is a law amongst them to drink no wine, notwithstanding by stealth it pleaseth them well to have it abundantly, as here was experience. At their return ashore, they quietly restored the pledge which they had stayed; and the next day at the hour appointed returning again, brought with them camels, in show laden with wares to be exchanged for our commodities, and calling for a boat in haste, had one sent them, according to order which our General (being at this present absent) had given before his departure to the island. Our boat coming to the place of landing, which was among the rocks, one of our men, called John Fry, mistrusting no danger nor fearing any harm pretended by them, and therefore intending to become a pledge, according to the order used the day before, readily stepped out of the boat and ran aland; which opportunity (being that which the Moors did look for) they took the advantage of, and not only they which were in sight laid hands on him to carry him away with them, but a number more, who lay secretly hidden, did forthwith break forth from behind the rocks, whither they had conveyed themselves, as it seems, the night before, forcing our men to leave the rescuing of him that was taken as captive, and with speed to shift for themselves.

The cause of this violence was a desire which the King of Fesse had to understand what this fleet was, whether any forerunner of the King of Portugal's[1] or no, and what news of certainty the fleet might give him. And therefore, after that he was brought to the King's presence, and had reported that they were Englishmen, bound to the Straits under the conduct of General Drake, he was sent back again with a present to his Captain, and offer of great courtesy and friendship, if he would use his country. But in this meantime the General, being aggrieved with this show of injury, and intending, if he might, to recover or redeem his man, his pinnace being ready, landed his company, and marched somewhat into the country, without any resistance made against him, neither would the Moors come nigh our men to deal with them any way; wherefore having made provision of wood, as also visited an old fort built sometime by the King of Portugal but now ruined by the King of Fesse, we departed, December 31, towards Cape Blanco, in such sort that when Fry returned he found to his great grief that the fleet was gone; but yet, by the King's favour, he was sent home into England not long after, in an English merchant ship.

Shortly after our putting forth of this harbour, we were met with contrary winds and foul weather, which continued till the 4th of January; yet we still held on to our course, and the third day after fell with Cape de Guerre,[2] in 30°, where we lighted on three Spanish fishermen called caunters, whom we took with our new pinnace, and carried along with us till we came to Rio del Oro,[3] just under the Tropic of Cancer, where with our pinnace also we took a carvel. From hence till the fifteenth day we sailed on towards Cape Barbas, where the Marigold took a carvel more, and so onward to Cape Blanco till the next day at night. This cape lies in 20° 30′, showing itself upright like the corner of a wall, to them that come towards it from the north, having between it and Cape Barbas, low, sandy, and very white land all the way. Here we observed the South Guards, called the Croziers,[4] 9° 30′ above the horizon. Within the Cape we took one Spanish ship more riding at anchor (all her men being fled ashore in the boat save

[1] King Sebastian was then preparing that expedition into Mauritania, the calamitous result of which, on the fatal day of Alcazar-Seguer, will afterwards appear.

[2] Cape Ghir, in about latitude 31°; it marks the end of the Atlas mountain-chain towards the Atlantic.

[3] Rio do Ouro.

[4] The constellation of the Southern Cross.

two), which, with all the rest we had formerly taken, we carried into the harbour, three leagues within the Cape.[1]

Here our General determined for certain days to make his abode, both for that the place afforded plenty of fresh victuals for the present refreshing of our men, and for their future supply at sea (by reason of the infinite store of divers sorts of good fish which are there easy to be taken, even within the harbour, the like whereof is hardly to be found again in any part of the world), as also because it served very fitly for the despatching of some other businesses that we had. During the time of our abode at this place, our General, being ashore, was visited by certain of the people of the country, who brought down with them a woman, a Moor (with her babe hanging upon her dry dug, having scarce life in herself, much less milk to nourish her child), to be sold as a horse, or a cow and calf by her side; in which sort of merchandise our General would not deal. But they had also ambergris, with certain gums of some estimation, which they brought to exchange with our men for water, whereof they have great want; so that coming with their *alforges*[2] (they are leathern bags holding liquor) to buy water, they cared not at what price they bought it, so they might have it to quench their thirst. A very heavy judgment of God upon the coast! The circumstances whereof considered, our General would receive nothing of them for water, but freely gave it to them that came to him, yea, and fed them also ordinarily with our victuals, in eating whereof their manner was not only uncivil[3] and unsightly to us, but even inhuman and loathsome in itself.[4]

And having washed and trimmed our ships, and discharged all our Spanish prizes except one caunter (for which we gave to the owner one of our own ships, the Christopher) and one carvel, formerly bound to St Iago, which we caused to accompany us hither, where she also was discharged; after six days' abode here, we departed, directing our course for the Islands of Cape Verd, where (if anywhere) we were of necessity to store our fleet with fresh water, for a long time, for that our General from thence intended to run a long course, even to the coast of Brazil, without touch of land. And now having the wind constant at NE. and ENE., which is usual about those parts, because it blows almost continually from the shore, January the 27th we coasted Buenavista, and the next day after we came to anchor under the western part, towards St Iago, of the island Mayo; it lies in 15° high land, saving that the north-west part stretches out into the sea the space of a league, very low; and is inhabited by subjects to the King of Portugal. Here landing, in hope of traffic with the inhabitants for water, we found a town, not far from the water-side, of a great number of desolate and ruinous houses, with a poor naked chapel or oratory, such as small cost and charge might serve and suffice, being to small purpose, and as it seems only to make a show, and that a false show, contrary to the nature of a scarecrow, which feareth birds from coming nigh; this enticeth such as pass by to haul in and look for commodity,[5] which is not at all to be found there; though in the inner parts of the island it is in great abundance.

For when we found the springs and wells which had been there (as appeared) stopped up again, and no other water to purpose to be had to serve our need, we marched up to

[1] Probably the Bay du Levrier, which runs up into the land northwards behind the peninsula-promontory that Cape Blanco forms.

[2] Spanish, "Alforja," a saddle-bag.

[3] Barbarous, uncivilised.

[4] These people were worshippers of the sun; they never quitted their abodes until he had mounted above the horizon, and then paid their adoration prostrate, or kneeling upon a hillock or stone.

[5] Accommodation, convenience of supply, etc.

seek some more convenient place to supply our want, or at least to see whether the people would be dealt withal to keep us therein. In this travelling, we found the soil to be very fruitful, having everywhere plenty of fig trees, with fruit upon most of them. But in the valleys and low ground, where little low cottages were built, were pleasant vineyards planted, bearing then ripe and most pleasant grapes. There were also tall trees, without any branch till the top, which bare the cocoa nuts. There were also great store of certain lower trees, with long and broad leaves, bearing the fruit which they call plantains in clusters together like puddings, a most dainty and wholesome fruit. All of these trees were even laden with fruit,—some ready to be eaten, others coming forward, others overripe. Neither can this seem strange, though about the midst of Winter with us, for that the Sun doth never withdraw himself farther off from them, but that with his lively heat he quickeneth and strengtheneth the power of the soil and plant; neither ever have they any such frost and cold as thereby to lose their green hue and appearance.

We found very good water in divers places, but so far off from the road,[1] that we could not with any reasonable pains enjoy it. The people would by no means be induced to have any conference with us, but keeping in the most sweet and fruitful valleys among the hills, where their towns and places of dwelling were, gave us leave without interruption to take our pleasure in surveying the island, as they had some reason not to endanger themselves, where they saw they could reap nothing sooner than damage and shame, if they should have offered violence to them which came in peace to do them no wrong at all. This island yieldeth other great commodities, as wonderful herds of goats, infinite store of wild hens, and salt without labour (only the gathering it together excepted), which continually in a marvellous quantity is increased upon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the heat of the sun kerning[2] the same. So that of the increase thereof they keep a continual traffic with their neighbours in the other adjacent islands. We set sail thence the 30th day [of January].

Being departed from Mayo, the next day we passed by the island of St Iago, ten leagues west of Mayo, in the same latitude, inhabited by the Portugals and Moors together. The cause whereof is said to have been in the Portugals themselves, who, continuing long time lords within themselves in the said island, used that extreme and unreasonable cruelty over their slaves, that (their bondage being intolerable) they were forced to seek some means to keep themselves and to lighten that so heavy a burthen; and thereupon chose to fly into the most mountainous parts of the island; and at last, by continual escapes, increasing to a great number, and growing to a set strength, do now live with that terror to their oppressors, that they now endure no less bondage in mind than the *forcatoz* did before in body; besides the damage that they daily suffer at their hands in their goods and cattle, together with the abridging of their liberties in the use of divers parts of the fruitful soil of the said island, which is very large, marvellous fruitful (a refuge for all such ships as are bound towards Brazil, Guinea, the East Indies, Binny,[3] Calicut, etc.), and a place of rare force, if it were not for the cause afore recited, which hath much abated the pride and cooled the courage of that people, who under pretence of traffic and friendship at first making an entrance, ceased not practising upon the poor islanders (the ancient re-

[1] The roadstead.

[2] Granulating, forming into corns or kernels.

[3] Apparently Benin, on the west coast of Africa, is meant, though in the list of places it is geographically out of order.

mainder of the first planters thereof, as it may seem from the coast of Guinea), until they had excluded them from all government and liberty, yea almost life. On the south-west of this island we took a Portugal, laden the best part with wine, and much good cloth, both linen and woollen, besides other necessaries, bound for Brazil, with many gentlemen and merchants in her.[1] As we passed by with our fleet, in sight off three of their towns, they seemed very joyful that we touched not with their coast; and seeing us depart peaceably, in honour of our fleet and General, or rather to signify that they were provided for an assault, shot off two great pieces into the sea, which were answered by one given them again from us.

South-west from St Iago, in 14° 30′, about twelve leagues distant, yet by reason of the height seeming not above three leagues, lies another island, called of the Portugals "Fogo," —the burning island, or fiery furnace —in which rises a steep upright hill, by conjecture at least six leagues, or eighteen English miles, from the upper part of the water; within the bowels whereof is a consuming fire, maintained by sulphury matters, seeming to be of a marvellous depth, and also very wide. The fire showeth itself but four times in an hour, at which times it breaketh out with such violence and force, and in such main abundance, that besides that it giveth light like the moon a great way off, it seemeth that it would not stay till it touch the heavens themselves. Herein are engendered great store of pumice-stones, which being in the vehement heat of the fire carried up without the mouth of that fiery body, fall down, with other gross and slimy matter, upon the hill, to the continual increasing of the same; and many times these stones falling down into the sea are taken up and used, as we ourselves had experience by sight of them swimming on the water. The rest of the island is fruitful, notwithstanding, and is inhabited by Portugals, who live very commodiously therein, as in the other islands thereabout.

Upon the south side, about two leagues off this Island of Burning, lieth a most sweet and pleasant island; the trees thereof are always green and fair to look on, the soil almost set full of trees, in respect whereof it is named the Brave Island,[2] being a storehouse of many fruits and commodities, as figs always ripe, cocoas, plantains, oranges, lemons, cotton, etc. From the banks into the sea do run in many places the silver streams of sweet and wholesome water, which with boats or pinnaces may easily be taken in. But there is no convenient place or road for ships, neither any anchoring at all. For after long trial, and often casting of leads, there could no ground be had at any hand, neither was it ever known, as is reported, that any line would fetch ground in any place about that island. So that the top of Fogo burneth not so high in the air, but the root of Brava (so is the island called) is buried and quenched as low in the seas. The only inhabitant of this island is a hermit, as we suppose, for we found no other houses but one, built as it seemed for such a purpose; and he was so delighted in his solitary living, that he would by no means abide our coming, but fled, leaving behind him the relics of his false worship; to wit, a cross with a crucifix, an altar with his[3] superaltar, and certain other idols of wood of rude workmanship.

[1] Command of this prize was given to Thomas Doughty, who afterwards figures so prominently in the narrative; but being found appropriating to his own use the propitiatory presents made by the prisoners, he was superseded by Thomas Drake, brother of the Admiral. The pilot of the "Portugal" ship, Nuno da Silva—an expert mariner and well acquainted with the coast of Brazil—was detained by Drake, and afterwards liberated at Guatulco.

[2] Ilha Brava.

[3] Its.

Here we dismissed the Portugals taken near St Iago,[1] and gave them in exchange of their old ship our new pinnace built at Mogador, with wine, bread, and fish for their provision, and so sent them away, February 1.

Having thus visited, as is declared, the Islands of Cape Verd, and provided fresh water as we could, the 2d of February we departed thence, directing our course towards the Straits,[2] so to pass into the South Sea; in which course we sailed sixty-three days without sight of land (passing the Line Equinoctial the 17th day of the same month) till we fell with the coast of Brazil, the 5th of April following. During which long passage on the vast gulf, where nothing but sea beneath us and air above us was to be seen, as our eyes did behold the wonderful works of God in His creatures, which He hath made innumerable both small and great beasts, in the great and wide seas: so did our mouths taste, and our natures feed on, the goodness thereof in such fulness at all times, and in every place, as if He commanded and enjoined the most profitable and glorious works of His hands to wait upon us, not only for the relief of our necessities, but also to give us delight in the contemplation of His excellence, in beholding the variety and order of His providence, with a particular taste of His fatherly care over us all the while. The truth is, we often met with adverse winds, unwelcome storms, and, to us at that time, less welcome calms; and being as it were in the bosom of the burning zone, we felt the effects of sweltering heat, not without the affrights of flashing lightnings, and terrifyings of often claps of thunder; yet still with the admixture of many comforts. For this we could not but take notice of, that whereas we were but badly furnished (our case considered) of fresh water, having never at all watered, to any purpose, or that we could say we were much the better for it, from our first setting forth out of England till this time, nor meeting with any place where we might conveniently water, till our coming to the River of Plate, long after—continually, after once we were come within four degrees of the Line on this side, viz., after February 10, and till we were past the Line as many degrees towards the south, viz., till February 27, there was no one day went over us but we received some rain, whereby our want of water was much supplied. This also was observable, that of our whole fleet, being now six in number, notwithstanding the uncouthness[3] of the way, and whatever other difficulties, by weather or otherwise, we met withal, not any one, in all this space, lost company of the rest; except only our Portugal prize for one day, who, March 28, was severed from us, but the day following, March 29, she found us again, to both her own and our no little comfort. She had in her twenty-eight of our men, and the best part of all our provision for drink; her short absence caused much doubting and sorrow in the whole company, neither could she then have been finally lost without the overthrow of the whole voyage.

Among the many strange creatures which we saw, we took heedful notice of one, as strange as any, to wit, the flying fish, a fish of the bigness and proportion of a reasonable or middle sort of pilchards; he hath fins, of the length of his whole body, from the bulk to the top of the tail, bearing the form and supplying the like use to him that wings do to other creatures. By the help of these fins, when he is chased of the *Bonits*, or great mackerel (whom the *Aurata* or dolphin likewise pursueth), and hath not strength to escape by swimming any longer, he lifteth up himself

[1] Except the pilot Nuna da Silva, who willingly stayed with Drake when he learned that the voyage was to be prosecuted into Mare del Zur, or the South Sea.

[2] Of Magellan.

[3] Strangeness, unknown character.

above the water, and flieth a pretty height, sometimes lighting into boats or barks as they sail along. The quills of their wings are so proportionable, and finely set together, with a most thin and dainty film, that they might seem to serve for a much longer and higher flight; but the dryness of them is such, after some ten or twelve strokes, that he must needs into the water again to moisten them, which else would grow stiff and unfit for motion. The increase of this little and wonderful creature is in a manner infinite, the fry whereof lies upon the upper part of the waters, in the heat of the sun, as dust upon the face of the earth; which being in bigness of a wheat straw, and in length an inch more or less, do continually exercise themselves in both their faculties of nature; wherein, if the Lord had not made them expert indeed, their generation could not have continued, being so desired a prey to many which greedily hunt after them, forcing them to escape in the air by flight when they cannot in the waters live in safety. Neither are they always free, or without danger, in their flying; but as they escape one evil by refusing the waters, so they sometimes fall into as great a mischief by mounting up into the air, and that by means of a great and ravening fowl, named of some a Don or Spurkite, who feeding chiefly on such fish as he can come at by advantage, in their swimming in the brim of the waters, or leaping above the same, presently seizes upon them with great violence, making great havoc, especially among these flying fishes, though with small profit to himself. There is another sort of fish which likewise flies in the air, named a Cuttill; it is the same whose bones the goldsmiths commonly use, or at least not unlike that sort, a multitude of which have at one time in their flight fallen into our ships among our men.

Passing thus, in beholding the most excellent works of the Eternal God upon the seas, as if we had been in a garden of pleasure, April 5 we fell in with the coast of Brazil, in 30° 30′ towards the Pole Antarctic,[1] where the land is low near the sea, but much higher within the country having in depth not above twelve fathoms three leagues off from the shore; and being descried by the inhabitants we saw great and huge fires made by them in sundry places. Which order of making fires, though it be universal as well among Christians as heathens, yet it is not likely that many use it to that end which the Brazilians do: to wit, for a sacrifice to devils, whereas they intermix many and divers ceremonies of conjugations, casting up great heaps of sand, to this end, that if any ships shall go about to stay upon their coasts, their ministering spirits may make wreck of them, whereof the Portugals by the loss of divers of their ships have had often experience.

In the reports of Magellan's voyage, it is said that this people pray to no manner of thing, but live only according to the instinct of nature; which if it were true, there should seem to be a wonderful alteration in them since that time, being fallen from a simple and natural creature to make gods of devils. But I am of the mind that it was with them then as now it is, only they lacked then the like occasion to put it in practice which now they have; for then they lived as a free people among themselves, but now are in most miserable bondage and slavery, both in body, goods, wife, and children, and life itself, to the Portugals, whose hard and most cruel dealings against them force them to fly into the more unfruitful parts of their own land, rather there to starve, or at least live miserably, with liberty, than to abide such intolerable bondage as they lay upon them; using the aforesaid practices with devils both for a revenge against their oppressors, and also for a defence, that they have no further entrance into the country. And supposing indeed that no others

[1] That is, in latitude South of the Line.

had used travel by sea in ships, but their enemies only, they therefore used the same at our coming; notwithstanding, our God made their devilish intent of none effect; for albeit there lacked not, within the space of our falling with this coast, forcible storms and tempests, yet did we sustain no damage, but only the separating of our ships out of sight for a few days. Here our General would have gone ashore, but we could find no harbour in many leagues. And therefore coasting along the land towards the south, April 7, we had a violent storm for the space of three hours, with thunder, lightning, and rain in great abundance, accompanied with a vehement south wind directly against us, which caused a separation of the Christopher (the caunter which we took at Cape Blanco in exchange for the Christopher, whose name she thenceforward bore) from the rest of the fleet. After this we kept on our course, sometimes to the seaward, sometimes toward the shore, but always southward, as near as we could, till April 14, in the morning, at which time we passed by Cape St Mary, which lies in 35°, near the mouth of the River of Plate; and running within it about six or seven leagues, along by the main, we came to anchor in a bay under another cape, which our General afterwards called Cape Joy, by reason that the second day after our anchoring here the Christopher, whom we had lost in the former storm, came to us again.

Among other cares which our General took in this action,[1] next the main care of effecting the voyage itself, these were the principal and chiefly subordinate: to keep our whole fleet, as near as possibly we could, together; to get fresh water, which is of continual use; and to refresh our men, wearied with long toils at sea, as oft as we should find any opportunity of effecting the same. And for these causes it was determined, and public notice thereof given at our departure from the Islands of Cape Verd, that the next rendezvous, both for the re-collecting of our navy if it should be dispersed, as also for watering and the like, should be the River of Plate; whether we were all to repair with all the convenient speed that could be made, and to stay one for another if it should happen that we could not arrive there all together; and the effect we found answerable to our expectations, for here our severed ship (as hath been declared) found us again, and here we found those other helps also so much desired. The country hereabout is of a temperate and most sweet air, very fair and pleasant to behold, and, besides the exceeding fruitfulness of the soil, it is stored with plenty of large and mighty deer. Notwithstanding that in this first bay we found sweet and wholesome water, even at pleasure, yet the same day, after the arrival of the caunter, we removed some twelve leagues farther up into another, where we found a long rock, or rather island of rocks, not far from the main, making a commodious harbour, especially against a southerly wind; under them we anchored and rode till the 20th day at night, in which mean space we killed divers seals, or sea-wolves as the Spaniard calls them, which resorted to these rocks in great abundance. They are good meat, and were an acceptable food to us for the present and a good supply of our provision for the future. Hence, April 20, we weighed again and sailed yet farther up into the river, even till we found but three fathoms' depth, and that we rode with our ships in fresh water; but we stayed not there, nor in any other place of the river, because that the winds being strong, the shoals many, and no safe harbour found, we could not without our great danger so have done. Hauling therefore to seaward again, the 27th of the same month, after that we had spent a just fortnight in the river to the great comfort of the whole fleet, we passed by the south side thereof into the main. The land here lies SW., and NNE., with shoal water

[1] Enterprise, expedition.

some three or four leagues off into the sea; it is about 36° 20′ and somewhat better S. latitude.

At our very first coming forth to sea again, to wit, the same night, our fly-boat, the Swan, lost company of us: whereupon, though our General doubted nothing of her happy coming forward again to the rest of the fleet, yet because it was grievous to have such often losses, and that it was his duty as much as in him lay to prevent all inconveniences besides that might grow, he determined to reduce the number of his ships, thereby to draw his men into less room, that both the fewer ships might the better keep company, and that they might also be the better appointed with new and fresh supplies of provisions and men, one to ease the burthen of another: especially for that he saw the coast (it drawing now towards winter here) to be subject to many and grievous storms. And therefore he continued on his course to find out a convenient harbour for that use; searching all the coast from 36° to 47°, as diligently as contrary winds and sundry storms would permit, and yet found none for the purpose. And in the meantime —viz., May 8, by another storm the caunter also was once more severed from us. May 12 we had sight of land in 47°, where we were forced to come to anchor in such road as we could find for the time. Nevertheless our General named the place Cape Hope; by reason of a bay discovered within the headland, which seemed to promise a good and commodious harbour. But by reason of many rocks lying off from the place, we durst not adventure with our ships into it without good and perfect discovery beforehand made. Our General, especially in matters of moment, was never wont to rely on other men's care, how trusty or skilful soever they might seem to be; but always contemning danger, and refusing no toil, he was wont himself to be one, whosoever was a second, at every turn where courage, skill, or industry, was to be employed; neither would he at this time entrust the discovery of these dangers to another's pains, but rather to his own experience, in searching out and sounding of them. A boat being therefore hoisted forth, himself with some others the next morning, May 13, rowed into the bay; and being now very nigh the shore, one of the men of the country showed himself unto him, seeming very pleasant, singing and dancing, after the noise of a rattle which he shook in his hand, expecting earnestly his landing.

But there was suddenly so great an alteration in the weather, into a thick and misty fog, together with an extreme storm and tempest, that our General, being now three leagues from his ship, thought it better to return than either to land or make any other stay; and yet the fog thickened so mightily, that the sight of the ships was bereft them; and if Captain Thomas, upon the abundance of his love and service to his General, had not adventured with his ship to enter the bay in this perplexity, where good advice would not suffer our ships to bear in while the winds were more tolerable and the air clearer, we had sustained some great loss, or our General had been further endangered. Who was now quickly received aboard his ship;[1] out of which, being within the bay, they let fall an anchor, and rode there (God be praised) in safety; but our other ships, riding without, were so oppressed with the extremity of the storm, that they were forced to run off to sea for their own safeguard, being in good hope only of the success of the ship which was gone in to relieve our General. Before this storm arose, our caunter, formerly lost, was come in the same day unto us in the road, but was put to sea again, the same evening, with the rest of the fleet.

The next day, May 14, the weather being fair and the winds moderate, but the fleet out of sight, our General determined to go ashore, to this end, that he might, by making of fires,

[1] Captain Thomas's ship, the Marigold.

give signs to the dispersed ships to come together again into that road; whereby at last they were all assembled, excepting the Swan, lost long time before, and excepting our Portugal prize, called the Mary, which, weighing in this last storm the night before, had now parted company, and was not found again in a long time after. In this place (the people being removed up into the country, belike for fear of our coming) we found near unto the rocks, in houses made for that purpose, as also in divers other places, great store of ostriches, at least to the number of fifty, with much other fowl, some dried and some in drying, for their provision, as it seemed, to carry with them to the place of their dwellings. The ostriches' thighs were in bigness equal to reasonable legs of mutton. They cannot fly at all; but they run so swiftly, and take so long strides, that it is not possible for a man in running by any means to take them, neither yet to come so nigh them as to have a shot at them either with bow or piece; whereof our men had often proof on other parts of the coast, for all the country is full of them. We found there the tools or instruments which the people use in taking them. Among other means they use in betraying these ostriches, they have a great and large plume of feathers, orderly compact together upon the end of a staff, in the forepart bearing the likeness of the head, neck, and bulk of an ostrich, and in the hinder part spreading out very large, sufficient (being held before him) to screen the most part of the body of a man. With this, it seemeth, they stalk, driving them into some strait or neck of land close to the seaside, where spreading long and strong nets, with their dogs which they have in readiness at all times, they overthrow them, and make a common quarry. The country is very pleasant, and seemeth to be a fruitful soil. Being afterwards driven to fall with this place again, we had great acquaintance and familiarity with the people, who rejoiced greatly in our coming, and in our friendship, in that we had done them no harm. But because this place was no fit or convenient harbour for us to do our necessary business, neither yet to make much provision of such things as we wanted, as water, wood, and the like, we departed thence the 15th of May.

At our departure hence, we held our course South and by West, and made about nine leagues in twenty-four hours, bearing very little sail, that our fleet might the easier get up with us, which by reason of contrary winds were cast astern of us. In 47° 30′ we found a bay which was fair, safe, and beneficial to us, very necessary for our use, into which we hauled, and anchored May 17; and the next day we came further into the same bay, where we cast anchor, and made our abode full fifteen days. The very first day of our arrival here, our General having set things in some order, for the despatch of our necessary business, being most careful for his two ships which were wanting, sent forth to the southward Captain Winter in the Elizabeth, Vice-admiral, himself in the Admiral going forth northward into the sea, to see if happily they might meet with either of them; at which time, by the good providence of God, he himself met with the Swan, formerly lost at our departure, from the River of Plate, and brought her into the same harbour the same day; where being afterwards unladen and discharged of her freight, she was cast off, and, her iron-work and other necessaries being saved for the better provision of the rest, of the remainder was made firewood and other implements which we wanted. But all this while of the other ship, which we lost so lately in our extremity, we could have no news.

While we were thus employed, after certain days of our stay in this place, being on shore in an island nigh unto the main, where at low-water was free passage on foot from the one to the other, the people of the country did show themselves unto us with leaping, dancing, and holding up their

hands, and making outcries after their manner; but, being then high water, we could not go over to them on foot. Wherefore the General caused immediately a boat to be in readiness, and sent unto them such things as he thought would delight them, as knives, bells, bugles, etc. Whereupon they, being assembled together upon a hill, half an English mile from the water-side, sent down two of their company, running one after the other with a great pace, traversing their ground, as it seemed after the manner of their wars, by degrees descending towards the water's side very swiftly. Notwithstanding, drawing nigh unto it, they made a stay, refusing to come near our men: which our men perceiving, sent such things as they had, tied with a string upon a rod, and stuck the same up a reasonable distance from them, where they might see it. And as soon as our men were departed from the place, they came and took those things, leaving instead of them, as in recompense, such feathers as they use to wear about their heads, with a bone made in manner of a toothpick, carved round about the top, and in length about six inches, being very smoothly burnished. Whereupon our General, with divers of his gentlemen and company, at low water, went over to them to the main. Against his coming they remained still upon the hill, and set themselves in a rank, one by one, appointing one of their company to run before them from the one end of the rank to the other, and so back again, continually East and West, with holding up his hands over his head, and yielding forward his body in his running towards the rising and setting of the Sun, and, at every second or third turn at the most, erected his body against the midst of the rank of the people, lifting himself vaulting-wise from the ground towards the Moon, being then over our heads: signifying thereby, as we conceived, that they called the Sun and Moon (which they serve for gods) to witness that they meant nothing towards us but peace. But when they perceived that we ascended the hill apace, and drew nigh unto them, they seemed very fearful of our coming. Wherefore our General, not willing to give them any way any occasion to mislike or be discomfited, retired his company; whereby they were so allured, and did so therein confirm themselves of us that we were no enemies, neither meant them harm, that without all fear divers came down with all speed after us, presently entering into traffic with our men. Notwithstanding, they would receive nothing at our hands, but the same must first be cast upon the ground, using this word, "Zussus," for exchange, "Tóytt," to cast upon the ground. And if they misliked anything, they cried "Corôh! Corôh!" speaking the same with rattling in the throat. The wares we received from them were arrows of reeds, feathers, and such bones as are afore described.

This people go naked, except a skin of fur, which they cast about their shoulders when they sit or lie in the cold; but having anything to do, as going or any other labour, they use it as a girdle about their loins. They wear their hair very long; but lest it might trouble them in their travel, they knit it up with a roll of ostrich feathers, using the same rolls and hair together for a quiver for their arrows, and for a store-house, in which they carry the most things which they carry about them. Some of them, within these rolls, stick on either side of their heads (for a sign of honour in their persons) a large and and plain feather, showing like horns afar off; so that such a head upon a naked body—if devils do appear with horns—might very nigh resemble devils. Their whole bravery and setting out themselves standeth[1] in painting their bodies with divers colours, and such works as they can devise. Some wash[2] their faces with sulphur, or some such like substance;

[1] Consists.

[2] Dye their faces, "or give them a wash," to use a modern phrase.

some paint their whole bodies black, leaving only their necks before and behind white, much like our damsels that wear their squares,[1] their necks and breasts naked. Some paint one shoulder black, another white; and their sides and legs interchangeably, with the same colours, one still contrary to the other. The black part hath set upon it white Moons, and the white part black Suns, being the marks and characters of their gods, as is before noted. They have some commodity[2] by painting of their bodies, for the which cause they use it so generally; and that I gather to be, the defence it yieldeth against the piercing and nipping cold. For the colours being close laid on upon their skin, or rather in their flesh, as by continual renewing of these juices which are laid on, soaked into the inner part thereof, doth fill up the pores so close that no air or cold can enter, or make them once to shrink.

They have clean, comely, and strong bodies; they are swift of foot, and seem very active. Neither is anything more lamentable, in my judgment, than that so goodly a people, and so lively creatures of God, should be ignorant of the true and living God. And so much the more is this to be lamented, by how much they are more tractable, and easy to be brought to the sheepfold of Christ; having, in truth, a land sufficient to recompense any Christian Prince in the world for the whole travail and labour, cost and charges, bestowed in their behalf: with a wonderful enlarging of a kingdom, besides the glory of God by increasing the Church of Christ. It is wonderful to hear, being never known to Christians before this time, how familiar they became in short space with us; thinking themselves to be joined with such a people as they ought rather to serve than offer any wrong or injury unto; presuming that they might be bold with our General as with a father, and with us as brethren and their nearest friends; neither seemed their love less towards us. One of the chiefest among them having on a time received a cap off the General's head, which he did daily wear, removing himself but a little from us, with an arrow pierced his leg deeply, causing the blood to stream out upon the ground: signifying thereby how unfeignedly he loved him, and giving therein a covenant of peace. The number of men which did here frequent our company was about fifty persons. Within, in the southernmost part of this bay, there is a river of fresh water, with a great many profitable islands; of which some have always such store of seals, or sea-wolves, as were able to maintain a huge army of men. Other islands, being many and great, are so replenished with birds and fowl, as if there were no other victuals: a wonderful multitude of people might be nourished by the increase of them for many posterities. Of these we killed some with shot, and some with staves,[3] and took some with our hands, from men's heads and shoulders, upon which they lighted. We could not perceive that the people of the country had any sort of boat or canoe to come to these islands. Their own provisions which they ate, for ought we could perceive, was commonly raw: for we should sometimes find the remnants of seals, all bloody, which they had gnawn with their teeth like dogs. They go all of them armed with a short bow, of about an ell in length, in their hands, with arrows of reeds, and headed with a flint stone, very cunningly cut and fastened.

This bay, by reason of the plenty of seals therein found, insomuch that we killed two hundred in the space of one hour, we called Seal Bay. And having now made sufficient provision

[1] Square-bodied dresses; the reproduction of which is only one of the signs of the fatigue of fashionable inventions which have fallen to the present period.

[2] They gain some convenience.

[3] Or, possibly, by misreading of the text, "stones."

of victuals and other necessaries, as also happily finished all our businesses, on June 3 we set sail from thence; and coasting along towards the Pole Antarctic, on June 12 we fell in with a little bay, in which we anchored for the space of two days, spent in the discharging of our caunter, the Christopher, which we here laid up. The 14th day we weighed again, and kept on our course southward till the 17th, and then cast anchor in another bay, in 50° 20′, lacking but little more than one degree of the mouth of the Straits through which lay our so much desired passage into the South Sea. Here our General, on good advice, determined to alter his course, and turn his stern to the northward again, if haply God would grant that we might find our ship[1] and friends whom we lost in the great storm, as is before said. Forasmuch as, if we should enter the Straits without them in our company, it must needs go hard with them; and we also in the mean time, as well by their absence as by the uncertainty of their state, must needs receive no small discomfort. And therefore, on June 18 in the morning, putting to sea again, with hearty and often prayers we joined watchful industry to serve God's good providence, and held on our purpose to run back towards the Line into the same height[2] in which they were first dissevered from us. The 19th day of June, towards night, having sailed within a few leagues of Port St Julian, we had our ship in sight, for which we gave God thanks with most joyful minds. And forasmuch as the ship was far out of order, and very leaky, by reason of extremity of weather which she had endured, as well before her losing company as in her absence, our General thought good to bear into Port St Julian with his fleet, because it was so nigh at hand, and so convenient a place; intending there to refresh his wearied men, and cherish them who had in their absence tasted such bitterness of discomfort, besides the want of many things which they sustained.

Thus the next day, the 20th of June, we entered Port St Julian, which stands in 49° 30′, and has on the south side of the harbour peaked rocks like towers, and within the harbour many islands, which you may ride hard aboard of, but in going in you must borrow of the north shore. Being now come to anchor, and all things fitted and made safe aboard, our General with certain of his company—viz., Thomas Drake his brother, John Thomas, Robert Winter, Oliver the master-gunner, John Brewer, and Thomas Hood—on June 22 rowed farther in with a boat to find out some convenient place which might yield us fresh water, during the time of our abode there, and furnish us with supply for provision to take to sea with us at our departure; which work, as it was of great necessity, and therefore carefully to be performed, so did not he think himself discharged of his duty if he himself bestowed not the first travail therein, as his use was at all times in all other things belonging to the relieving of our wants and the maintenance of our good estate, by the supply of what was needful. Presently upon his landing he was visited by two of the inhabitants of the place, whom Magellan named "Patagous," or rather "Pentagours," from their huge stature and strength proportionable. These, as they seemed greatly to rejoice at his arrival, so did they show themselves very familiar, receiving at our General's hands whatsoever he gave them, and taking great pleasure in seeing Mr Oliver, the master-gunner of the Admiral, shoot an English arrow—trying with him to shoot at length, but came nothing near him.

Not long after came one more of

[1] The "Portugal prize," the Mary; which had on board most or all of their provision of liquor for the voyage.

[2] Latitude; the word is frequently used in this and in other old voyagers' narrations, to signify the amount of ascendant, on one side or the other, towards the plane of the Equator.

the same cast, but of a sourer sort; for he, misliking of the familiarity which his fellows had used, seemed very angry with them, and strove earnestly to withdraw them, and to turn them to become our enemies. Which our General, with his men, not suspecting in them, used them as before, and one Mr Robert Winter, thinking of pleasure to shoot an arrow at length, as Mr Oliver had done before, that he who came last also might have a sight thereof, the string of his bow broke; which, as before it was a terror unto them, so now, broken, it gave them great encouragement and boldness, and, as they thought, great advantage in their treacherous intent and purpose, not imagining that our calivers,[1] swords, and targets, were any munition or weapon of war. In which persuasion—as the General and his company were quietly, without any suspicion of evil, going down towards the boat—they suddenly, being prepared and gotten by stealth behind them, shot their arrows, and chiefly at him which had the bow, not suffering him to string the same again, which he was about to have done, as well as he could; but being wounded in the shoulder at the first shot, and turning about, was sped by an arrow, which pierced his lungs, yet he fell not. But the Master Gunner, being ready to shoot off his caliver, which took not fire in levelling thereof,[2] was presently slain outright. In this extremity, if our General had not been both expert in such affairs, able to judge and to give present direction in the danger thereof, and had not valiantly thrust himself into the dance against these monsters, there had no one of our men, that there were landed, escaped with life. He therefore, giving order that no man should keep any certain ground, but shift from place to place, encroaching still upon the enemy, using their targets and other weapons for the defence of their bodies, and that they should break so many arrows as by any means they could come by, being shot at them, wherein he himself was very diligent, and careful also in calling upon them, knowing that their arrows being once spent, they should have these enemies at their devotion and pleasure, to kill or save; and this order being accordingly taken, himself, I say, with a good courage and trust in the true and living God, taking and shooting off the same piece which the Gunner could not make to take fire, despatched the first beginner of the quarrel, the same man who slew our Master Gunner. For the pieces being charged with a bullet and hail-shot, and well aimed, tore out his belly and guts, with great torment, as it seemed by his cry, which was so hideous and horrible a roar, as if ten bulls had joined together in roaring; wherewith the courage of his partners was so abated, and their hearts appalled, that notwithstanding divers of their fellows and countrymen appeared out of the woods on each side, yet they were glad, by flying away, to save themselves, quietly suffering our men either to depart or stay. Our General chose rather to depart, than to take farther revenge of them, which now he might, by reason of his wounded man, whom for many good parts he loved dearly, and therefore would rather have saved him than slain a hundred enemies; but being past recovery, he died the second day after his being brought on board again. That night, our Master Gunner's body being left ashore, for the speedier bringing of the other aboard, our General himself the next day, with his boat well-appointed, returned to the shore to find it likewise; which they found lying where it was left, but stripped of his uppermost garment, and having an English arrow

[1] The same word as "the modern calibre;" both, by old philologists, derived from "equilibrium." Caliver, strictly, not merely means a gun, but the shot, of whatever weight, which the gun propels.

[2] That is, though he aimed his piece, it missed fire, or flashed in the pan.

stuck in his right eye. Both of these dead bodies were laid together in one grave, with such reverence as was fit for the earthen tabernacles of immortal souls, and with such commendable ceremonies as belong unto soldiers of worth in time of war, which they most truly and rightfully deserved.

Magellan was not altogether deceived in naming them Giants, for they generally differ from the common sort of men, both in stature, bigness, and strength of body, as also in the hideousness of their voice; but yet they are nothing so monstrous or giantlike as they were reported, there being some Englishmen as tall as the highest of any that we did see: but peradventure the Spaniards did not think that ever any Englishman would come thither to reprove them, and thereupon might presume the more boldly to lie; the name "*Pentagones*," "Five Cubits," viz., seven feet and a half, describing the full height, if not somewhat more, of the highest of them. But this is certain, that the Spanish cruelties there used have made them more monstrous in mind and manners than they are in body, and more inhospitable to deal with any strangers that shall come hereafter. For the loss of their friends (the remembrance whereof is assigned and conveyed over from one generation to another among their posterity) breedeth an old grudge, which will not easily be forgotten with so quarrelsome and revengeful a people. Notwithstanding, the terror which they had conceived of us did henceforward so quench their heat, and take down their edge, that they both forgot revenge, and, seeming by their countenance to repent them of the wrong they had offered us that meant them no harm, suffered us to do what we would the whole space of two months after this, without any interruption or molestation by them; and it may be perhaps a means to breed a peace in that people towards all that may, hereafter this, come that way.

To this evil, thus received at the hands of infidels, there was adjoined and grew another mischief, wrought and contrived closely amongst ourselves; as great, yea, far greater, and of far more grievous consequence, than the former, but that it was by God's providence detected and prevented in time; which else had extended itself not only to the violent shedding of innocent blood by murdering our General, and such others as were most firm and faithful to him, but also to the final overthrow of the whole action intended, and to divers other most dangerous effects.[1] These plots had been laid before the voyage began, in England: the very model of them was showed and declared to our General in his garden at Plymouth before his setting sail: which yet he either would not credit as true or likely of a person whom he loved so dearly, and was persuaded of to love him,[2] likewise unfeignedly; or thought by love and benefits to remedy it, if there were any evil purposes conceived against him. And therefore he did not only continue to this suspected and accused person, all countenance, credit, and courtesies which he was wont to show and give him; but increased them, using him in a manner as another himself; giving him the second place in all companies, in his presence; leaving in his hand the state, as it were, of his own person in his absence; imparting unto him all his counsels; allowing him free liberty in all things that were reasonable; and bearing often, at his hands great infirmities: yea, despising that any private inquiry should break so firm a friendship as he meant towards him. And therefore was he oftentimes not

[1] Without entering here on the much-debated question as to Drake's conduct in the trial and execution of Doughty—which has been well called the most dubious act in the life of the great navigator—it may be briefly said, that the balance both of testimony and of character is decidedly in Drake's favour. The matter has been more fully handled in the Introduction.

[2] That is, "and who he was persuaded loved him."

a little offended even with those who, upon conscience of their duty, and knowledge that otherwise they should indeed offend, disclosed from time to time unto him how the fire increased that threatened his own together with the destruction of the whole action.[1]

But at length, perceiving that his lenity of favours did little good, in that the heat of ambition was not yet allayed, nor could be quenched, as it seemed, but by blood; and that the manifold practices[2] grew daily more and more, even to extremities; he thought it high time to call these practices into question before it were too late to call any question of them into hearing. And therefore setting good watch over him, and assembling all his captains and gentlemen of his company together, he propounded to them the good parts which were in the gentleman, the great good will and inward affection, more than brotherly which he had ever since his first acquaintance borne him, not omitting the respect which was had of him among no mean personages in England; and afterwards delivered the letters which were written to him, with the particulars from time to time which had been observed, not so much by himself as by his good friends; not only at sea, but even in Plymouth; not bare words, but writings; not writings alone, but actions, tending to the overthrow of the service in hand, and making away of his[3] person. Proofs were required and alleged, so many and so evident, that the gentleman himself, stricken with remorse of his inconsiderate and unkind dealing, acknowledged himself to have deserved death, yea many deaths; for that he conspired, not only the overthrow of the action, but of the principal actor also, who was not a stranger or ill-willer, but a dear and true friend unto him; and therefore in a great assembly openly besought them, in whose hands justice rested, to take some order for him, that he might not be compelled to enforce his own hands against his own bowels,[4] or otherwise to become his own executioner.

The admiration[5] and astonishment hereat in all the hearers, even those who were his nearest friends and most affected him, was great, yea, in those who for many benefits received from him had good cause to love him; but yet the General was most of all distracted, and therefore withdrew himself, as not able to conceal his tender affection, requiring them that had heard the whole matter to give their judgments as they would another day answer it unto their Prince and unto Almighty God, judge of all the earth. Therefore they all, above forty in number, the chiefest of place and judgment in the whole fleet, after they had discussed diversly of the case, and had alleged whatsoever came in their minds, or could be there produced by any of his other friends, with their own hands, under seal, adjudged that "He had deserved death: and that it stood by no means with their safety to let him live: and therefore they remitted the matter thereof, with the rest of the circumstances, to the General." This judgment, and as it were assize, was held aloud, in one of the islands of the port, which afterwards, in memory hereof, was called the Island of "True Justice and Judgment."

Now after this verdict was thus returned unto our General (unto whom, for his company, Her Majesty before his departure had committed her sword, to use for his safety, with this word: "We do account that he which striketh at thee, Drake, striketh at us"), he called for the guilty party,

[1] That threatened his own destruction, along with the ruin of the whole enterprise.

[2] "Practice," in the time of Drake, was used generally in an ill sense—and is thus a rare specimen of a word which has improved, or at least grown less tart, by keeping.

[3] The Admiral's.

[4] A curious and literal description of the Japanese "hari-kari," or "happy despatch."

[5] Wonder.

and caused to be read unto him the several verdicts which were written and pronounced of him. Which being acknowledged for the most part (for none had given heavier sentence against him than he had given against himself), our General proposed unto him this choice: "Whether he would take, to be executed in this island? or to be set a-land on the main? or return into England, there to answer his deed before the Lords of Her Majesty's Council? He most humbly thanked the General for his clemency, extended towards him in such ample sort; and craving some respite to consult thereon, and so make his choice advisedly, the next day he returned this answer: "That albeit he had yielded in his heart to entertain so great a sin, whereof now he was justly condemned; yet he had a care, and that excelling all other cares, to die a Christian man, that whatsoever did become of his clay body, he might yet remain assured of an eternal inheritance in a far better life. This he feared, if he should be set a-land among Infidels, how he should be able to maintain this assurance; feeling, in his own frailty, how mighty the contagion is of lewd custom." And therefore he besought the General most earnestly, "That he would yet have a care and regard of his soul, and never jeopard it amongst heathen and savage Infidels. If he should return into England, he must first have a ship, and men to conduct it, besides sufficient victuals; two of which, although they were had, yet for the third, he thought that no man would accompany him, in so bad a message, to so vile an issue, from so honourable a service. But if that there were who could induce their minds to return with him, yet the very shame of the return would be as death, or grievouser, were that possible: because he should be so long a-dying, and die so often. Therefore he professed, that with all his heart he did embrace the first branch of the General's proffer, desiring only this favour, that they might receive the Holy Communion once again together before his death, and that he might not die other than a gentleman's death."

Though sundry reasons were used by many to persuade him to take either of the other ways, yet when he remained resolute in his former determination, both parts of his last request were granted; and the next convenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr Francis Fletcher, preacher and pastor of the fleet at that time. The General himself communicated at this Sacred Ordinance, with this condemned penitent gentleman, who showed great tokens of a contrite and repentant heart, as who was more deeply displeased with his own act than any man else. And after this holy repast they dined, also at the same table together, as cheerfully in sobriety, as ever in their lives they had done aforetime: each cheering up the other, and taking their leave, by drinking each to other, as if some journey only had been in hand. After dinner, all things being brought in readiness by him that supplied the room of the Provost Marshall, without any dallying, or delaying the time, he came forth and kneeled down, preparing at once his neck for the axe, and his spirit for Heaven; which having done without long ceremony, as who had before digested this whole tragedy, he desired all the rest to pray for him, and willed the executioner to do his office, not to fear nor spare.

Thus having by the worthy manner of his death being much more honourable by it than blamable for any other of his actions) fully blotted out whatever stain his fault might seem to bring upon him, he left unto our fleet a lamentable example of a goodly gentleman who, in seeking advancement unfit for him, cast away himself; and unto posterity a monument of I know not what fatal calamity,[1]

[1] The context shows that these words would have been better reversed; the Narrator plainly referring to the "calamitous fatality" of the place, where both Drake and

as incident to that port, and such like actions, which might haply afford a new pair of Parallels to be added to Plutarch's: In that the same place, near about the same time of the year, witnessed the execution of two gentlemen, suffering both for the like cause, employed both in like service, entertained both in great place, endued both with excellent qualities, the one fifty-eight years after the other. For on the main our men found a gibbet, fallen down, made of a spruce mast, with men's bones underneath it, which they conjectured to be the same gibbet which Magellan commanded to be erected, in the year 1520, for the execution of John Carthagena,[1] the Bishop of Burgor's cousin, who by the King's order was joined with Magellan in commission, and made his Vice-admiral. In the island as we digged to bury this gentleman, we found a great grinding-stone, broken in two parts, which we took and set fast in the ground, the one part at the head, the other at the feet, building up the middle space with other stones and tufts of earth, and engraved in the stones the names of the parties buried there, with the time of their departure, and a memorial of our General's name, in Latin, that it might be the better understood of all that should come after us.

These things thus ended and set in order, our General discharged the Mary—our Portugal prize—because she was leaky and troublesome, defaced her,[2] and then left her ribs and keel upon the island where for two months together we had pitched our tents. And so having wooded, watered, trimmed our ships, despatched all our other business, and brought our fleet into the smallest number—even three only, besides our pinnaces—that we might the easier keep ourselves together, be the better furnished with necessaries, and be the stronger manned, against whatsoever need should be—August 17, we departed out of this port; and being now in great hope of a happy issue to our enterprise, which Almighty God hitherto had so blessed and prospered, we set our coast for the Straits, south-west.

August 20, we fell with the Cape near which lies the entrance into the Straits, called by the Spaniards Capo Virgin Maria,[3] appearing four leagues before you come to it, with high and steep grey cliffs, full of black stars, against which the sea beating showeth as it were the spouting of whales, having the highest of the cape like Cape Vincent in Portugal. At this cape our General caused his fleet, in homage to our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty, to strike their top-sails upon the bunt,[4] as a token of his willing and glad mind to shew his dutiful obedience to her Highness, whom he acknowledged to have full interest and right in that new discovery; and withal, in remembrance of his honourable friend and favourer, Sir Christopher Hatton, he changed the name of the ship which himself went in from the Pelican to be called the Golden Hind.[5] Which ceremonies being ended, together with a sermon, teaching true obedience, with prayers and giving of thanks for Her Majesty and her most honourable Council, with the whole body of the Commonweal and Church of God, we continued our course on into the said frete,[6] where passing with land in sight on both sides, we shortly fell with

Magellan had to exercise the extremity of justice.

[1] Not Don Juan de Carthagena, but Don Luis de Mendoza—upon whom Magellan placed great reliance—suffered, with some other ringleaders in the mutiny, the fate indicated in the text; Don Juan, with several of the less guilty accomplices, being left among the Patagonians.

[2] *Stripped* her of her planking.

[3] Cabo de las Virgenes, or Cape Virgins, in modern maps.

[4] To lower the topsails half-way, upon the bunt or bend of the sail.

[5] Conjectured to have formed part of the Chancellor's armorial bearings.

[6] A sound or narrow sea; Latin, "fretum."

so narrow a strait, as, carrying with it much wind, often turnings, and many dangers, requireth an expert judgment in him that shall pass the same: it lies WNW. and ESE. But having left this strait astern, we seemed to be come out of a river of two leagues broad, into a large and main sea; having, the night following, an island in sight, which—being in height nothing inferior to the island Fogo, before spoken of—burneth, like it also, aloft in the air, in a wonderful sort, without intermission.

It has formerly been received as an undoubted truth, that the seas, following the course of the first mover, from East to West, have a continual current through the Strait, but our experience found the contrary; the ebbings and flowings here being as orderly—in which the water rises and falls more than five fathoms upright—as on other coasts.

The 24th of August, being Bartholomew's Day, we fell with three islands, bearing triangle-wise one from another: one of them was very fair and large and of a fruitful soil, upon which, being next unto us and the weather very calm, our General with his gentlemen and certain of his mariners then landed, taking possession thereof in Her Majesty's name, and to her use, and calling the same Elizabeth Island. The other two, though they were not so large nor so fair to the eye, yet were they to us exceeding useful, for in them we found great store of strange things,[1] which could not fly at all, nor yet run so fast as that they could escape us with their lives; in body they are less than a goose, and bigger than a mallard, short and thick set together, having no feathers, but instead thereof a certain hard and matted down; their beaks are not much unlike the bills of crows; they lodge and breed upon the land, where, making earths, as the conies do, in the ground, they lay their eggs and bring up their young; their feeding and provision to live on is in the sea, where they swim in such sort, as Nature may seem to have granted them no small prerogative in swiftness, both to prey upon others, and themselves to escape from any others that seek to seize upon them. And such was the infinite resort of these birds to these islands, that in the space of one day we killed no less than 3000, and if the increase be according to the number, it is not to be thought that the world hath brought forth a greater blessing, in one kind of creature in so small a circuit, so necessarily and plentifully serving the use of man. They are a very good and wholesome victual. Our General named these islands, the one Bartholomew, according to the day, the other Saint George's, in honour of England, according to the ancient custom there observed. In the Island of Saint George we found the body of a man, so long dead before, that his bones would not hold together, being moved out of the place whereon they lay.

From these islands to the entrance into the South Sea, the frete is very crooked, having many turnings, and as it were shuttings-up, as if there were no passage at all; by means whereof we were often troubled with contrary winds, so that some of our ships recovering a cape of land, entering another reach, the rest were forced to alter their course and come to anchor where they might. It is true which Magellan reports of this passage: namely, that there be many fair harbours and store of fresh water; but some ships had need to be freighted with nothing else besides anchors and cables, to find ground in most of them to come to anchor; which when any extreme gusts or contrary winds do come, whereunto the place is altogether subject, is a great hindrance to the passage, and carries with it no small danger. The land on both sides is very high and mountainous, having on the North and West side the continent of America, and on the South and East part nothing but islands, among which lie innumerable fretes or passages into the South Sea. The mountains arise with such tops and

[1] Penguins.

spires into the air, and of so rare a height, as they may well be accounted amongst the wonders of the world; environed, as it were, with many regions of congealed clouds and frozen meteors, whereby they are continually fed and increased, both in height and bigness, from time to time, retaining that which they have once received, being little again diminished by the heat of the sun, as being so far from reflection and so nigh the cold and frozen region. But notwithstanding all this, yet are the low and plain grounds very fruitful, the grass green and natural, the herbs, that are of very strange sorts, good and many; the trees, for the most part of them, always green; the air of the temperature of our country; the water most pleasant; and the soil agreeing to any grain which we have growing in our country: a place, no doubt, that lacketh nothing but a people to use the same to the Creator's glory and the increasing of the Church. The people inhabiting these parts made fires as we passed by in divers places.

Drawing nigh the entrance of the South Sea, we had such a shutting-up to the northwards, and such large and open fretes towards the south, that it was doubtful which way we should pass, without further discovery;[1] for which cause, our General having brought his fleet to anchor under an island, himself, with certain of his gentlemen, rowed in a boat to descry the passage: who having discovered a sufficient way toward the North, in their return to their ships met a canoe, under the same island where we rode then at anchor, having in her divers persons. This canoe, or boat, was made of the bark of divers trees, having a prow and a stern standing up, and semicircle-wise yielding inward, of one form and fashion, the body whereof was a most dainty mould, bearing in it most comely proportion and excellent workmanship, in so much as to our General and us it seemed never to have been done without the cunning and expert judgment of art; and that not for the use of so rude and barbarous a people, but for the pleasure of some great and noble personage, yea, of some Prince. It had no other closing-up or caulking in the seams, but the stitching with thongs made of seal skins, or other such beast, and yet so close that it received very little or no water at all.

The people are of a mean[2] stature, but well set and compact in all their parts and limbs; they have great pleasure in painting their faces, as the others have, of whom we have spoken before. Within the said Island they had a house of mean building, of certain poles, and covered with skins of beasts, having therein fire, water, and such meat as commonly they can come by, as seals, mussels, and such like. The vessels wherein they keep their water, and their cups in which they drink, are made of barks of trees, as was their canoe, and that with no less skill (for the bigness of the thing), being of a very formal shape and good fashion. Their working tools, which they use in cutting these things and such other, are knives made of most huge and monstrous mussel shells (the like whereof have not been seen or heard of lightly by any travellers, the meat thereof being very savoury and good in eating); which after they have broken off the thin and brittle substance of the edge, they rub and grind them upon stones had for the purpose, till they have tempered and set such an edge upon them, that no wood is so hard but they will cut it at pleasure with the same; whereof we ourselves had experience. Yea, they cut therewith bones of a marvellous hardness, making of them fisgies[3] to kill fish, wherein they have a most pleasant exercise with great dexterity.

The 6th of September we had left astern of us all these troublesome islands, and were entered into the South Sea, or *Mare del Zur*,[4] at the

[1] Exploration.

[2] Middling, ordinary.

[3] Or fizgigs; see Note 4, page 128.

[4] Drake was the fourth person who

Cape whereof our General had determined with his whole company to have gone on shore, and there, after a sermon, to have left a monument of Her Majesty, engraven in metal, for a perpetual remembrance, which he had in a readiness for that end prepared: but neither was there any anchoring, neither did the wind suffer us by any means to make a stay. Only this by all our men's observations was concluded: that the entrance, by which we came into this Strait, was in 52°, the middle, in 53° 15′, and the going out in 52° 30′, being 150 leagues in length: at the very entry, supposed also to be about ten leagues in breadth. After we were entered ten leagues within it, it was found not past a league in breadth: farther within, in some places very large, in some very narrow; and in the end found to be no Strait at all, but all islands. Now when our General perceived that the nipping cold, under so cruel and frowning a winter, had impaired the health of some of his men, he meant to have made the more haste again towards the Line, and not to sail any further towards the Pole Antarctic, lest being further from the sun, and nearer the cold, we might haply be overtaken with some greater danger of Sickness. But God, giving men leave to purpose, reserved to himself the disposition of all things; making their intents of none effect, or changing their meaning oft-times clean into the contrary, as may best serve for his own glory and their profit.

For September 7th, the second day after our entrance into the South Sea —called by some *Mare Pacificum*, but proving to us rather to be Mare Furiosum—God by a contrary wind and intolerable tempest seemed to set himself against us, forcing us not only to alter our course and determination, but with great trouble, long time, many dangers, hard escapes, and final separating of our fleet, to yield ourselves unto his will. Yea, such was the extremity of the tempest, that it appeared to us as if he had pronounced a sentence not to stay his hand, nor to withdraw his judgment, till he had buried our bodies, and ships also, in the bottomless depths of the raging sea. In the time of this incredible storm, the 15th of September, the moon was eclipsed in Aries, and darkened about three points, for the space of two glasses; which being ended might seem to give us some hope of alteration and change of weather to the better. Notwithstanding, as the ecliptical conflict could add nothing to our miserable estate, no more did the ending thereof ease us anything at all, nor take away any of our troubles from us: but our eclipse continued still in its full force, so prevailing against us, that, for the space of full fifty-two days together, we were darkened more than the moon by twenty parts, or more than we by any means could ever have preserved or recovered light of ourselves again, if the Son of God, which laid this burthen upon our backs, had not mercifully borne it up with his own shoulders, and upheld us in it by his own power, beyond any possible strength or skill of man. Neither indeed did we at all escape, but, with the feeling of great discomforts through the same. For these violent and extraordinary flaws, such as seldom have been seen, still continuing or rather increasing, September 30th, in the night, caused the sorrowful separation of the Marigold from us; in which was Captain John Thomas, with many others of our dear friends, who by no means that we could conceive could help themselves, but by spooming along before the sea.[1] With

achieved the passage of the Straits, having been preceded by Magellan in 1520, by Loyasa in 1526, and by Juan de Ladrilleros, from the Pacific side, in 1558. The English commander had better fortune than his predecessors, in respect to weather and temperature; accomplishing in about a fortnight what had occupied months.

[1] Running straight before the wind, and *with the sea*; usually done in the

whom albeit we could never meet again, yet (our General having beforehand given order, that if any of our fleet did lose company the place of resort to meet again should be in 30° or thereabouts upon the coast of Peru towards the Equinoctial) we long time hoped, till experience shewed our hope was vain, that there we should joyfully meet with them: especially for that they were well provided of victuals, and lacked no skilful and sufficient men (besides their Captain) to bring forward the ship to the place appointed.

From the 7th of September, in which the storm began, till the 7th of October, we could not by any means recover any land; having in the meantime been driven so far south as to the 57° and somewhat better. On this day, towards night, somewhat to the northward of that Cape of America whereof mention is made before in the description of our departure from the Strait into this Sea, with a sorry sail we entered a harbour where hoping to enjoy some freedom and ease till the storm was ended, we received within few hours after our coming to anchor so deadly a stroke and hard entertainment that our Admiral left not only an anchor behind her, through the violence and fury of the flaw, but in departing thence also lost the company and sight of our Vice-Admiral, the Elizabeth, partly through the negligence of those who had the charge of her, partly through a kind of desire that some in her had to be out of these troubles, and to be at home again; which (as since is known) they thenceforward by all means assayed and performed. For the very next day, October 8th, recovering the mouth of the Straits again, which we were now so near unto, they returned back the same way by which they came forward, and so coasting Brazil they arrived in England June 2d the year following. So that now our Admiral, if she had retained her old name of Pelican, which she bare at our departure from our Country, she might have been now indeed said to be as a pelican in the wilderness. For albeit our General sought the rest of his fleet with great care, yet could we not have any sight or certain news of them by any means.[1]

From this Bay of Parting of Friends, we were forcibly driven back again into 55° towards the Pole Antarctic. In which height we ran in among the islands before mentioned, lying to the southward of America, through which we passed from one sea to the other, as hath been declared. Where coming to anchor, we found the waters there to have their indraught and free passage, and that through no small guts or narrow channels, but indeed through as large fretes or straits as it hath at the supposed Straits of Magellan, through which we came. Among these islands making our abode with some quietness for a very little while (viz., two days)

case of weak ships, which by lying to the sea might have their masts carried by the board. The Marigold justified the worst apprehensions of her friends, for nothing more was *ever* heard of her or of her company.

[1] Edward Cliffe, who narrates the voyage of the Elizabeth back to England, denies that Winter intended to desert his Admiral, and declares that some attempts were made to rejoin him. As these attempts, however, seem to have been limited to the lighting of fires on the shore *within* the narrows, just the direction in which Drake did *not* design to prosecute his voyage, they do not seem to have been either very energetic or very sincere. The Elizabeth's company, after resting and recruiting themselves in Port Health for several weeks, desired to resume the enterprise; but Captain Winter compelled them to abandon the voyage, "full sore against the mariners' minds," affirming that he now despaired of the Admiral's safety, or of being able to gain the golden shores of Peru. Winter was the first Englishman to navigate the Straits of Magellan eastward.

and finding divers good and wholesome herbs, together with fresh water; our men, who before were weak, and much impaired in their health, began to receive good comfort, especially by the drinking of one herb (not much unlike that herb which we commonly call Pennyleaf) which, purging with great facility, afforded great help and refreshing to our wearied and sickly bodies. But the winds returning to their old wont, and the seas raging after their former manner, yea everything as it were setting itself against our peace and desired rest, here was no stay permitted us, neither any safety to be looked for. For such was the present danger by forcing and continual flaws, that we were rather to look for present death than hope for any delivery, if God Almighty should not make the way for us. The winds were such as if the bowels of the Earth had set all at liberty, or as if all the clouds under heaven had been called together to lay their force upon that one place. The seas, which by nature and of themselves are heavy, and of a weighty substance, were rolled up from the depths, even from the roots of the rocks, as if it had been a scroll of parchment which by the extremity of heat runneth together; and being aloft were carried in most strange manner and abundance, as feathers or drifts of snow, by the violence of the winds, to water the exceeding tops of high and lofty mountains. Our anchors, as false friends in such a danger, gave over their holdfast, and as if it had been with horror of the thing, did shrink down to hide themselves in this miserable storm, committing the distressed ship and helpless men to the uncertain and rolling seas, which tossed them like a ball in a racket. In this case, to let fall more anchors would avail us nothing; for being driven from our first place of anchoring, so unmeasurable was the depth, that 500 fathoms would fetch no ground. So that the violent storm without intermission; the impossibility to come to anchor; the want of opportunity to spread any sail; the most mad seas; the lee shores; the dangerous rocks; the contrary and most intolerable winds; the impossible passage out; the desperate tarrying there, and inevitable perils on every side, did lay before us so small likelihood to escape present destruction, that if the special providence of God himself had not supported us, we could never have endured that woeful state, as being environed with most terrible and most fearful judgments round about. For, truly, it was more likely that the mountains should have been rent in sunder from the top to the bottom, and cast headlong into the sea, by these unnatural winds, than that we by any help or cunning of man should free the life of any amongst us.[1]

Notwithstanding, the same God of mercy which delivered Jonah out of the whale's belly, and heareth all those that call upon him faithfully in their distress, looked down from heaven, beheld our tears, and heard our humble petitions, joined with holy vows. Even God—whom not the winds and seas alone, but even the devils themselves and powers of hell obey—did so wonderfully free us, and make our way open before us, as it were by his holy angels still guiding and conducting us, that, more than the affright and amaze of this Estate, we received no part of damage in all the things that belonged to us. But escaping from these Straits and miseries, as it were through the needle's eye (that God might have the greater glory in our delivery), by the great and effectual care and travail of our General, the Lord's instrument therein; we could now no longer forbear, but must needs find some place of refuge, as well to provide water, wood, and other necessaries, as to comfort our men, thus worn and tired out by so many and so long intolerable toils; the like whereof, it is to be supposed, no traveller hath felt,

[1] Compare with this account of Drake's difficulties, that of Anson's in the same navigation.

neither hath there ever been such a tempest, that any records make mention of, so violent and of such continuance, since Noah's flood; for, as hath been said, it lasted from September 7th to October 28th, full fifty-two days.

Not many leagues, therefore, to the southward of our former anchoring, we ran in again among these islands, where we had once more better likelihood to rest in peace; and so much the rather, for that we found the people of the country travelling for their living from one island to another in their Canoes, both men, women, and young infants wrapt in skins and hanging at their mothers' backs; with whom we had traffic for such things as they had, as chains of certain shells, and such other trifles. Here the Lord gave us three days to breathe ourselves and to provide such things as we wanted, albeit the same was with continual care and troubles to avoid imminent dangers, which the troubled seas and blustering winds did every hour threaten unto us. But when we seemed to have staid there too long, we were more rigorously assaulted by the not formerly ended but now more violently renewed storm, and driven thence also with no small danger, leaving behind us the greater part of our cable with the anchor; being chased along by the winds and buffeted incessantly in each quarter by the seas, (which our General interpreted as though God had sent them of purpose to the end which ensued), till at length we fell with the uttermost part of land towards the South Pole, and had certainly discovered how far the same doth reach southward from the coast of America aforenamed.[1] The uttermost cape or headland of all these islands stands near in 56°, without[2] which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southwards, but that the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a most large and free scope.

It hath been a dream through many ages, that these islands have been a main,[3] and that it hath been *Terra Incognita*, wherein many strange monsters lived. Indeed, it might truly before this time be called *Incognita*,[4] for howsoever the maps and general descriptions of cosmographers, either upon the deceivable reports of other men, or the deceitful imaginations of themselves (supposing never herein to be corrected), have set it down, yet it is true, that before this time it was never discovered or certainly known by any traveller that we have heard of. And here, as in a fit place, it shall not be amiss to remove that error in opinion, which hath been held by many, of the impossible return out of Mare del Zur into the West Ocean by reason of the supposed Eastern current and levant winds, which (say they) speedily carry any thither, but suffer no return. They are herein likewise altogether deceived, for neither did we meet with any such current, nor had we any such certain winds with any such speed to carry us through; but at all times, in our passage there, we found more opportunity to return back again into the West Ocean, than to go forward into Mare del Zur, by means either of current or winds to hinder us, whereof we had experience more than we wished: being glad oftentimes to alter our course, and to fall astern again with frank wind, without any impediment of any such surmised current, farther in one afternoon, than we could fetch up or recover again in a whole day, with a reasonable gale. And in that they allege the narrowness of the frete, and the want of sea-room, to be the cause of this violent current, they are herein no less deceived, than they

[1] Thus Drake accidentally discovered Cape Horn, which received its name from Schouten and Le Maire, who sailed round it for the first time in 1616.

[2] *Beyond*, outside.

[3] A continent or mainland of themselves.

[4] Elsewhere we read that Drake held himself warranted in changing the title of *Terra Incognita* into *Terra nunc bene Cognita*.

were in the other without reason: for besides that it cannot be said, that there is one only passage, but rather innumerable, it is most certain that, a-seaboard[1] all these islands, there is one large and main sea; wherein if any will not be satisfied, nor believe the report of our experience and eye-sight, he should be advised to suspend his judgment till he have either tried it himself by his own travel, or shall understand, by other travellers, more particulars to confirm his mind herein.

Now as we were fallen to the uttermost part of these islands, October 25th, our troubles did make an end, the storms ceased, and all our calamities (only the absence of our friends excepted) were removed; as if God, all this while, by his secret providence, had led us to make this discovery, which being made, according to his will, he stayed his hand, as pleased his majesty therein, and refreshed us as his servants. At these southerly parts we found the night in the latter end of October to be but two hours long: the sun being yet above seven degrees distant from the Tropic; so that it seems, being in the Tropic, to leave very little or no night at all in that place. There be few of all these islands but have some inhabitants, whose manners, apparel, houses, canoes, and means of living, are like unto those formerly spoken of, a little before our departure out of the Strait. To all these islands did our General give one name, to wit, Elizabethides. After two days' stay which we made in and about these islands, the 30th of October we set sail, shaping our course right North-west, to coast alongst the parts of Peru (for so the general maps set out the land to lie) both for that we might, with convenient speed, fall with the height of 30°, being the place appointed for the rest of our fleet to re-assemble; as also that no opportunity might be lost in the meantime to find them out, if it seemed good to God to direct them to us.

In this course we chanced, the next day, with two islands, being, as it were, storehouses of the most liberal provision of victuals for us, of birds; yielding not only sufficient and plentiful store for us who were present, but enough to have served all the rest also who were absent. Thence, having furnished ourselves to our content, we continued our course, November 1st, still North-west, as we had formerly done; but in going on we soon espied that we might easily have been deceived; and therefore casting about and steering upon another point we found that the general maps did err from the truth in setting down the coast of Peru for twelve degrees at least to the Northward of the supposed Strait, no less than is the NW. point of the compass different from the NE.; perceiving thereby that no man had ever by travel discovered any part of these twelve degrees; and therefore the setters forth of such descriptions are not to be trusted, much less honoured, in their false and fraudulent conjectures which they use, not in this alone, but in divers other points of no small importance.

We found this part of Peru, all alongst to the height of Lima, which is 12° south of the Line, to be mountainous and very barren, without water or wood, for the most part, except in certain places inhabited by the Spaniards, and few others, which are very fruitful and commodious. After we were once again thus fallen with the land, we continually coasted along, till we came to the height of 37° or thereabout; and finding no convenient place of abode, nor likelihood to hear any news of our ships, we ran off again with an island which lay in sight, named of the Spaniards Mucho, by reason of the greatness and large circuit thereof.[2] At this island coming to anchor November 25th, we found it to be a fruitful place, and well stored with sundry sorts of

[1] On the seaward side, to the South.

[2] It is, despite this derivation, marked in the maps as "Mocha," lying off the Chilian coast midway between Valdivia and Concepcion.

good things: as sheep and other cattle, maize (which is a kind of grain whereof they make bread), potatoes, with such other roots; besides that, it is thought to be wonderfully rich in gold, and to want no good thing for the use of man's life. The inhabitants are such Indians as by the cruel and most extreme dealing of the Spaniards have been driven to fly from the main here, to relieve and fortify themselves. With this people our General thought it meet to have traffic for fresh victuals and water; and for that cause, the very same night of our arrival there, himself with divers of his company went ashore, to whom the people with great courtesy came down, bringing with them such fruits and other victuals as they had, and two very fat sheep, which they gave our General for a present. In recompense whereof he bestowed upon them again many good and necessary things; signifying unto them that the end of his coming was for no other cause but by way of exchange, to traffic with them for such things as we needed and they could spare; and, in particular, for such as they had already brought down unto us, besides fresh water, which we desired of them. Herein they held themselves well contented, and seemed to be not a little joyful of our coming, appointing where we should have the next morning fresh water at pleasure, and withal signifying that then also they would bring us down such other things as we desired to serve our turns.

The next day therefore, very early in the morning (all things being made ready for traffic, as also vessels prepared to bring the water), our General, taking great care for so necessary provision, repaired to the shore again; and setting a-land two of his men, sent them with their barricoes[1] to the watering-place assigned the night before. Who having peaceably passed on one-half of the way, were then with no small violence set upon by those traitorous people, and suddenly slain: and to the end that our General with the rest of his company should not only be stayed from rescuing them, but also might fall, if it were possible, into their hands in like manner, they had laid closely behind the rocks an ambushment (as we guessed) of about 500 men, armed and well appointed for such a mischief. Who suddenly attempting their purpose (the rocks being very dangerous for the boat, and the seagate[2] exceeding great) by shooting their arrows hurt and wounded every one of our men, before they could free themselves, or come to the use of their weapons to do any good. The General himself was shot in the face, under his right eye, and close by his nose, the arrow piercing a marvellous way in under *basis cerebri*, with no small danger of his life; besides that he was grievously wounded in the head. The rest, being nine persons, in the boat, were deadly wounded in divers part of their bodies, if God almost miraculously had not given cure to the same. For our chief surgeon being dead, and the other absent by the loss of our Vice-admiral, and having none left us but a boy whose goodwill was more than any skill he had, we were little better than altogether destitute of such cunning and helps as so grievous a state of so many wounded bodies did require. Notwithstanding God, by the good advice of our General, and the diligent putting-to of every man's help, did give such speedy and wonderful cure, that we had all great comfort thereby, and yielded God the glory thereof.

The cause of this force and injury by these islanders was no other but the deadly hatred which they bear against their cruel enemies the Spaniards, for the bloody and most tyrannous oppression which they had used towards them. And therefore with purpose against them (suspecting us to be Spaniards indeed, and that the rather by occasion that, though com-

[1] Casks; Spanish, "Barrica," a keg.

[2] The force of the waves lifting the boat towards the rocks.

mand was given to the contrary, some of our men, in demanding water, used the Spanish word "Aqua") sought some part of revenge against us. Our General, notwithstanding he might have revenged this wrong with little hazard or danger, yet being more desirous to preserve one of his own men alive, than to destroy an hundred of his enemies, committed the same to God; wishing this only punishment to them, that they did but know whom they had wronged; and that they had done this injury not to an enemy, but to a friend; not to a Spaniard, but to an Englishman; who would rather have been a patron to defend them, than any way an instrument of the least wrong that should have been done unto them. The weapons which this people use in their wars, are arrows of reeds, with heads of stone very brittle and indented, but darts of a great length, headed with iron or bone.

The same day that we received this dangerous affront, in the afternoon, we set sail from thence; and because we were now nigh the appointed height wherein our ships were to be looked for, as also the extremity and crazy[1] state of our hurt men advising us to use expedition to find some convenient place of repose which might afford them some rest, and yield us necessary supply of fresh victuals for their diet; we bent our course, as the wind would suffer us, directly to run in with the main. Where falling with a bay called Philip's Bay,[2] in 32° or thereabout, November 30, we came to anchor and forthwith manned and sent our boat to discover what likelihood the place would offer to afford us such things as we stood in need of. Our boat doing her uttermost endeavour in a diligent search, yet after long travel could find no appearance of hope for relief, either of fresh victuals or of fresh water; huge herds of wild buffs[3] they might discern, but not so much as any sign of any inhabitant thereabout. Yet in their return to us they descried within the bay an Indian with his canoe, as he was a-fishing; him they brought aboard our General, canoe and all, as he was in it. A comely personage, and of a goodly stature; his apparel was a white garment, reaching scarcely to his knees; his arms and legs were naked; his hair upon his head very long; without a beard, as all the Indians for the most part are. He seemed very gentle, of mild and humble nature, being very tractable to learn the use of everything, and most grateful for such things as our General bestowed upon him. In him we might see a most lively pattern of the harmless disposition of that people, and how grievous a thing it is that they should by any means be so abused as all those are whom the Spaniards have any command or power over.

This man being courteously entertained, and his pains of coming doubly requited, after we had shewed him, partly by signs, and partly by such things as we had, what things we needed, and would gladly receive by his means, upon exchange of such things as he would desire, we sent him away with our boat and his own canoe (which was made of reed straw) to land him where he would. Who being landed, and willing our men to stay his return, was immediately met with by two or three of his friends; to whom imparting his news, and shewing what gifts he had received, he gave so great content, that they willingly furthered his purpose: so that, after certain hours of our men's abode there, he with divers others (among whom was their head or captain) made their return, bringing with them their loadings of such things as they thought would do

[1] Used in the simply physical sense of sickly or weakly.

[2] The name, conferred in honour of the natives afterwards mentioned, who guided them to Valparaiso, has not been maintained in the modern maps; probably the place was Pichidanqui Cove, rather more than a degree to the north of Valparaiso.

[3] Buffaloes, wild oxen.

us good, as some hens, eggs, a fat hog, and such like. All which, that our men might be without all suspicion of all evil to be meant or intended by them, they sent in one of their canoes, a reasonable distance from off the shore, to our boat, the sea-gate being at present very great; and their captain, having sent back his horse, would needs commend himself to the credit of our men, though strangers, and come with them to the General, without any of his own acquaintance or countrymen with him.

By his coming, as we understood that there was no means or way to have our necessities relieved in this place; so he offered himself to be our pilot to a place, and that a good harbour, not far back to the southward again, where, by way of traffic, we might have at pleasure both water and those other things which we stood in need of. This offer our General very gladly received,[1] and so much the rather, for that the place intended was near about the place appointed for the rendezvous of our fleet. Omitting therefore our purpose of pursuing the buffs formerly spoken of, of which we had otherwise determined, if possible, to have killed some, this good news of better provision, and more easy to come by, drew us away; and so the fifth day after our arrival, December 4, we departed hence, and the next day, by the willing conduct of our new Indian pilot, we came to anchor in the desired harbour. This harbour the Spaniards call Valparaiso, and the town adjoining Saint James[2] of Chili: it stands in 35° 40′[3]; where, albeit we neither met with our ships nor heard of them, yet there was no good thing which the place afforded, or which our necessities indeed for the present required, but we had the same in great abundance. Amongst other things, we found in the town divers storehouses of the wines of Chili; and in the harbour a ship called the Captain of Moriall, or the Grand Captain of the South, Admiral to the Islands of Salomon, laden for the most part with the same kind of liquors; only there was besides a certain quantity of fine gold of Baldivia, and a great cross of gold beset with emeralds, on which was nailed a god of the same metal.[4] We spent some time in refreshing ourselves, and easing this ship of so heavy a burthen; and on the 8th day of the same month—having in the meantime sufficiently stored ourselves with necessaries, as wine, bread, bacon, &c., for a long season—we set sail, returning back towards the Line, carrying again our Indian pilot with us, whom our General bountifully rewarded, and enriched with many good things, which pleased him exceedingly, and caused him by the way to be landed in the place where he desired.[5]

[1] By other accounts, it had been Drake's purpose to go for Valparaiso, but he oversailed that port, and Felipe—the name of the "head or captain"—undertook to pilot them back, believing them Spaniards.

[2] Santiago, the present capital of Chili.

[3] An obvious misprint for 33° 40′.

[4] Drake's men were welcomed with beat of drum by the few Spaniards on board, and asked to partake of Chili wine, under the belief that they were compatriots. The Spaniards were soon rudely undeceived; but one escaped to shore and alarmed the town, the inhabitants of which speedily took refuge inland. About 1800 jars of wine, and a quantity of gold variously stated at from 25,000 to 60,000 *pesos*, were found in the Grand Captain, when she was subsequently overhauled at sea; she was destined for Peru. Mr Fletcher touches mildly on this act of open piracy; he does not mention at all the sacrilege of which the explorers were guilty, in plundering the church of its ornaments and relics—among the former two cruets, a silver chalice, and an altar-cloth, which became by gift the property of the chaplain himself.

[5] Felipe, who had unwittingly be-

Our necessities being thus to our content relieved, our next care was the regaining—if possible—of the company of our ships so long severed from us: neither would anything have satisfied our General or us so well, as the happy meeting or good news of them. This way therefore, all other thoughts for the present set apart, were all our studies and endeavours bent, how to fit it so as that no opportunity of meeting them might be passed over. To this end, considering that we could not conveniently run in with our ship in search of them to every place where there was likelihood of being a harbour, and that our boat was too little, and unable to carry men enough to encounter the malice or treachery of the Spaniards (if we should by any chance meet with any of them) who are used to show no mercy where they may overmaster; and therefore, meaning not to hazard ourselves to their cruel courtesy, we determined, as we coasted now towards the Line, to search diligently for some convenient place where we might, in peace and safety, stay[1] the trimming of our ship, and the erecting of a pinnace, in which we might with better security than in our boat, and without endangering of our ship by running into each creek, leave no place untried, if happily we might so find again our friends and countrymen.

For this cause, December 19th, we entered a bay not far to the southward of the town of Cyppo,[2] now inhabited by the Spaniards, in 29° 30′; where, having landed certain of our men, to the number of fourteen, to search what conveniency the place was likely to afford for our abiding there, we were immediately descried by the Spaniards of the town of Cyppo aforesaid, who speedily made out 300 men at least, whereof 100 were Spaniards, every one well-mounted upon his horse: the rest were Indians, running as dogs at their heels, all naked, and in most miserable bondage.[3] They could not come anyway so closely, but God did open our eyes to see them, before there was any extremity of danger; whereby our men, being warned, had reasonable time to shift themselves as they could: first from the main to a rock within the sea, and from thence into their boat, which, being ready to receive them, conveyed them with expedition out of the reach of the Spaniards' fury, without the hurt of any man. Only one Richard Minioy, being over bold and careless of his own safety, would not be entreated by his friends, nor feared[4] by the multitude of his enemies, to take the present benefit of his own delivery; but chose either to make 300 men, by outbraving of them, to become afraid, or else himself to die in the place; the latter of which he did. Whose dead body being drawn by the Indians from the rock to the shore, was there manfully by the Spaniards beheaded, the right hand cut off, the heart plucked out; all which they carried away in our sight, and for the rest of his carcass they caused the Indians to shoot it full of arrows, made but the same day, of green wood, and so left it to be devoured by the beasts and fowls, but that we went ashore again and buried it; wherein as there appeareth a most extreme and barbarous cruelty, so doth it declare to the world in what miserable fear the Spaniard holdeth the Government of those parts; living in continual dread of foreign invasion by strangers, or secret cutting of their throats by those whom they kept under them in so shameful slavery, I mean the innocent and harmless Indians. And therefore they make sure to murder what strangers soever

trayed the Spaniards at Valparaiso, was replaced in the post of temporary pilot by a Greek, named Juan Griego, captured on board the Grand Captain, who took Drake as far as Lima.

[1] Remain so long as would suffice for.

[2] Coquimbo.

[3] Other accounts make the numbers 300 horse and 200 foot.

[4] Alarmed.

they can come by, and suffer the Indians by no means to have any weapon longer than they be in present service: as appeared by their arrows cut from the tree the same day, as also by the credible report of others who knew the matter to be true. Yea, they suppose they show the wretches great favour when they do not for their pleasures whip them with cords, and day by day drop their naked bodies with burning bacon, which is one of the least cruelties among many which they universally use against that nation and people.

This not being the place we looked for, nor the entertainment such as we desired, we speedily got hence again, and December 20th, the next day, fell with a more convenient harbour, in a bay somewhat to the northward of the forenamed Cyppo, lying in 27° 25′ South the Line. In this place we spent some time in trimming of our ship, and building of our pinnace, as we desired; but still the grief for the absence of our friends remained with us, for the finding of whom our General, having now fitted all things to his mind, intended—leaving his ship the meanwhile at anchor in the bay — with his pinnace and some chosen men, himself to return back to the southwards again, to see if happily he might either himself meet with them, or find them in some harbour or creek, or hear of them by any others whom he might meet with. With this resolution he set on, but after one day's sailing, the wind being contrary to his purpose, he was forced, whether he would or no, to return again. Within this bay, during our abode there, we had such abundance of fish, not much unlike our gurnard in England, as no place had ever afforded us the like—Cape Blanco only upon the coast of Barbary excepted—since our first setting forth of Plymouth until this time; the plenty whereof in this place was such, that our gentlemen sporting themselves day by day, with four or five hooks or lines, in two or three hours would take sometimes 400, *sometimes* more, at one time.

All our businesses being thus despatched, January 19th we set sail from hence; and the next place that we fell withal, January 22d, was an island standing in the same height with the north cape of the province of Mormorena. At this island we found four Indians with their canoes, who took upon them to bring our men to a place of fresh water on the foresaid cape; in hope whereof, our General made them great cheer, as his manner was towards all strangers, and set his course by their direction; but when we came unto the place, and had travelled up a long way into the land, we found fresh water indeed, but scarce so much as they had drunk wine in their passage thither. As we sailed along, continually searching for fresh water, we came a place called Tarapaca,[1] and landing there we lighted on a Spaniard who lay asleep, and had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, weighing in all about 4000 Spanish ducats: we would not, could we have chosen, have awaked him of his nap: but seeing we, against our wills, did him that injury, we freed him of his charge, which otherwise perhaps would have kept him waking, and so left him to take out, if it pleased him, the other part of his sleep in more security. Our search for water still continuing, as we landed again not far from thence we met a Spaniard with an Indian boy, driving eight lambs or Peruvian sheep: each sheep bare two leathern bags, and in each bag was 50 pounds weight of refined silver, in the whole 800 pounds weight: we could not endure to see a gentleman Spaniard turned carrier so, and therefore without entreaty we offered our service and became drovers; only his directions were not so perfect that we could keep the way which he intended, for almost as soon as he was parted from us, we with our new kind of carriages were come unto our boats.[2]

[1] Better known now by its port of Iquique, a few miles distant.

[2] It is somewhat amusing to notice the grim humour with which the re-

Farther beyond this cape forementioned lie certain Indian towns, from whence, as we passed by, came many of the people in certain bawses[1] made of sealskins; of which two being joined together, of a just length, and side by side, resemble in fashion or form a boat: they have in either of them a small gut, or some such thing, blown full of wind, by reason whereof it floateth, and is rowed very swiftly, carrying in it no small burthen.[2] In these, upon sight of our ships, they brought store of fish of divers sorts, to traffic with us for any trifles we would give them, as knives, margarites,[3] glasses, and such like, whereof men of sixty and seventy years old were as glad as if they had received some exceeding rich commodity, being a most simple and plain-dealing people. Their resort unto us was such as, considering the shortness of the time, was wonderful to us to behold.

Not far from this, viz., in 22° 30′, lay Mormorena,[4] another great town of the same people, over whom two Spaniards held the government; with these our General thought meet to deal, or at least to try their courtesy, whether they would, in way of traffic, give us such things as we needed or no; and therefore, January the 26th, we cast anchor here. We found them more from fear than from love, somewhat tractable, and received from them by exchange many good things, very necessary for our uses. Amongst other things which we had of them, the sheep of the country (such as we mentioned before, bearing the leathern bags) were most memorable. Their height and length was equal to a pretty[5] cow, and their strength fully answerable, if not by much exceeding their size or stature. Upon one of their backs did sit at one time three well-grown and tall men, and one boy, no man's foot touching the ground by a large foot in length, the beast nothing at all complaining of his burthen in the mean time. These sheep have necks like camels, their heads bearing a reasonable resemblance of another sheep. The Spaniards use them to great profit. Their wool is exceeding fine, their flesh good meat, their increase ordinary, and besides they supply the room of horses for burthen or travel; yea, they serve to carry over the mountains marvellous loads, for 300 leagues together, where no other carriage can be made but by them only,[6] thereabout, as also all along, and up into the country throughout the province of Cuzco, the common ground, wheresoever it be taken up, in every hun-

verend chaplain carried off acts that in their nature fell very little short of sheer highway robbery.

[1] Boats, "bottoms"; "bawse" may be either connected with "base," or with "buss," a box-shaped small decked vessel employed in fishery.

[2] Answering very much to the description of the Greenland boats, as given by Dr Rae, in his latest book, "The Land of Desolation," where the "women's canoes" or "Ómyacks" are made of sealskins extended on a wicker frame.

[3] Beads: the original word, "marguerite" or "margarette," is used to signify a pearl by Wycliffe, and a daisy by Chaucer.

[4] Neither the town nor the province of this name survives in maps of the present day. They seem, however, generally to correspond with the districts of Atacam and Cobija, at the extreme north of Chili, and the contiguous region of Moquegua, at the extreme south of Peru. Cobija town —El Puerto de la Mar—would nearly answer to the latitude ascribed to Mormorena in the text.

[5] A somewhat small or undersized cow, like the Alderney.

[6] All later and more scientific accounts of the llama, or Peruvian sheep, only serve to corroborate Drake's description. They stand to the south American populations of the Cordillera coast, even in these days of partial railroad invasion, much in the same relation as the "ship of the desert" to the Bedaween of Sahara or the Arabian wilderness.

dred pounds weight of earth yieldeth 25s. of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce. The next place likely to afford us any news of our ships (for in all this way from the height where we builded our pinnace, there was no bay or harbour at all for shipping) was the port of the town of Arica, standing in 20°,[1] whither we arrived the 7th of February. This town seemed to us to stand in the most fruitful soil that we saw all alongst these coasts, both for that it is situate in the mouth of a most pleasant and fertile valley, abounding with all good things, as also in that it hath continual trade of shipping, as well from Lima as from all other parts of Peru. It is inhabited by the Spaniards. In two barks here we found some forty and odd bars of silver, of the bigness and fashion of a brickbat, and in weight each of them about twenty pounds; of which we took the burthen on ourselves to ease them, and so departed towards Chowley,[2] with which we fell the second day following, February 9th; and in our way to Lima we met with another bark at Arequipa, which had begun to load some silver and gold, but having had (as it seemed, from Arica by land) some notice of our coming, had unladen the same again before our arrival.[3] Yet in this passage we met another bark laden with linen, some of which we thought might stand us in some stead, and therefore took it with us.

At Lima we arrived February 15th, and notwithstanding the Spaniards' forces, though they had thirty ships at that present in harbour there, whereof seventeen (most of them the especial ships in all the South Seas) were fully ready, we entered and anchored all night in the midst of them, in the Callao, and might have made more spoil amongst them in a few hours, if we had been affected to revenge, than the Spaniards could have recovered again in many years.[4] But we had more care to get up that company which we had so long missed, than to recompense their cruel and hard dealing by an even requital, which now we might have taken. This Lima stands in 12° 30′ South Latitude.[5] Here, albeit no good news of our ships could be had, yet got we the news of some things that seemed to comfort if not to countervail our travels thither; as, namely, that in the ship of one Miguel Angels there, there were 1500 bars of plate; besides some other things (as silks, linen, and in one a chest full of royals of plate), which might stand us in some stead, in the other ships, aboard whom we made somewhat bold to bid ourselves welcome. Here also we heard the report of something that had befallen in and near Europe since our departure thence; in particular of the death of some great personages, as the King of Portugal, and both the Kings of Morocco and Fesse, dead all three in one day at one battle;[6] the

[1] More nearly in 18° 30′ or 18° 40′.

[2] Either Ylo, or Yslay, both lying on the coast between Arica and Quilca, the port of Arequipa; probably Ylo is intended, that town lying within the northern sweep of the Point of Colas, which the very un-Spanish word in the text may have been meant to represent.

[3] The plate amounted to 800 bars of silver, belonging to the King of Spain.

[4] According to another narrative—that of Nuno da Silva, the Portuguese pilot taken at the Cape Verd Islands—the English, being among the ships, enquired for that which had the silver, on board; but learning that all the silver had been carried on shore, they cut the cables of all the ships and the masts of the two largest, and so left them. A ship which came in from Panama nearly fell into the hands of the English in the harbour; alarmed in time, she made her escape to sea, but was afterwards captured and plundered.

[5] Callao is in 12°.

[6] The battle of Alcazar-Seguer, fought August 4th 1578, when Sebastian of Portugal, and his ally Muley Hamet of Fez, fell in the decisive overthrow inflicted on their

death of the King of France, and the Pope of Rome,[1]—whose abominations, as they are in part cut off from some Christian kingdoms, where his shame is manifest, so do his vassals and accursed instruments labour by all means possible to repair that loss, by spreading the same the farther in these parts, where his devilish illusions and damnable deceivings are not known. And as his doctrine takes place anywhere, so do the manners that necessarily accompany the same insinuate themselves together with the doctrine. For as it is true, that in all the parts of America where the Spaniards have any government, the poisonous infection of Popery hath spread itself; so on the other side it is as true, that there is no city, as Lima, Panama, Mexico, etc., no town or village, yea, no house almost in all these provinces, wherein (amongst the other like Spanish virtues) not only whoredom, but the filthiness of Sodom, not to be named among Christians, is not common without reproof: the Pope's pardons[2] being more rife in these parts than they be in any part of Europe for these filthinesses, whereout he sucketh no small advantage. Notwithstanding, the Indians, who are nothing nearer the true knowledge of God than they were before, abhor this most filthy and loathsome manner of living; showing themselves, in respect of the Spaniards, as the Scythians did in respect of the Grecians: who, in their barbarous ignorance, yet in life and behaviour did so far excel the wise and learned Greeks, as they were short of them in the gifts of learning and knowledge. But as the Pope and anti-Christian Bishops labour by their wicked factors[3] with tooth and nail to deface the glory of God, and to shut up in darkness the light of the Gospel; so God doth not suffer His name and religion to be altogether without witness, to the reproving both of his[4] false and damnable doctrine, as also crying out against his unmeasurable and abominable licentiousness of the flesh, even in these parts. For in this city of Lima, not two months before our coming thither, there were certain persons, to the number of twelve, apprehended, examined, and condemned for the profession of the Gospel, and reproving the doctrines of men, with the filthy manners used in the city: of which twelve, six were bound to one stake and burnt, the rest remained yet in prison, to drink of the same cup within few days.

Lastly, here we had intelligence of a certain rich ship which was laden with gold and silver for Panama, that had set forth of this haven the 2d of February. The very next day, therefore, in the morning, the 16th of the same month, we set sail, as long as the wind would serve our turn, and towed our ship as soon as the wind failed; continuing our course towards Panama, making stay nowhere, but hastening all we might, to get sight if it were possible of that gallant ship the Cacafuego, the great glory of the South Sea, which was gone from Lima fourteen days before us. We fell with the port of Paita in 4° 20′, February 20th; with the port Saint Helena and the river and port of Guayaquil, February 24th. We passed the Line on the 28th, and on the 1st of March we fell with Cape Francisco, where, about mid-day, we descried a sail ahead of us, with whom, after once we had spoken with her, we lay still in the same place about six days to recover our breath again, which we had almost spent with hasty following, and to recall to mind what adventures

combined invading forces by Muley Moluc, the Emperor of Morocco—himself dying of a lingering malady before the fight began, and dead before it ended.

[1] This reference is somewhat bewildering. Henry III. of France reigned from 1574 to 1589. Gregory XIII. was Pope from 1572 to 1585; and it is difficult to imagine that on leaving England in 1577, Drake and his followers had not learned the death of the predecessors of these potentates.

[2] Indulgences.

[3] Agents.

[4] The Pope's.

had passed us since our late coming from Lima; but especially to do Juan de Anton a kindness, in freeing him of the care of those things with which his ship was laden. This ship we found to be the same of which we had heard, not only in the Callao of Lima, but also by divers occasions afterwards, which now we are at leisure to relate, viz., by a ship which we took between Lima and Paita; by another, which we took laden with wine in the port of Paita; by a third, laden with tackling and implements for ships, besides eighty pounds weight in gold [1] from Guayaquil; and lastly, by Gabriel Alvarez, with whom we talked somewhat nearer the Line. We found her to be indeed the Cacafuego, though before we left her she were now named by a boy of her own the Cacaplata.[2] We found in her some fruit, conserves, sugars, meal, and other victuals, and (that which was the especialest cause of her heavy and slow sailing), a certain quantity of jewels and precious stones, thirteen chests of royals of plate, eighty pounds weight in gold, twenty-six tons of uncoined silver, two very fair gilt silver drinking-bowls, and the like trifles, valued in all at about 360,000 pesos.[3] We gave the master a little linen and the like for these commodities, and at the end of six days we bade farewell and parted. He hastened, somewhat lighter than before, to Panama; we plying off to sea, that we might with more leisure consider what course henceforward were fittest to be taken.[4]

[1] Besides a golden crucifix, with "goodly great emeralds" set in it, of which the Reverend Mr Fletcher carefully eschews notice. Between Lima and Panama, the Viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo, although surprised by this unexpected inroad of the English, had fairly defended his coasts from any descent, and had even put such a force to sea, that Drake judged it prudent—having richer game to stalk—to show a clean pair of heels.

[2] Or, as the jest is narrated in Hakluyt: "The pilot's boy said to our General, 'Captain, our ship shall be called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ship shall be the Cacafuego,' which pretty speech of the pilot's boy ministered matter of laughter to us both then and long after." The somewhat coarse joke turns on the meaning of the words, "*Fartfire*" and "Fartsilver."

[3] The total value of the silver and gold alone has been estimated at £750,000 or £1,000,000 of our present money, leaving the precious stones and other booty out of account. It is narrated elsewhere that the commander of the Cacafuego so little suspected the presence of enemies in those seas, as to let the Golden Hind approach him in full security, without taking any defensive measures till the last moment, believing that she was a Spanish ship sent after him with despatches from the Viceroy; yet he did not strike his flag until one of his masts had fallen by the board and he himself was wounded. The silver bowls belonged to the pilot, to whom Drake said, "that these were fine bowls, and he must needs have one of them; to which the pilot yielded, not knowing how to help himself; but, to make this appear less like compulsion, he gave the other to the Admiral's Steward."

[4] Drake at parting gave the captain of the Cacafuego the following letter, addressed to Captain Winter, on the chance of her falling in with the Elizabeth: "Master Winter, if it pleaseth God that you should chance to meet with this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you use him well, according to my word and promise given unto them; and if you want anything that is in this ship of Sant John de Anton, I pray you pay them double the value for it, which I will satisfy again, and command your men not to do her any hurt; and what composition or agreement we have made, at my return into England I will by God's help perform, although I am in doubt that this letter will never come to your hands: notwithstanding I am the man I have promised to be: beseech-

And considering that now we were come to the Northward of the Line (Cape Francisco standing in the entrance of the Bay of Panama, in 1° North latitude), and that there was no likelihood or hope that our ships should be before us that way by any means: seeing that, in running so many degrees from the Southernmost Islands hitherto, we could not have any sign or notice of their passage that way, notwithstanding that we had made so diligent search and careful enquiry after them, in every harbour and creek almost, as we had done; and considering also that the time of the year now drew on wherein we must attempt, or of necessity wholly give over, that action which chiefly our General had determined, namely, the discovery of what passage there was to be found about the Northern parts of America from the South Sea into our own Ocean (which being once discovered and made known to be navigable, we should not only do our country a good and notable service, but we also ourselves should have a nearer cut and passage home; where otherwise we were to make a very long and tedious voyage of it, which would hardly agree with our good liking, we having been so long from home already, and so much of our strength separated from us), which could not at all be done if the opportunity were now neglected: we therefore all of us willingly harkened and consented to our General's advice, which was, first to seek out some convenient place wherein to trim our ship, and store ourselves with wood and water and other provisions as we could get, and thenceforward to hasten on our intended journey for the discovery of the said passage, through which we might with joy return to our longed homes.[1]

From this Cape therefore we set onward, March the 7th, shaping our course towards the Island of Cano,[2] with which we fell March 16th, setting ourselves for certain days in a fresh river, between the main and it, for the finishing of our needful businesses, as it is aforesaid. While we abode in this place, we felt a very terrible earthquake, the force whereof was such that our ship and pinnace, riding very near an English mile from the shore, were shaken and did quiver as if it had been laid on dry land. We found here many good commodities which we wanted, as fish, fresh water, wood, &c., besides alargartoes, monkeys, and the like; and in our journey hither we met with one ship more (the last we met with in all those coasts), laden with linen, China silk, and China dishes, amongst which we found also a falcon of gold, handsomely wrought, with a great emerald set in the breast

---

ing God, the Saviour of all the world, to have us in his keeping, to whom only I give all honour, praise, and glory. What I have written is not only to you Mr Winter, but also to Mr Thomas, Mr Charles, Mr Caube, and Mr Anthony, with all our other good friends, whom I commit to the tuition of him that with his blood redeemed us, and am in good hope that we shall be in no more trouble, but that he will help us in adversity; desiring you, for the passion of Christ, if you fall into any danger, that you will not despair of God's mercy, for he will defend you and preserve you from all danger, and bring us to our desired haven; to whom be all honour, glory, and praise, for ever and ever, Amen.—Your sorrowful Captain, whose heart is heavy for you,

"FRANCIS DRAKE."

[1] "It is not unworthy of notice," says one modern chronicler of this voyage, "that the scheme for exploring a North-eastern channel from the Pacific, thus adopted by Drake, is the same with that recommended about a century later by the celebrated Dampier." See *post*, Dampier's Voyage, Chapter IX., page 221.

[2] Off the coast of Nicaragua; it is mentioned by Dampier, who (Chap. VIII., page 200) "coasted along shore, passing by the Gulf of Nicoya, the Gulf of Dulce, and the Island Cano."

of it. From thence we parted the 24th day of the month forenamed, with full purpose to run the nearest course, as the wind would suffer us, without touch of land a long time; and therefore passed by port Papagaya: the port of the Vale, of the most rich and excellent balms of Jericho; Quantapico,[1] and divers others; as also certain gulfs hereabout, which without intermission send forth such continual and violent winds, that the Spaniards, though their ships be good, dare not venture themselves too near the danger of them. Notwithstanding having notice that we should be troubled with often calms and contrary winds if we continued near the coast, and did not run off to sea to fetch the wind, and that if we did so we could not then fall with land again when we would; our General thought it needful that we should run in with some place or other before our departure from the coast, to see if happily we could, by traffic, augment our provision of victuals and other necessaries,—that being at sea we might not be driven to any great want or necessity; albeit we had reasonable store of good things aboard us already.

The next harbour therefore which we chanced with, on April 15th, in 15° 40′, was Guatulco, so named of the Spaniards who inhabited it, with whom we had some intercourse, to the supply of many things which we desired, and chiefly bread, &c. And now having reasonably, as we thought, provided ourselves, we departed from the coast of America for the present; but not forgetting, before we got ashipboard, to take with us also a certain pot, of about a bushel in bigness, full of royals of plate, which we found in the town, together with a chain of gold and some other jewels which we entreated a gentleman Spaniard to leave behind him as he was flying out of town.[2] From Guatulco we departed the day following, viz., April 16th, setting our course directly into the sea, whereon we sailed 500 leagues in longitude, to get a wind: and between that and June 3d, 1400 leagues in all, till we came into 42° of North latitude, wherein the night following we found such alteration of heat into extreme and nipping cold, that our men in general did grievously complain thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; neither was it that this chanced in the night alone, but the day following carried with it not only the marks, but the stings and force of the night going before, to the great admiration[3] of us all. For besides that the pinching and biting air was nothing altered, the very ropes of our ship were stiff, and the rain which fell was an unnatural congealed and frozen substance, so that we seemed rather to be in the Frozen Zone than any way so near unto the Sun, or these hotter climates. Neither did this happen for the time only, or by some sudden accident, but rather seems indeed to proceed from some ordinary cause, against which the heat of the Sun prevails not; for it came to that extremity in sailing but two degrees farther to the Northward in our course, that though seamen lack not good stomachs, yet it seemed a question to many amongst us whether their hands should feed their mouths, or rather keep themselves within their coverts from the pinching cold that did benumb them. Neither could we impute it to the tenderness of our

[1] Probably Tehuantepec is meant.

[2] Here the voyagers surprised a council engaged in the trial of some Indians accused of trying to burn the town, and carried culprits and judges on board together as temporary prisoners. The name of the man who pursued and plundered the wearer of the golden chain was Thomas Moon. At Guatulco the Portuguese pilot, Nuno da Silva, and all the other prisoners, were liberated; the pilot wrote a narrative of the voyage up to this point, which was sent to the Portuguese Viceroy in India, and afterwards fell into English hands.

[3] Wonder, astonishment.

bodies, though we came lately from the extremity of heat, by reason whereof we might be more sensible of the present cold; insomuch as the dead and senseless creatures were as well affected with it as ourselves: our meat, as soon as it was removed from the fire, would presently in a manner be frozen up, and our ropes and tackling in few days were grown to that stiffness, that what three men afore were able with them to perform, now six men, with their best strength and uttermost endeavour, were hardly able to accomplish: whereby a sudden and great discouragement seized upon the minds of our men, and they were possessed with a great mislike and doubting of any good to be done that way. Yet would not our General be discouraged, but as well by comfortable speeches, of the Divine Providence and of God's loving care over his children, out of the Scriptures, as also by other good and profitable persuasions, adding thereto his own cheerful example, he so stirred them up to put on a good courage, and to quit themselves like men, to endure some short extremity to have the speedier comfort, and a little trouble to obtain the greater glory, that every man was throughly armed with willingness, and resolved to see the uttermost, if it were possible, of what good was to be done that way.

The land in that part of America bearing farther out into the West than we before imagined, we were nearer on it than we were aware; and yet the nearer still we came unto it, the more extremity of cold did seize upon us. The 5th day of June, we were forced by contrary winds to run in with the shore, which we then first descried, and to cast anchor in a bad bay, the best road we could for the present meet with, where we were not without some danger by reason of the many extreme gusts and flaws that beat upon us, which if they ceased and were still at any time, immediately upon their intermission there followed most vile, thick, and stinking fogs, against which the sea prevailed nothing, till the gusts of wind again removed them, which brought with them such extremity and violence when they came, that there was no dealing or resisting against them. In this place was no abiding for us; and to go farther North, the extremity of the cold (which had now utterly discouraged our men) would not permit us; and the winds, directly bent against us, having once got us under sail again, commanded us to the Southward whether we would or no. From the height of 48° in which now we were, to 38°, we found the land, by coasting along it, to be but low and reasonably plain; every hill (whereof we saw many, but none very high), though it were in June, and the sun in his nearest approach unto them, being covered with snow. In 38° 30′ we fell with a convenient and fit harbour, and, June 17th, came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23d day of July following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so near the sun, yet were we continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before; insomuch that if violent exercises of our bodies, and busy employment about our necessary labours, had not sometimes compelled us to the contrary, we could very well have been contented to have kept about us still our winter clothes, yea (had our necessities suffered us), to have kept our beds; neither could we at any time, in whole fourteen days together, find the air so clear as to be able to take the height of sun or star.

And here having so fit occasion (notwithstanding it may seem to be beside the purpose of writing the history of this our voyage), we will a little more diligently enquire into the causes of the continuance of the extreme cold in these parts, as also into the probabilities or unlikelihoods of a passage to be found that way. Neither was it (as hath formerly been touched) tenderness of our bodies, coming so lately out of the heat, whereby the pores were opened, that made us so sensible of the colds we here felt: in this respect, as in many

others, we found our God a provident Father and careful Physician for us. We lacked no outward helps nor inward comforts to restore and fortify nature, had it been decayed or weakened in us; neither was there wanting to us the great experience of our General, who had often himself proved the force of the Burning Zone, whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions; so that even after our departure from the heat we always found our bodies, not as sponges, but strong and hardened, more able to bear out cold, though we came out of excess of heat, than a number of chamber champions could have been, who lie on their feather-beds till they go to sea, or rather, whose teeth in a temperate air do beat in their heads at a cup of cold sack and sugar by the fire. And that it was not our tenderness, but the very extremity of the cold itself, that caused this sensibleness in us, may the rather appear, in that the natural inhabitants of the place (with whom we had for a long season familiar intercourse, as is to be related), who had never been acquainted with such heat, to whom the country, air, and climate was proper, and in whom custom of cold was as it were a second nature, yet used to come shivering to us in their warm furs, crowding close together, body to body, to receive heat one of another, and sheltering themselves under a lee bank, if it were possible, and as often as they could labouring to shroud themselves under our garments also to keep them warm. Besides, how unhandsome and deformed appeared the face of the earth itself! showing trees without leaves, and the ground without greenness, in those months of June and July. The poor birds and fowls not daring (as we had great experience to deserve it) so much as once to arise from their nests after the first egg laid, till it, with all the rest, be hatched and brought to some strength of nature, able to help itself. Only this recompense hath Nature afforded them, that the heat of their *own* bodies being exceeding great, it perfecteth the creature with greater expedition, and in shorter time than is to be found in many places.

As for the causes of this extremity, they seem not to be so deeply hidden but that they may, at least in part, be guessed at. The chief of which we conceive to be the large spreading of the Asian and American continent, which (somewhat Northward of these parts), if they be not fully joined, yet seem they to come very near one to the other. From whose high and snow-covered mountains the North and North-west winds (the constant visitants of these coasts) send abroad their frozen Nymphs, to the infecting the whole air with this insufferable sharpness: not permitting the Sun, no, not in the pride of his heat, to dissolve the congealed water and snow which they have breathed out so nigh the Sun, and so many degrees distant from themselves. And that the North and North-west winds are here constant in June and July, as the North wind alone is in August and September, we not only found by our own experience, but were fully confirmed in the opinion thereof by the continued observations of the Spaniards. Hence comes the general squalidness and barrenness of the country; hence comes it that in the midst of their Summer the snow hardly departeth even from their very doors, but is never taken away from their hills at all; hence come those thick mists and most stinking fogs, which increase so much the more by how much higher the Pole is raised:[1] wherein a blind pilot is as good as the best director of a course. For the Sun striving to perform his natural office, in elevating the vapours out of these inferior bodies, draweth necessarily abundance of moisture out of the sea; but the nipping cold, from the former causes, meeting and opposing the Sun's endeavour, forces him to give over his work imperfect, and, instead of higher elevation, to leave in the lowest

[1] The nearer one approaches to the Pole, causing the North Star to rise apparently higher in the heavens.

region, wandering upon the face of the earth and waters, as it were a second sea, through which its own beams cannot possibly pierce, unless sometimes when the sudden violence of the winds doth help to scatter and break through it; which thing happeneth very seldom, and when it happeneth is of no continuance. Some of our mariners in this voyage had formerly been at Wardhouse,[1] in 72° of North latitude, who yet affirmed that they felt no such nipping cold there in the end of the Summer, when they departed thence, as they did here in those hottest months of June and July. And also from these reasons we conjecture, that either there is no passage at all through these Northern coasts (which is most likely); or if there be, that yet it is unnavigable. Add hereunto, that though we searched the coast diligently, even unto the forty-eighth degree, yet found we not the land to trend so much as one point in any place towards the East, but rather running on continually North-west, as if it went directly to meet with Asia; and even in that height, when we had a frank wind to have carried us through, had there been a passage, yet we had a smooth and calm sea, with ordinary flowing and reflowing, which could not have been had there been a frete;[2] of which we rather infallibly concluded, than conjectured, that there was none. But to return.

The next day after our coming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour,[3] the people of the country shewed themselves, sending off a man with great expedition to us in a canoe. Who being yet but a little from the shore, and a great way from our ship, spake to us continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himself, he began more solemnly a long and tedious oration, after his manner: using in the delivery thereof many gestures and signs, moving his hands, turning his head and body many ways; and after his oration ended, with great show of reverence and submission returned back to shore again. He shortly came again the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him, as a present from the rest, a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a black crow, very neatly and artificially[4] gathered upon a string, and drawn together into a round bundle; being very clean and finely cut, and bearing in length an equal proportion one with another: a special cognisance (as we afterwards observed) which they that guard their King's person wear upon their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herb which they called "Tabâh."[5] Both which, being tied to a short rod, he cast into our boat. Our General intended to have recompensed him immediately with many good things he would have bestowed on him; but entering into the boat to deliver the same, he could not be drawn[6] to receive them by any means, save one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he took up (refusing utterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were upon a board put off to him), and so presently made his return. After which time our boat could row no way, but, wondering at us as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration.

The third day following, viz., the 21st, our ship, having received a leak at sea, was brought to anchor nearer the shore, that, her goods being landed, she might be repaired; but for that we were[7] to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety, our General first of all landed his men, with all necessary provision

[1] Wardhys, at the extreme north-east point of Norway.

[2] A narrow passage or contracted channel.

[3] The Bay of San Francisco, the present prosperous capital of California.

[4] Cleverly, skilfully.

[5] Tobacco—"tabac" in French.

[6] Induced, tempted.

[7] Were obliged or bound.

to build tents and make a fort for the defence of ourselves and goods, and that we might under the shelter of it with more safety (whatever should befall) end our business. Which when the people of the country perceived us doing, as men set on fire to war in defence of their country, in great haste and companies, with such weapons as they had, they came down unto us, and yet with no hostile meaning or intent to hurt us; standing, when they drew near, as men ravished in their minds with the sight of such things as they never had seen or heard of before that time: their errand being rather with submission and fear to worship us as gods, than to have any war with us as with mortal men. Which thing, as it did partly show itself at that instant, so did it more and more manifest itself afterwards, during the whole time of our abode amongst them. At this time, being willed by signs to lay from them their bows and arrows, they did as they were directed; and so did all the rest, as they came more and more by companies unto them, growing in a little while to a great number, both of men and women. To the intent, therefore, that this peace which they themselves so willingly sought might, without any cause of the breach thereof on our part given, be continued, and that we might with more safety and expedition end our businesses in quiet, our General, with all his company, used all means possible gently to entreat them, bestowing upon each of them liberally good and necessary things to cover their nakedness; withal signifying unto them that we were no gods, but men, and had need of such things to cover our own shame; teaching them to use them to the same ends. For which cause also we did eat and drink in their presence, giving them to understand that without that we could not live, and therefore were but men as well as they. Notwithstanding, nothing could persuade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that we should be gods.

In recompense of those things which they had received of us, as shirts, linen cloth, &c., they bestowed upon our General, and divers of our company, divers things; as feathers, cauls of network, the quivers of their arrows, made of fawn-skins, and the very skins of beasts that their women wore upon their bodies. Having thus had their fill of this time's visiting and beholding of us, they departed with joy to their houses; which houses are digged round within the earth, and have from the uppermost brims of the circle clefts of wood set up, and joined close together at the top, like our spires on the steeple of a church; which being covered with earth, suffer no water to enter, and are very warm. The door in the most part of them performs the office also of a chimney to let out the smoke: it is made in bigness and fashion like to an ordinary scuttle in a ship, and standing slopewise. Their beds are the hard ground, only with rushes strewed upon it, and, lying round about the house, have their fire in the midst, which, by reason that the house is but low vaulted, round, and close, giveth a marvellous reflection to their bodies to heat the same. Their men for the most part go naked; the women take a kind of bulrushes, and kembing it[1] after the manner of hemp, make themselves thereof a loose garment, which being knit about their middles, hangs down about their hips, and so affords to them a covering of that which Nature teaches should be hidden; about their shoulders they wear also the skin of a deer, with the hair upon it. They are very obedient to their husbands, and exceeding ready in all services; yet of themselves offering to do nothing, without the consent or being called of the men. As soon as they were returned to their houses, they began amongst themselves a kind of most lamentable weeping and crying out, which they continued also a great while together, in such sort that in the place where they left us (being

[1] Combing it out, or "heckling" it.

near about three-quarters of an English mile distant from them) we very plainly, with wonder and admiration, did hear the same, the women especially extending their voices in a most miserable and doleful manner of shrieking. Notwithstanding this humble manner of presenting themselves, and awful demeanour used towards us, we thought it no wisdom too far to trust them (our experience of former Infidels dealing with us before, made us careful to provide against an alteration of their affections or breach of peace if it should happen); and therefore with all expedition we set up our tents, and entrenched ourselves with walls of stone; that so being fortified within ourselves, we might be able to keep off the enemy (if they should so prove) from coming amongst us without our good wills. This being quickly finished, we went the more cheerfully and securely afterwards about our other business.

Against the end of two days, during which time they had not been with us again, there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (invited by the report of them which first saw us, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselves into the country, to make known the news), who came now the second time unto us, bringing with them, as before had been done, feathers and bags of "Tabáh" for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, upon this persuasion that we were gods. When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had built our fort, they made a stand; where one, appointed as their chief speaker, wearied both us his hearers, and himself too, with a long and tedious oration, delivered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature, and his words falling so thick one in the neck of another, that he could hardly fetch his breath again. As soon as he had concluded, all the rest, with a reverent bowing of their bodies (in a dreaming manner, and long producing of the same) cried "Oh:" thereby giving their consents that all was very true which he had spoken, and that they had uttered their mind by his mouth unto us. Which done, the men laying down their bows upon the hill, and leaving their women and children behind them, came down with their presents; in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed, thinking themselves happy that they might have access unto our General, but much more happy when they saw that he would receive at their hands those things which they so willingly had presented: and no doubt they thought themselves nearest unto God when they sat or stood next to him. In the meantime the women, as if they had been desperate, used unnatural violence against themselves, crying and shrieking piteously, tearing their flesh with their nails from their cheeks in a monstrous manner, the blood streaming down along their breasts; besides, despoiling the upper parts of their bodies of those single coverings they formerly had, and holding their hands above their heads that they might not rescue their breasts from harm, they would with fury cast themselves upon the ground, never respecting whether it were clean or soft, but dashed themselves in this manner on hard stones, knobby hillocks, stocks of wood, and pricking bushes, or whatever else lay in their way, iterating the same course again and again; yea, women great with child, some nine or ten times each, and others holding out till fifteen or sixteen times, till their strength failed them, exercised this cruelty against themselves: a thing more grievous for us to see or suffer, could we have help[1] it, than trouble to them, as it seemed, to do it. This bloody sacrifice, against our wills, being thus performed, our General, with his company, in the presence of those strangers, fell to prayers; and by signs in lifting up our eyes and hands to heaven, signified unto them that that God whom we did serve, and whom they ought to worship,

[1] Helped, prevented.

was above: beseeching God, if it were His good pleasure, to open by some means their blinded eyes, that they might in due time be called to the knowledge of Him, the true and everlasting God, and of Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, the salvation of the Gentiles. In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalms, and reading of certain chapters in the Bible, they sat very attentively: and observing the end at every pause, with one voice still cried "Oh," greatly rejoicing in our exercises. Yea, they took such pleasure in our singing of Psalms, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this, "Gnaáh," by which they entreated that we would sing. Our General having now bestowed upon them divers things, at their departure they restored them all again, none carrying with him anything of whatsoever he had received, thinking themselves sufficiently enriched and happy that they had found so free access to see us.

Against the end of three days more (the news having the while spread itself farther, and as it seemed a great way up into the country), were assembled the greatest number of people which we could reasonably imagine to dwell within any convenient distance round about. Amongst the rest the King himself, a man of a goodly stature and a comely personage, attended with his guard of about 100 tall and warlike men, this day, June 26th, came down to see us. Before his coming, were sent two ambassadors or messengers to our General, to signify that their "Hióh," that is, their King, was coming and at hand. They in the delivery of their message, the one spake with a soft and low voice, prompting his fellow; the other pronounced the same, word by word, after him with a voice more audible, continuing their proclamation, for such it was, about half an hour. Which being ended, they by signs made request to our General to send something by their hands to their "Hióh" or King, as a token that his coming might be in peace. Our General willingly satisfied their desire; and they, glad men, made speedy return to their "Hióh." Neither was it long before their King (making as princely a show as possibly he could) with all his train came forward. In their coming forwards they cried continually after a singing manner, with a lusty courage. And as they drew nearer and nearer towards us, so did they more and more strive to behave themselves with a certain comeliness and gravity in all their actions. In the forefront came a man of a large body and goodly aspect, bearing the sceptre or royal mace (made of a certain kind of black wood, and in length about a yard and a half), before the King. Whereupon hung two crowns, a bigger and a less, with three chains of a marvellous length, and often doubled, besides a bag of the herb "Tabáh." The crowns were made of network, wrought upon most curiously with feathers of divers colours, very artificially placed, and of a formal fashion. The chains seemed of a bony substance, every link or part thereof being very little, thin, most finely burnished, with a hole pierced through the midst. The number of links going to make one chain is in a manner infinite; but of such estimation is it amongst them, that few be the persons that are admitted to wear the same; and even they to whom it is lawful to use them, yet are stinted what number they shall use, as some ten, some twelve, some twenty, and as they exceed in number of chains, so thereby are they known to be the more honourable personages.

Next unto him that bare this sceptre was the King himself, with his guard about him; his attire upon his head was a caul[1] of network, wrought upon somewhat like the crowns, but differing much both in fashion and perfectness of work; upon his shoulders he had on a coat of the skins of conies, reaching to his waist; his guard also had each coats of the same shape, but of other skins; some having cauls likewise stuck with

[1] Cowl, cap.

feathers, or covered over with a certain down, which groweth up in the country upon an herb much like our lettuce, which exceeds any other down in the world for fineness, and being laid upon their cauls, by no winds can be removed. Of such estimation is this herb amongst them, that the down thereof is not lawful to be worn, but of such persons as are about the King (to whom also it is permitted to wear a plume of feathers on their heads in sign of honour), and the seeds are not used but only in sacrifice to their gods. After these in their order did follow the naked sort of common people, whose hair, being long, was gathered into a bunch behind, in which stuck plumes of feathers; but in the forepart only single feathers like horns, every one pleasing himself in his own device. This one thing was observed to be general amongst them all, that every one had his face painted, some with white, some black, and some with other colours, every man also bringing in his hand one thing or other for a gift or present. Their train or last part of their company consisted of women and children, each woman bearing against her breast a round basket or two, having within them divers things, as bags of "Tabáh," a root which they call "Petah,"[1] whereof they make a kind of meal and either bake it into bread or eat it raw; broiled fishes, like a pilchard; the seed and down aforenamed; with such like. Their baskets were made in fashion like a deep bowl, and though the matter were rushes, or such other kind of stuff, yet was it so cunningly handled, that the most part of them would hold water: about the brims they were hung with pieces of the shells of pearls, and in some places with two or three links at a place of the chains forenamed: thereby signifying that they were vessels wholly dedicated to the only[2] use of the gods they worshipped, and besides this they were wrought upon with the matted down of red feathers, distinguished into divers works and forms.

In the mean time, our General having assembled his men together (as forecasting the danger and worst that might fall out) prepared himself to stand upon sure ground, that we might at all times be ready in our own defence, if any thing should chance otherwise than was looked for or expected. Wherefore every man being in a warlike readiness, he marched within his fenced place, making against their approach a most warlike show (as he did also at all other times of their resort), whereby if they had been desperate enemies they could not have chosen but have conceived terror and fear, with discouragement to attempt anything against us, in beholding of the same.

When they were come somewhat near unto us, trooping together they gave us a common or general salutation, observing in the mean time a general silence. Whereupon, he who bare the sceptre before the King, being prompted by another whom the King assigned to that office, pronounced with an audible and manly voice what the other spake to him in secret, continuing, whether it were his oration or proclamation, at the least half an hour. At the close whereof there was a common "Amen" in sign of approbation given by every person: and the King himself, with the whole number of men and women (the little children only remaining behind), came further down the hill, and as they came set themselves again in their former order. And being now come to the foot of the hill and near our fort, the sceptre-bearer, with a composed countenance and stately carriage, began a song, and answerable thereunto observed a kind of measures in a dance: whom the King with his guard and every other sort of person following, did in like manner sing and dance, saving only the women, who danced but kept silence. As they danced they still came on: and our General, perceiving their plain and simple meaning, gave

[1] Probably the potato.

[2] Sole.

order that they might freely enter without interruption within our bulwark. Where after they had entered, they yet continued their song and dance a reasonable time, their women also following them with their wassail bowls in their hands, their bodies bruised, their faces torn, their dugs, breasts, and other parts bespotted with blood, trickling down from the wounds which with their nails they had made before their coming After that they had satisfied or rather tired themselves in this manner, they made signs to our General to have him sit down; unto whom both the King and divers others made several orations, or rather, indeed, if we had understood them, supplications, that he would take the province and kingdom into his hand, and become their king and patron: making signs that they would resign unto him their right and title in the whole land, and become his vassals in themselves and their posterities: which that they might make us indeed believe that it was their true meaning and intent, the King himself, with all the rest, with one consent and with great reverence, joyfully singing a song, set the crown upon his head, enriched his neck with all their chains, and offering him many things, honoured him by the name of "Hióh." Adding thereunto, as it might seem, a song and dance of triumph, because they were not only visited of the gods (for so they still judged us to be) but the great and chief god was now become their god, their king and patron, and themselves were become the only happy and blessed people in the world.

These things being so freely offered, our General thought not meet to resign or refuse the same, both for that he would not give them any cause of mistrust or disliking of him (that being the only place wherein at this present we were of necessity enforced to seek relief of many things), and chiefly for that he knew not to what good end God had brought this to pass, or what honour and profit it might bring to our country in time to come. Wherefore, in the name and to the use of Her most excellent Majesty, he took the sceptre, crown, and dignity of the said country into his hand; wishing nothing more than that it had lain so fitly for Her Majesty to enjoy, as it was now her proper own, and that the riches and treasures thereof (wherewith in the upland countries it abounds) might with as great conveniency be transported, to the enriching of her kingdom here at home, as it is in plenty to be attained there; and especially that so tractable and loving a people as they shewed themselves to be might have means to have manifested their most willing obedience the more unto her, and by her means, as a Mother and Nurse of the Church of Christ, might by the preaching of the Gospel be brought to the right knowledge and obedience of the true and ever-living God. The ceremonies of this resigning and receiving of the kingdom being thus performed, the common sort, both of men and women, leaving the the King and his guard about him, with our General, dispersed themselves among our people, taking a diligent view or survey of every man; and finding such as pleased their fancies (which commonly were the youngest of us), they presently enclosing them about offered their sacrifices unto them, crying out with lamentable shrieks and moans, weeping and scratching and tearing their very flesh of their faces with their nails; neither were it the women alone which did this, but even old men, roaring and crying out, were as violent as the women were. We groaned in spirit to see the power of Satan so far prevail in seducing these so harmless souls, and laboured by all means, both by showing our great dislike, and, when that served not, by violent withholding of their hands from that madness; directing them, by our eyes and hands lift up towards heaven, to the living God whom they ought to serve. But so mad were they upon their idolatry, that forcibly withholding them would not prevail; for as soon as they could

get liberty to their hands again they would be as violent as they were before, till such time as they whom they worshipped were conveyed from them into the tents; whom yet, as men beside themselves, they would with fury and outrage seek to have again.

After that time had a little qualified their madness, they then began to show and make known unto us their griefs[1] and diseases which they carried about them; some of them having old aches, some shrunk sinews, some old sores and cankered ulcers, some wounds more lately received, and the like: in most lamentable manner craving help and cure thereof from us, making signs, that if we did but blow upon their griefs, or but touched the diseased places, they would be whole. Their griefs we could not but take pity on them, and to our power desire to help them; but that (if it pleased God to open their eyes) they might understand we were but men and no gods, we used ordinary means, as lotions, plasters, and unguents, most fitly, as far as our skills could guess, agreeing to the natures of their griefs; beseeching God, if it made for his glory, to give cure to their diseases by these means. The like we did from time to time as they resorted unto us. Few were the days wherein they were absent from us, during the whole time of our abode in that place; and ordinarily every third day they brought their sacrifices, till such time as they certainly understood our meaning, that we took no pleasure but were displeased with them; whereupon their zeal abated, and their sacrificing, for a season, to our good liking ceased. Notwithstanding they continued still to make their resort unto us in great abundance, and in such sort, that they oftentimes forgot to provide meat for their own sustenance, so that our General (of whom they made account as of a father) was fain to perform the office of a father towards them, relieving them with such victuals as we had provided for ourselves, as mussels, seals, and such like, wherein they took exceeding much content; and seeing that their sacrifices were displeasing unto us, yet (having gratitude) they sought to recompense us with such things as they had, which they willingly forced upon us, though it were never so necessary or needful for themselves to keep. They are people of a tractable, free, and loving nature, without guile or treachery; their bows and arrows (their only weapons, and almost all their wealth) they use very skilfully, but yet not to do any great harm with them, being by reason of their weakness more fit for children than for men, sending the arrows neither far off nor with any great force: and yet are the men commonly so strong of body, that that which two or three of our men could hardly bear, one of them would take upon his back, and without grudging carry it easily away, up hill and down hill, an English mile together. They are also exceeding swift in running, and of long continuance, the use whereof is so familiar with them, that they seldom go, but for the most part run. One thing we observed in them with admiration, that if at any time they chanced to see a fish so near the shore that they might reach the place without swimming, they would never, or very seldom, miss to take it.

After that our necessary businesses were well despatched, our General, with his gentlemen and many of his company, made a journey up into the land, to see the manner of their dwelling, and to be the better acquainted with the nature and commodities of the country. Their houses were all such as we have formerly described, and being many of them in one place, made several villages here and there. The inland we found to be far different from the shore, a goodly country and fruitful soil, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man. Infinite was the company of very large and fat deer which there we saw by

[1] Used here, of course, in the merely physical sense of pain, or wound, or sore.

thousands, as we supposed, in a herd; besides a multitude of a strange kind of conies, by far exceeding them in number. The head and body, in which they resemble other conies, are but small; his tail, like the tail of a rat, exceeding long, and his feet like the paws of a want or mole; under his chin, on either side, he hath a bag, into which he gathereth his meat, when he hath filled his belly abroad, that he may with it either feed his young, or feed himself when he lists not to travel from his burrow. The people eat their bodies, and make great account of their skins, for their King's holiday coat was made of them.[1]

This country our General named Albion,[2] and that for two causes: the one in respect of the white banks and cliffs which lie towards the sea; the other, that it might have some affinity, even in name also, with our own country, which was sometimes so called. Before we went from thence, our General caused to be set up a monument of our being there, as also of Her Majesty's and successor's right and title to that kingdom: namely, a plate of brass, fast nailed to a great and firm post, whereon is engraven her Grace's name, and the day and year of our arrival there, and of the free giving up of the province and kingdom, both by the King and people, into Her Majesty's hands; together with Her Highness' picture and arms, in a piece of sixpence current English money, showing itself by a hole made of purpose through the plate; underneath was likewise engraven the name of our General, &c. The Spaniards never had any dealing, or so much as set a foot in this country, the utmost of their discoveries reaching only to many degrees southward of this place.[3]

And now as the time of our departure was perceived by them to draw nigh, so did the sorrows and miseries of this people seem to themselves to increase upon them, and the more certain they were of our going away, the more doubtful they showed themselves what they might do: so that we might easily judge that that joy (being exceeding great) wherewith they received us at our first arrival, was clean drowned in their excessive sorrow for our departing. For they did not only lose on a sudden all mirth, joy, glad countenance, pleasant speeches, agility of body, familiar rejoicing one with another, and all pleasure whatever flesh and blood might be delighted in, but with sighs and sorrowings, with heavy hearts and grieved minds, they poured out woeful complaints and moans, with bitter tears and wringing of their hands, tormenting themselves. And as men refusing all comfort they only accounted themselves as castaways, and those whom the gods were about to forsake: so that nothing we could say or do was able to ease them of their so heavy a burthen, or to deliver them from so desperate a strait, as our leaving of them did seem to them that it would cast them into.

[1] Captain Beechey, in his "Voyage to the Pacific," says that the fields about San Francisco are burrowed by a small rat resembling the field-mouse, by a larger mountain rat, and by another little animal resembling a squirrel, called the "ardillo," which is excellent eating. The coney described by Drake is thought to answer most closely to the Canada pouched rat, or *Mus bursarius*.

[2] More correctly, New Albion; the whiteness of the cliffs, which suggested the name to Drake, has been noted *by subsequent* voyagers.

[3] This is a mistake, for Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese by birth, had by command of the Viceroy of New Spain explored the same coast thirty-seven years before. Indeed, some English editors have shown a decided inclination to take a very liberal discount from Mr Fletcher's eloquent and elaborate account of the doings in California—so much in contrast with the meagre details he gives of such really important incidents as the combat with and capture of the Cacafuego.

Howbeit, seeing they could not still enjoy our presence, they (supposing us to be gods indeed) thought it their duty to entreat us that, being absent, we would yet be mindful of them; and making signs of their desires that in time to come we would see them again, they stole upon us a sacrifice, and set it on fire ere we were aware, burning therein a chain and a bunch of feathers. We laboured by all means possible to withhold or withdraw them, but could not prevail, till at last we fell to prayers and singing of Psalms, whereby they were allured immediately to forget their folly, and leave their sacrifice unconsumed, suffering the fire to go out; and imitating us in all our actions, they fell a-lifting of their eyes and hands to heaven, as they saw us do.

The 23d of July they took a sorrowful farewell of us; but, being loth to leave us, they presently ran to the top of the hills to keep us in their sight so long as they could, making fires before and behind and on each side of them, burning therein (as is to be supposed) sacrifices at our departure.

Not far without this harbour did lie certain islands (we called them the Islands of Saint James),[1] having on them plentiful and great store of seals and birds, with one of which we fell July 24th, whereon we found such provision as might competently serve our turn for a while. We departed again the day next following, July 25th. And our General now considering that the extremity of the cold not only continued, but increased, the Sun being gone farther from us, and that the wind blowing still, as it did at first, from the North-west, cut off all hope of finding a passage through these Northern parts, thought it necessary to lose no time; and therefore, with general consent of all, bent his course directly to run with the Islands of the Moluccas. And so having nothing in our view but air and sea, without sight of any land for the space of full sixty-eight days together, we continued our course through the main Ocean, till September 30th[2] following, on which day we fell in ken of certain islands lying about eight degrees to the Northward of the Line. From these islands, presently upon the discovery of us, came a great number of canoes, having in each of them in some four, in some six, in some fourteen or fifteen men, bringing with them cocoas, fish, potatoes, and certain fruits to small purpose.[3] Their canoes were made after the fashion that the canoes of all the rest of the Islands of Moluccas for the most are, that is, of one tree, hollowed within with great art and cunning, being made so smooth, both within and without, that they bore a gloss as if it were a harness most finely burnished. A prow and stern they had of one fashion, yielding inward in manner of a semicircle, of a great height, and hung full of certain white and glistening shells for bravery:[4] on each side of their canoes lay out two pieces of timber, about a yard and a half long, more or less according to the capacity of their boat. At the end whereof was fastened crosswise a great cane, the use whereof was to keep their canoes from overthrowing, and that they might be equally borne up on each side.[5]

The people themselves have the nether parts of their ears cut round or circle-wise, hanging down very low upon their cheeks, wherein they hang things of a reasonable weight. The

[1] The three Farallons, North, Middle, and South, which lie about a day's sail to the Westward of the Golden Gate.

[2] By another account, the 13th of October. The islands were doubtless some of the Caroline group, which lay in the direct track from Drake's Californian harbour—whether San Francisco or Port Sir Francis Drake under Punta de los Reyes to the North—to the Moluccas.

[3] Of little value or consequence.

[4] Adornment.

[5] Compare Dampier's minute description of similar craft at Guam; Chapter X., page 225.

nails on the fingers of some of them were at least an inch long, and their teeth as black as pitch, the colour whereof they use to renew by often eating of an herb, with a kind of powder, which in a cane they carry about them to the same purpose. The first sort and company of those canoes being come to our ship (which then, by reason of a scant wind, made little way) very subtilely and against their natures began in peace to traffic with us, giving us one thing for another very orderly, intending (as we perceived) hereby to work a greater mischief to us; entreating us by signs most earnestly to draw nearer towards the shore, that they might, if possible, make the easier prey both of the ship and us. But these passing away, and others continually resorting, we were quickly able to guess at them what they were; for if they received anything once into their hands, they would neither give recompense nor restitution of it, but thought whatever they could finger to be their own, expecting always with brows of brass to receive more, but would part with nothing. Yea, being rejected for their bad dealing, as those with whom we would have no more to do, using us so evilly, they could not be satisfied till they had given the attempt to revenge themselves because we would not give them whatsoever they would have for nothing: and having stones good store in their canoes, let fly amain of them against us. It was far from our General's meaning to requite their malice by like injury. Yet that they might know that he had power to do them harm if he had listed, he caused a great piece to be shot off, not to hurt them, but to affright them. Which wrought the desired effect amongst them; for at the noise thereof they every one leaped out of his canoe into the water, and, diving under the keel of their boats, stayed them from going any way till our ship was gone a good way from them. Then they all lightly recovered into their canoes, and got them with speed toward the shore. Notwithstanding, other new companies (but all of the same mind) continually made resort unto us. And seeing that there was no good to be got by violence, they put on a show of seeming honesty; and offering in show to deal with us by way of exchange, under the pretence they cunningly fell a-filching of what they could, and one of them pulled a dagger and knives from one of our men's girdles, and being required to restore it again, he rather used what means he could to catch at more. Neither could we at all be rid of this ungracious company, till we made some of them feel some smart as well as terror; and so we left that place, by all passengers to be known hereafter by the name of the Island of Thieves.

Till the 3d of October we could not get clear of these consorts, but from thence we continued our course within sight of land till the 16th of the same month, when we fell with four Islands standing in 7° 5′ to the Northward of the Line. We coasted them till the 21st day, and then anchored and watered upon the biggest of them, called Mindanao. The 22d of October, as we passed between two islands, about six or eight leagues south of Mindanao,[1] there came from them two canoes to be talked with us, and we would willingly be talked with them, but there arose so much wind that put us from them to the Southwards. October the 25th we passed by the island named Talao,[2] in 3° 40′. We saw to the northward of it three or four other islands, Teda, Selan, Saran (three islands so named to us by an Indian), the middle whereof stands in 3°. We passed the last

[1] Supposed to be Serangan and Candigar, or the Saddle Islands, South of the southernmost point of Mindanao. Other narrators name the islands of "Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra," as passed by the voyagers on their way to the Moluccas, the first producing much cinnamon, and the inhabitants of all being friendly with the Portuguese.

[2] The Tulour Islands, about half way between Mindinao and Gilolo.

save one of these, and the first day of the following month in like manner we passed the isle Suaro, in 1° 30′, and the 3d of November we came in sight of the Islands of the Moluccas, as we desired. These are four high-peaked islands: their names, Ternate, Tidore, Matchan, Batchan, all of them very fruitful and yielding abundance of cloves, whereof we furnished ourselves of as much as we desired at a very cheap rate. At the east of them lies a very great island called Gilolo.

We directed our course to have gone to Tidore, but in coasting along a little island [1] belonging to the King of Ternate, November 4th, his deputy or viceroy with all expedition came off to our ship in a canoe, and without any fear or doubting of our good meaning came presently aboard. Who, after some conference with our General, entreated him by any means to run with Ternate, not with Tidore: assuring him that his King would be wondrous glad of his coming, and be ready to do for him what he could, and what our General in reason should require. For which purpose he himself would that night be with his King to carry him the news; with whom if he once dealt, he should find that as he was a King, so his word should stand: whereas if he dealt with the Portuguese, who had the command of Tidore,[2] he should find in them nothing but deceit and treachery. And besides that if he went to Tidore before he came to Ternate, then would his King have nothing to do with us, for he held the Portuguese as an enemy. On these persuasions our General resolved to run with Ternate, where the next day, very early in the morning, we came to anchor: and presently our General sent a messenger to the King with a velvet cloak, for a present and token that his coming should be in peace, and that he required no other thing at his hands, but that (his victuals being spent in so long a voyage) he might have supply from him by way of traffic and exchange of merchandise (whereof he had store of divers sorts) of such things as he wanted. Which he thought he might be the bolder to require at his hands, both for that the thing was lawful, and that he offered him no prejudice or wrong therein; as also because he was entreated to repair to the place by his Viceroy at Motir, who assured him of necessary provision in such manner as now he required the same.

Before this the Viceroy, according to his promise, had been with the King, signifying unto him what a mighty Prince and Kingdom we belonged to; what good things the King might receive from us, not only now, but for hereafter by way of traffic: Yea what honour and benefit it might be to him, to be in league and in friendship with so noble and famous a Prince as we served; and farther, what a discouragement it would be to the Portuguese his enemies to hear and see it. In hearing whereof the King was so presently moved to the well liking of the matter, that before our messenger could come half the way, he had sent the Viceroy, with divers others of his nobles and councillors, to our General, with special message that he should not only have what things he needed, or would require, with peace and friendship, but that he would willingly entertain amity with so famous and renowned a Princess as was ours; and that if it seemed good in her eyes to accept of it, he would sequester the commodities and traffic of his whole island from others (especially from his enemies the Portuguese, from whom he had nothing but by the sword), and reserve it to the intercourse of our nation, if we would embrace it. In token whereof he had now sent to our General his signet, and would within short time after come in his own person, with his brethren and nobles, with boats or canoes, into our ship,

[1] The island of Motir.

[2] They had been expelled from their settlements at Ternate by the warlike monarch whose friendship was offered to Drake, and had established themselves at Tidore.

and be a means of bringing her into a safer harbour. While they were delivering their message to us, our messenger was come unto the Court, who being met by the way by certain noble personages, was with great solemnity conveyed into the King's presence; at whose hands he was most friendly and graciously entertained; and having delivered his errand, together with his present unto the King, the King seemed to him to judge himself blameworthy that he had not sooner hastened in person to present himself to our General, who came so far and from so great a Prince; and presently, with all expedition, he made ready himself, with the chief of all his States and Councillors, to make repair unto us. The manner of his coming, as it was princely, so truly it seemed to us very strange and marvellous: serving at the present not so much to set out his own royal and Kingly state (which was great) as to do honour to Her Highness, to whom we belonged; wherein how willingly he employed himself, the sequel will make manifest.

First, therefore, before his coming, did he send off three great and large canoes, in each whereof were certain of the greatest personages that were about him, attired all of them in white lawn, or cloth of Calicut, having over their heads, from one end of the canoe to the other, a covering of thin and fine mats, borne up by a frame made of reeds, under which every man sat in order according to his dignity; the hoary heads of many of them set forth the greater reverence due to their persons, and manifestly showed that the King used the advice of a grave and prudent Council in his affairs. Besides these were divers others, young and comely men, a great number attired in white, as were the other, but with manifest differences: having their places also under the same covering, but in inferior order, as their calling required. The rest of the men were soldiers, who stood in comely order round about on *both sides;* on the outside of whom, again, did sit the rowers, in certain galleries, which being three on each side all alongst the canoe, did lie off from the side thereof some three or four yards, one being orderly builded lower than the other: in every of which galleries was an equal number of banks, whereon did sit the rowers, about the number of fourscore in one canoe. In the forepart of each canoe sat two men, the one holding a tabrel,[1] the other a piece of brass, whereon they both at once struck; and observing a due time and reasonable space between each stroke, by the sound thereof directed the rowers to keep their stroke with their oars: as, on the contrary, the rowers ending their stroke with a song, gave warning to the others to strike again; and so continued they their way with marvellous swiftness. Neither were their canoes naked or unfurnished of warlike munition; they had each of them at least one small cast piece, of about a yard in length, mounted upon a stock which was set upright; besides, every man except the rowers had his sword, dagger, and target, and some of them some other weapons, as lances, calivers,[2] bows, arrows, and many darts.

These canoes, coming near our ship in order, rowed round about us one after another; and the men, as they passed by us, did us a kind of homage with great solemnity, the greatest personages beginning first, with reverent countenance and behaviour, to bow their bodies even to the ground: which done, they put their own messenger aboard us again, and signified to us that their King, who himself was coming, had sent them before him to conduct our ship into a better road, desiring a hawser to be given them forth, that they might employ their service, as their King commanded, in towing our ship therewith to the place assigned. The King himself was not far behind, but he also with six grave and ancient fathers in his canoe approaching, did at once, together with them,

[1] A small drum. [2] Guns.

yield us a reverent kind of obeisance, in far more humble manner than was to be expected. He was of a tall stature,[1] very corpulent and well set together, of a very princely and gracious countenance: his respect amongst his own was such, that neither his Viceroy of Motir aforenamed, nor any other of his councillors, durst speak unto him but upon their knees, not rising again till they were licensed. Whose coming, as it was to our General no small cause of good liking, so was he received in the best manner we could, answerable unto his state; our ordnance thundered, which we mixed with great store of small shot, among which sounding our trumpets and other instruments of music, both of still and loud noise; wherewith he was so much delighted, that requesting our music to come into the boat, he joined his canoe to the same, and was towed at least a whole hour together, with the boat at the stern of our ship. Besides this, our General sent him such presents as he thought might both requite his courtesy already received, and work a further confirmation of that good liking and friendship already begun. The King being thus in musical paradise, and enjoying that wherewith he was so highly pleased, his brother, named Moro, with no less bravery[2] than any of the rest, accompanied also with a great number of gallant followers, made the like repair,[3] and gave us like respect; and, his homage done, he fell astern of us till we came to anchor: neither did our General leave his courtesy unrewarded, but bountifully pleased him also before we parted.

The King, as soon as we were come to anchor, craved pardon to be gone, and so took leave, promising us that the next day he would come aboard, and in the mean time would prepare and send such victuals as were requisite and necessary for our provision. Accordingly the same night, and the morrow following, we received what was there to be had in the way of traffic, to wit, rice in pretty quantity, hens, sugar-canes, imperfect and liquid sugar, a fruit which they call Figo (Magellan calls it a fig of a span long, but it is no other than that which the Spaniards and Portuguese have named Plantains), cocoas, and a kind of meal which they call sago, made of the tops of certain trees, tasting in the mouth like sour curds. but melts away like sugar; whereof they make a kind of cake which will keep good at least ten years. Of this last we made the greatest quantity of our provision: for a few cloves we did also traffic, whereof, for a small matter, we might have had greater store than we could well tell where to bestow: but our General's care was, that the ship should not be too much pestered or annoyed therewith.

At the time appointed, our General, having set all things in order to receive him, looked for the King's return; who, failing both in time and promise, sent his brother to make his excuse, and to entreat our General to come on shore, his brother being the while to remain on board, as a pawn for his safe restoring. Our General could willingly have consented, if the King himself had not first broken his word: the consideration whereof bred an utter disliking in the whole company, who by no means would give consent he should hazard himself, especially for that the King's brother had uttered certain words, in secret confidence with our General aboard his cabin, which bred no small suspicion of ill intent. Our General being thus resolved not to go ashore at this time, reserved the Viceroy for a pledge, and so sent certain of his gentlemen to the Court, both to accompany the King's brother, and also with special message to the King himself. They, being come somewhat near unto the castle, were received by another brother of the King's, and certain others of the greatest states, and conducted with great honour towards the castle, where being brought into a large and fair house, they saw gathered

[1] Fuller—"Holy State," page 127—calls him "a true gentleman Pagan."
[2] Magnificence, splendid show.
[3] Paid a similar visit.

together a great multitude of people, by supposition at least 1000, the chief whereof were placed round about the house, according, as it seemed, to their degrees and calling: the rest remained without. The house was in form four-square, covered all over with cloth of divers colours, not much unlike our usual pentadoes,[1] borne upon a frame of reeds, the sides being open from the groundsill to the covering, and furnished with seats round about: it seems it was their Council-house, and not commonly employed to any other use. At the side of this house, next unto the Castle, was seated the chair of state, having directly over it, and extending very largely every way, a very fair and rich canopy, as the ground also, for some ten or twelve paces' compass, was covered with cloth of Arras. Whilst our gentlemen awaited in this place the coming of the King, which was about the space of half-an-hour, they had the better opportunity to observe these things; as also that before the King's coming there were already set threescore noble, grave, and ancient personages, all of them reported to be of the King's privy council. At the nether end of the house were placed a great company of young men, of comely personage and attire. Without the house, on the right side, stood four ancient, comely, hoar-headed men, clothed all in red down to the ground, but attired on their heads not much unlike the Turks. These they called Romans, or strangers, who lay as lidgiers,[2] there to keep perpetual traffic with the people: there were also two Turks, one Italian, as lidgiers, and last of all one Spaniard, who being freed by the King out of the hands of the Portuguese, in the recovering of the island, served him now instead of a soldier.

The King at last coming from the castle, with eight or ten grave Senators following him, had a very rich canopy, adorned in the midst with embossings of gold, borne over him, and was guarded with twelve lances, the points turned downwards. Our men, accompanied with Moro the King's brother, arose to meet him, and he very graciously did welcome and entertain them. He was for person such as we have before described him, of low voice, temperate in speech, of kingly demeanour, and a Moor by nation. His attire was after the fashion of the rest of his country, but far more sumptuous, as his condition and state required: from the waist to the ground was all cloth of gold, and that very rich; his legs bare, but on his feet a pair of shoes of cordovan, dyed red; in the attire of his head were finely wreathed-in divers rings of plated gold, of an inch or an inch and a-half in breadth, which made a fair and princely show, somewhat resembling a crown in form; about his neck he had a chain of perfect gold, the links very great and one fold double. On his left hand were a diamond, an emerald, a ruby, and a turquoise, four very fair and perfect jewels; on his right hand, in one ring, a big and perfect turquoise, and in another ring many diamonds of a smaller size, very artificially set and couched together. As thus he sat in his chair of state, at his right side there stood a page with a very costly fan, richly embroidered and beset with sapphires, breathing and gathering the air to refresh the King, the place being very hot, both by reason of the sun, and the assembly of so great a multitude. After a while, our gentlemen, having delivered their message, and received answer, were licensed to depart, and were safely conducted back again, by one of the

[1] Canopies, tents.

[2] Resident or permanent ambassadors; the word is spelled in various other ways, as "leger," "ligier," "legier;" it comes from the Anglo-Saxon "leigan," to lie or remain; and the word "ledger," a book that lies to receive entries, is from the same source. In "Measure for Measure," Isabella, informing her brother of his impending death, says:

"Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
Intends you for his swift ambassador,
Where you shall be an everlasting leiger."

Chiefs of the King's Council, who had charge from the King himself to perform the same.

Our gentlemen, observing the castle as well as they could, could not conceive it to be a place of any great force; two cannons only there they saw, and those at that present untraversable, because unmounted. These, with all other furniture of like sort which they have, they have gotten them from the Portuguese, by whom the castle itself was also builded, while they inhabited that place and island. Who seeking to settle tyrannous government (as in other places so) over this people, and not contenting themselves with a better estate than they deserved (except they might, as they thought, make sure work by leaving none of the Royal blood alive, who should make challenge to the kingdom), cruelly murdered the King himself—father to him who now reigns—and intended the like to all his sons. Which cruelty, instead of establishing brought such a shaking on their usurped estate, that they were fain without covenanting to carry away goods, munition, or anything else, to quit the place and the whole island, to save their lives. For the present King, with his brethren, in revenge of their father's murder, so bestirred themselves, that the Portuguese were wholly driven from the island, and glad that he yet keeps footing in Tidore. These four years this King hath been increasing, and was (as was affirmed) at that present, Lord of an Hundred Islands thereabout, and was even now preparing his forces to hazard a chance with the Portuguese for Tidore itself. The people are Moors, whose religion consists much in certain superstitious observations of new moons, and certain seasons, with a rigid and strict kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue, who lay aboard us all the time for the most part during our abode in this place; who during their prescribed time would neither eat nor drink, not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in their self-devised worship), but yet in the night would eat three times, and that very largely. This Ternate stands in 27′ North latitude.

While we rode at anchor in the harbour at Ternate, besides the natives there came aboard us another, a goodly gentleman, very well accompanied, with his interpreter, to view our ship and to confer with our General. He was apparelled much after our manner, most neat and court-like, his carriage the most respective and full of discreet behaviour that ever we had seen. He told us that he was himself but a stranger in those islands, being a natural of the province of Paghia in China; his name Pausaos, of the family of Hombu; of which family there had eleven reigned in continual succession these 200 years, and King Bonog, by the death of his elder brother—who died by a fall from his horse—the rightful heir of all China, is the twelfth of this race. He is twenty-two years of age; his mother yet living; he hath a wife, and by her one son; he is well-beloved and highly-honoured of all his subjects, and lives in great peace from any fear of foreign invasion. But it was not this man's fortune to enjoy his part of this happiness, both of his King and country, as he most desired. For being accused of a capital crime, whereof though free,[1] yet he could not evidently make his innocence appear, and knowing the peremptory justice of China to be irrevocable, if he should expect[2] the sentence of the Judges; he beforehand made suit to his King, that it would please him to commit his trial to God's providence and judgment, and to that end to permit him to travel, on this condition, that if he brought not home some worthy intelligence, such as His Majesty had never had before, and were most fit to be known, and most honourable for China, he should for ever live an exile, or else die for daring to set foot again in his own country; for he was assured that the God of heaven had care of innocency.

[1] Guiltless. [2] Await.

The King granted his suit, and now he had been three years abroad; and at this present came from Tidore (where he had remained two months), to see the English General, of whom he heard such strange things, and from him (if it pleased God to afford it) to learn some such intelligence as might make way for his return into his country: and therefore he earnestly entreated our General to make relation to him of the occasion, way, and manner of his coming so far from England thither, with the manifold occurrences that had happened to him by the way. Our General gave ample satisfaction to each part of his request; the stranger hearkened with great attention and delight to his discourse, and as he naturally excelled in memory, besides his help of art to better the same, so he firmly printed it in his mind, and with great reverence thanked God, who had so unexpectedly brought him to the notice of such admirable things. Then fell he to entreat our General with many most earnest and vehement persuasions, that he would be content to see his country before his departure any farther Westward; that it should be a most pleasant, most honourable, and most profitable thing for him; that he should gain thereby the notice, and carry home the description, of one of the most ancient, mightiest, and richest kingdoms in the world. Hereupon he took occasion to relate the number and greatness of the provinces, with the rare commodities and good things they yielded: the number, stateliness, and riches of their cities; with what abundance of men, victuals, munition, and all manner of necessaries and delightful things they were stored with; in particular touching ordnance and great guns—the late invention of a scab-skinned Friar amongst us in Europe[1]—he related that in Suntien, by some called Quinzai, which is the chief city of all China, they had brass ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be traversed than ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) above 2000 years ago. With many other worthy things which our General's own experience, if it would please him to make trial, would better than his relation assure him of. The breeze would shortly serve very fitly to carry him thither, and he himself would accompany him all the way. He accounted himself a happy man that he had but seen and spoken with us; the relation of it might perhaps serve him to recover favour in the country; but if he could prevail with our General himself to go thither, he doubted not but it would be a means of his great advancement, and increase of honour with his King. Notwithstanding, our General could not on such persuasions be induced, and so the stranger parted, sorry that he could not prevail in his request, but yet exceeding glad of the intelligence he had learned.

By the 9th of November, having gotten what provision the place could afford us, we then set sail: and considering that our ship for want of trimming was now grown foul, that our casks and vessels for water were much decayed, and that divers other things stood in need of reparation, our next care was, how we might fall with such a place where with safety we might awhile stay for the redressing of these inconveniences. The calmness of the winds, which are almost continual before the coming of the breeze (which was not yet expected) persuaded us it was the fittest time that we could take. With this resolution we sailed along till November 14th, at what time we arrived at a little island to the southward of Celebes, standing in 1° 40′ towards the Pole Antarctic: which being without inhabitants, gave us the better hope of quiet abode. We anchored, and finding the place con-

[1] This scarcely complimentary description may apply either to the English Monk Roger Bacon, or, more appropriately, to the German Monk Berthold Schwartz, whom accident enlightened as to the projectile force of "villainous saltpetre."

venient for our purposes (there wanting nothing here which we stood in need of, but only water, which we were fain to fetch from another island somewhat farther to the south), made our abode here for twenty-six whole days together. The first thing we did, we pitched our tents and entrenched ourselves as strongly as we could upon the shore, lest at any time perhaps we might have been disturbed by the inhabitants of the greater island, which lay not far to the westward of us. After we had provided thus for our security, we landed our goods, and had a smith's forge set up, both for the making of some necessary shipwork, and for the repairing of some iron-hooped casks, without which they could not long have served our use. And for that our smith's coals were all spent long before this time, there was order given and followed for the burning of charcoal, by which that want might be supplied.

We trimmed our ship, and performed our other businesses to our content. The place affording us not only all necessaries (which we had not of our own before) thereunto, but also wonderful refreshing to our wearied bodies, by the comfortable relief and excellent provision that here we found, whereby of[1] sickly, weak, and decayed, as many of us seemed to be before our coming hither, we in short space grew all of us to be strong, lusty, and healthful persons. Besides this, we had rare experience of God's wonderful wisdom in many rare and admirable creatures which here we saw. The whole island is a through[2] grown wood, the trees for the most part are of large and high stature, very straight and clean, without boughs, save only in the very top; the leaves whereof are not much unlike our brooms in England. Among these trees, night by night, did show themselves an infinite swarm of fiery-seeming worms flying in the air, whose bodies, no bigger than an ordinary fly, did make a show and give such light as if every twig on every tree had been a lighted candle, or as if that place had been the starry sphere. To these we may add the relation of another, almost as strange a creature, which here we saw, and that was an innumerable multitude of huge bats or reremice, equalling or rather exceeding a good hen in bigness. They fly with marvellous swiftness, but their flight is very short; and when they light, they hang only by the boughs, with their backs downward. Neither may we without ingratitude, by reason of the special use we made of them, omit to speak of the huge multitude of a certain kind of crayfish, of such a size, that one was sufficient to satisfy four hungry men at a dinner, being a very good and restorative meat; the special means (as we conceived it) of our increase of health. They are, as far as we could perceive, utter strangers to the sea, living always on the land, where they work themselves earths as do the conies, or rather they dig great and huge caves under the roots of the most huge and monstrous trees, where they lodge themselves by companies together. Of the same sort and kind we found, in other places about the Island Celebes, some that, for want of other refuge, when we came to take them did climb up into trees to hide themselves, whither we were enforced to climb after them if we would have them, which we would not stick to do rather than to be without them. This island we called Crab Island.

All necessary causes of our staying longer in this place being at last finished, our General prepared to be in a readiness to take the first advantage of the coming of the breeze or wind which we expected; and having the day before furnished ourselves with fresh water from the other island, and taken in provision of wood and the like, December 12th we put to sea, directing our course toward the West. The 16th day we had sight of the Island of Celebes or Silébis, but having a bad wind, and being

[1] From being.
[2] Thoroughly.

entangled among many islands, encumbered also with many other difficulties, and some dangers, and at last meeting with a deep bay out of which we could not in three days turn out again, we could not by any means recover the North of Celebes, or continue on our course farther west, but were enforced to alter the same towards the South; finding that course also to be both difficult and very dangerous by reason of many shoals, which lay far off, here and there among the islands; insomuch that in all our passages from England hitherto, we had never more care to keep ourselves afloat, and from sticking on them. Thus were we forced to beat up and down with extraordinary care and circumspection, till January 9th, at which time we supposed that we had at last attained a free passage, the lands turning evidently in our sight about to westward, and the wind being enlarged, followed us as we desired with a reasonable gale.

When lo! on a sudden, when we least suspected, no show or suspicion of danger appearing to us, and we were now sailing onward with full sails, in the beginning of the first watch of the said day at night, even in a moment, our ship was laid up fast upon a desperate shoal, with no other likelihood in appearance but that we with her must there presently perish; there being no probability how anything could be saved, or any person escape alive. The unexpectedness of so extreme a danger presently roused us up to look about us, but the more we looked the less hope we had of getting clear of it again, so that nothing now presenting itself to our minds, but the ghastly appearance of instant death, affording no respite or time of pausing, called upon us to deny ourselves, and to commend ourselves into the merciful hands of our most gracious God. To this purpose we presently fell prostrate, and with joined prayers sent up unto the throne of grace, humbly besought Almighty God to extend his mercy unto us in his Son Christ Jesus, and so preparing as it were our necks unto the block, we every minute expected the final stroke to be given unto us. Notwithstanding that we expected nothing but imminent death, yet—that we might not seem to tempt God, by leaving any second means unattempted which he afforded—presently, as soon as prayers were ended, our General (exhorting us to have the especialest care of the better part, to wit, the soul, and adding many comfortable speeches, of the joys of that other life which we now alone looked for) encouraged us all to bestir ourselves, shewing us the way thereto by his own example. And first of all the pump being well plied, and the ship freed of water, we found our leaks to be nothing increased; which though it gave us no hope of deliverance, yet it gave us some hope of respite, insomuch as it assured us that the bulk[1] was sound; which truly we acknowledged to be an immediate providence of God alone, insomuch as no strength of wood and iron could have possibly borne so hard and violent a shock as our ship did, dashing herself under full sail against the rocks, except the extraordinary hand of God had supported the same.

Our next essay was for good ground and anchor-hold to seaward of us, whereon to haul; by which means, if by any, our General put us in comfort, that there was yet left some hope to clear ourselves. In his own person he therefore undertook the charge of sounding, and but even a boat's length from the ship he found that the bottom could not by any length of line be reached unto; so that the beginning of hope, which we were willing to have conceived before, were by this means quite dashed again; yea, our misery seemed to be increased, for whereas at first we could look for nothing but a present end, that expectation was now turned into the awaiting for a lingering death, of the two the far more dreadful to be chosen. One thing fell out

[1] The hull.

happily for us, that the most of our men did not conceive this thing; which had they done, they would in all likelihood have been so much discouraged, that their sorrow would the more disable them to have sought the remedy: our General, with those few others that would judge of the event wisely, dissembling the same, and giving, in the mean time, cheerful speeches and good encouragements unto the rest. For whilst it seemed to be a clear case that our ship was so fast moored that she could not stir, it necessarily followed that either we were there to remain on the place with her, or else, leaving her, to commit ourselves in a most poor and helpless state to seek some other place of stay and refuge, the better of which two choices did carry with it the appearance of worse than a thousand deaths. As touching the ship, this was the comfort that she could give us, that she herself lying there confined already upon the hard and pinching rocks, did tell us plain that she continually expected her speedy despatch, as soon as the sea and winds should come, to be the severe executioners of that heavy judgment by the appointment of the Eternal Judge already given upon her, who had committed her there to Adamantine bonds in a most narrow prison, against their coming for that purpose: so that if we could stay with her, we must peril with her; or if any, by any yet unperceivable means, should chance to be delivered, his escape must needs be a perpetual misery, it being far better to have perished together, than with the loss and absence of his friends to live in a strange land: whether a solitary life (the better choice) among wild beasts, as a bird on the mountains without all comfort, or among the barbarous people of the heathen, in intolerable bondage both of body and mind. And put the case that her day of destruction should be deferred longer than either reason could persuade us, or in any likelihood could seem possible (it being not in the power of earthly things to endure what she had suffered already), yet could our abode there profit us nothing, but increase our wretchedness and enlarge our sorrows; for as her store and victuals were not much —sufficient to sustain us only some few days, without hope of having any increase, no not so much as of a cup of cold water—so must it inevitably come to pass, that we, as children in the mother's womb, should be driven even to eat the flesh from off our own arms, she being no longer able to sustain us; and how horrible a thing this would have proved, is easy by any one to be perceived. And whither, had we departed from her, should we have received any comfort? nay, the very impossibility of going appeared to be no less than those other before mentioned. Our boat was by no means able at once to carry above twenty persons with any safety, and we were fifty-eight in all; the nearest land was six leagues from us, and the wind from the shore directly bent against us; or should we have thought of setting some ashore, and after that to have fetched the rest, there being no place thereabout without inhabitants, the first that had landed must first have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and so the rest in order; and though perhaps we might escape the sword, yet would our life have been worse than death, not alone in respect of our woeful captivity and bodily miseries, but most of all in respect of our Christian liberty, being to be deprived of all public means of serving the true God, and continually grieved with the horrible impieties and devilish idolatries of the heathen. Our misery being thus manifest, the very consideration whereof must needs have shaken flesh and blood, if faith in God's promises had not mightily sustained us, we passed the night with earnest longings that the day would once appear; the mean time we spent in often prayers and other godly exercises, thereby comforting ourselves, and refreshing our hearts, striving to bring ourselves to an humble submission under the hand of God, and to a referring of ourselves wholly to his good will and pleasure.

The day therefore at length appearing, and it being almost full sea about that time, after we had given thanks to God for his forbearing of us hitherto, and had with tears called upon him to bless our labours; we again renewed our travail to see if we could now possibly find any anchor-hold, which we had formerly sought in vain. But this second attempt proved as fruitless as the former, and left us nothing to trust to but prayers and tears; seeing it appeared impossible that ever the forecast, counsel, policy, or power of man could ever effect the delivery of our ship, except the Lord only miraculously should do the same. It was therefore presently motioned, and by general voice determined, to commend our case to God alone, leaving ourselves wholly in his hand to spill[1] or save us, as [might] seem best to his gracious wisdom. And that our faith might be the better strengthened, and the comfortable apprehension of God's mercy in Christ be more clearly felt, we had a sermon and the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour celebrated. After this sweet repast was thus received, and other holy exercises adjoined were ended, lest we should seem guilty in any respect for not using all lawful means we could invent, we fell to another practice yet unessayed, to wit, to unloading of our ship by casting some of her goods into the sea; which thing, as it was attempted most willingly, so it was despatched in very short time. So that even those things which we before this time, nor any other in our case could be without, did now seem as things only worthy to be despised; yea, we were herein so forward, that neither our munition for defence, nor the very meal for sustentation of our lives, could find favour with us, but every thing as it first came to hand went overboard: assuring ourselves of this, that if it pleased God once to deliver us out of that most desperate strait wherein we were, he would fight for us against our enemies, neither would he suffer us to perish for want of bread. But, when all was done, it was not any of our endeavours, but God's only hand, that wrought our delivery; 'twas he alone that brought us even under the very stroke of death; 'twas he alone that said unto us, "Return again, ye sons of men!" 'twas he alone that set us at liberty again, that made us safe and free, after that we had remained in the former miserable condition the full space of twenty hours; to his glorious name be the everlasting praise. The manner of our delivery (for the relation of it will especially be expected) was only this: The place whereon we sat so fast was a firm rock, in a cleft whereof it was we stuck on the larboard side. At low water there was not above six feet of depth in all on the starboard; within little distance, as you have heard, no bottom to be found; the breeze during the whole time that we stayed blew somewhat stiff directly against our broadside, and so perforce kept the ship upright. It pleased God in the beginning of the tide, while the water was yet almost at lowest, to slack the stiffness of the wind; and now our ship, which required thirteen feet of water to make her float, and had not at that time on the one side above seven at most, wanting her prop on the other side, which had too long already kept her up, fell a-heeling towards the deep water, and by that means freed her keel and made us glad men. This shoal is at least three or four leagues in length; it lies in 2°, lacking three or four minutes, South latitude. The day of this deliverance was the 10th of January.

Of all the dangers that in our whole voyage we met with, this was the greatest; but it was not the last, as may appear by what ensueth. Neither could we indeed for a long season free ourselves from the continual care and fear of them; nor could we ever come to any convenient anchoring, but were continually for the most part tossed amongst the many islands and shoals which lie in infinite number round about on the South part

[1] Destroy.

of Celebes, till the 8th day of the following month. January 12th, not being able to bear our sails, by reason of the tempest, and fearing of the dangers, we let fall our anchors upon a shoal in 3° 30′. January 14th, we were gotten a little farther South, where, at an island in 4° 6′, we again cast anchor, and spent a day in watering and wooding. After this we met with foul weather, Westerly winds, and dangerous shoals, for many days together; insomuch that we were utterly weary of this coast of Celebes, and thought best to bear with Timor. The Southernmost cape of Celebes stands in 5° that side[1] the Line. But of this coast of Celebes we could not so easily clear ourselves. The 20th of January we were forced to run with a small island not far from thence; where having sent our boat a good distance from us to search out a place where we might anchor, we were suddenly environed with no small extremities. For there arose a most violent, yea an intolerable flaw and storm out of the South-west against us, making us (who were on a lee-shore amongst most dangerous and hidden shoals) to fear extremely not only the loss of our boat and men, but the present loss of ourselves, our ship, and goods, or the casting of those men, whom God should spare, into the hands of Infidels. Which misery could not by any power or industry of ours have been avoided, if the merciful goodness of God had not, by staying the outrageous extremities wherewith we were set upon, wrought our present delivery; by whose unspeakable mercy our men and boats also were unexpectedly, yet safely, restored unto us. We got off from this place as well as we could, and continued on our course till the 26th day [of January], when the wind took us, very strong against us, W. and WSW., so as that we could bear no more sail till the end of that month was full expired. February 1st, we saw very high land, and as it seemed well inhabited, we would fain have borne with it, to have got some succour, but the weather was so ill that we could find no harbour, but we were very fearful of adventuring ourselves too far amongst the many dangers which were near the shore. The third day also we saw a little island, but being unable to bear any sail, but only to lie at hull,[2] we were by the storm carried away and could not fetch it. February 6th, we saw five islands, one of them towards the East, and four towards the West of us, one bigger than another; at the biggest of which we cast anchor, and the next day watered and wooded.

After we had gone on thence, on February 8th, we descried two canoes, who having descried us, as it seems, before, came willingly unto us, and talked with us, alluring and conducting us to their town not far off, named Barativa; it stands in 7° 13′ South the Line. The people are Gentiles, of handsome body and comely stature, of civil demeanour, very just in dealing, and courteous to strangers; of all which we had evident proof, they showing themselves most glad of our coming, and cheerfully ready to relieve our wants with whatsoever their country could afford. The men all go naked, save their heads and secret parts, every one having one thing or other hanging at his ears. Their women are covered from the middle to the foot, wearing upon their naked arms bracelets, and that in no small number, some having nine at least upon each arm, made for the most part of horn or brass, whereof the lightest, by our estimation, would weigh two ounces. With this people linen cloth, whereof they make rolls for their heads and girdles to wear about their loins, is the best merchandise, and of greatest estimation. They are also much delighted with margarites,[3] which in their language they call "Saleta," and such other like

[1] That is, to the South side.

[2] A ship lies at hull, or a hull, when either in a dead calm or in a storm all her sails are taken in, and she shows only bare masts and rigging.

[3] Beads.

trifles. Their island is both rich and fruitful; rich in gold, silver, copper, tin, sulphur, &c. Neither are they only expert to try those metals, but very skilful also in working of them artificially into divers forms and shapes, as pleaseth them best. Their fruits are diverse likewise and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemons, cucumbers, cocoas, figs, sago, with divers other sorts, whereof we had one in reasonable quantity, in bigness, form, and husk, much like a bay-berry, hard in substance, but pleasant in taste, which being sodden becomes soft, and is a most profitable and nourishing meat. Of each of these we received of them whatsoever we desired for our need, insomuch that (such was God's gracious goodness to us) the old proverb was verified with us, "After a storm cometh a calm, after war peace, after scarcity followeth plenty:" so that in all our voyage, Ternate only excepted, from our departure out of our own country, hitherto we found not anywhere greater comfort and refreshing than we did at this time in this place. In refreshing and furnishing ourselves here we spent two days, and departed hence February 10th. When we were come into the height of 8° 4′, February 12th, in the morning we espied a green island to the Southward; not long after, two other islands on the same side, and a great one more towards the North: they seemed all to be well inhabited, but we had neither need nor desire to go to visit them, and so we passed by them. The 14th day we saw some other reasonably big islands; and February 16th we passed between four or five big islands more, which lay in the height[1] 9° 40′. The 18th, we cast anchor under a little island, whence we departed again the day following; we wooded here, but other relief, except two turtles, we received none. The 22d, we lost sight of three islands on our starboard side, which lay in 10° and some odd minutes. After this we passed on to the Westward without stay or anything to be taken notice of till the 9th of March, when in the morning we espied land, some part thereof very high, in 8° 20′ South latitude. Here we anchored that night, and the next day weighed again, and bearing further North and nearer shore, we came to anchor the second time. The 11th of March we first took in water, and after sent our boat again to shore, where we had traffic with the people of the country; whereupon, the same day, we brought our ship more near the town, and having settled ourselves there that night, the next day our General sent his man ashore to present the King with certain cloth, both linen and woollen, besides some silks; which he gladly and thankfully received, and returned rice, cocoas, hens, and other victuals in way of recompense. This island we found to be the Island of Java, the middle whereof stands in 7° 30′ beyond the Equator. The 13th of March our General himself, with many of his gentlemen and others, went to shore, and presented the King (of whom he was joyfully and lovingly received) with his music, and shewed him the manner of our use of arms, by training his men with their pikes and other weapons which they had, before him. For the present, we were entertained as we desired, and at last dismissed with a promise of more victuals to be shortly sent us.

In this island there is one chief, but many under-governors, or petty kings, whom they call Rajahs, who live in great familiarity and friendship one with another. The 14th day we received victuals from two of them; and the day after that, to wit the 15th, three of these kings in their own persons came aboard to see our General, and to view our ship and warlike munition. They were well pleased with what they saw, and with the entertainment which we gave them. And after these had been with us, and on their return had, as it seems, related what they found, Rajah Donan, the chief King of the whole land, bringing victuals with him for our relief, he also the next

[1] Latitude (South of the Line).

day after came aboard us. Few were the days that one or more of these kings did miss to visit us, insomuch that we grew acquainted with the names of many of them, as of Rajah Pataiára, Rajah Cabocapálla, Rajah Manghángo, Rajah Boccabarra, Rajah Timbánton: whom our General always entertained with the best cheer that we could make, and shewed them all the commodities of our ship, with our ordnance and other arms and weapons, and the several furnitures belonging to each, and the uses for which they served. His music also, and all things else whereby he might do them pleasure, wherein they took exceeding great delight with admiration. One day, amongst the rest, March 21st, Rajah Donan coming aboard us, in requital of our music which was made to him, presented our General with his country music, which though it were of a very strange kind, yet the sound was pleasant and delightful. The same day he caused an ox also to be brought to the water's side and delivered to us, for which he was to his content rewarded by our General with divers sorts of very costly silks, which he held in great esteem. Though our often giving entertainment in this manner did hinder us much in the speedy despatching of our businesses, and made us spend the more days about them, yet there we found all such convenient helps, that to our contents we at last ended them. The matter of greatest importance which we did, besides victualling, was the new trimming and washing of our ship, which by reason of our long voyage was so overgrown with a kind of shellfish sticking fast unto her, that it hindered her exceedingly, and was a great trouble to her sailing. The people, as are their kings, are a loving, a very true, and a just-dealing people. We trafficked with them for hens, goats, cocoas, plantains, and other kinds of victuals, which they offered us in such plenty, that we might have laden our ship if we had needed.[1]

We took our leaves and departed from them the 26th of March, and set our course WSW., directly towards the Cape of Good Hope, or Bon Esperance, and continued without touch of aught but air and water until the 21st of May, when we espied land—to wit, a part of the main of Africa—in some places very high, under the latitude of thirty-one and a half degrees. We coasted along till June 15th, on which day, having very fair weather, and the wind at South-east, we passed the Cape itself so near in sight, that we had been able with our pieces to have shot to land.[2] July 15th we fell with the land again about Rio de Sesto, where we saw many negroes in their boats a-fishing, whereof two came very near us, but we cared not to stay, nor had any talk or dealing with them. The 22d of the same month we came to Sierra Leone, and spent two days for watering in the mouth of Tagoine, and then put to sea again; here also we had oysters,[3]

[1] In every village, other narratives inform us, was a house of assembly or public hall, where the people met twice daily to partake of a common meal and enjoy the pleasures of conversation. "To this festival every one contributed, at his pleasure or convenience, fruits, boiled rice, roasted fowls, and sago. The viands were spread on a table raised three feet, and the party gathered round, one rejoicing in the company of another."

[2] The Cape is described by another chronicler as "a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth." They passed it in perfectly calm and clear weather; making them affirm, that the Portuguese had not less falsely alleged the extreme peril of the passage from continual tempests, than the Spaniards, to deter voyagers of other nations, had exaggerated the dangers of the course round the southern extremity of America.

[3] The voyagers came here upon a kind of oysters which "was found on trees, spawning and increasing infinitely; the oyster suffering no bud to grow."

and plenty of lemons, which gave us good refreshing. We found ourselves under the Tropic of Cancer, August 15th, having the wind at North-east, and we fifty leagues off from the nearest land. The 22d day we were in the height of the Canaries.

And the 26th of September (which was Monday in the just and ordinary reckoning of those that had stayed at home in one place or country, but in our computation was the Lord's Day or Sunday[1]) we safely, with joyful minds and thankful hearts to God, arrived at Plymouth, the place of our first setting forth, after we had spent two years, ten months, and some few odd days besides, in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deep, in discovering so many admirable things, in going through with so many strange adventures, in escaping out of so many dangers, and overcoming so many difficulties, in this our encompassing of this nether globe, and passing round about the world, which we have related.

Soli rerum maximarum Effectori,
Soli totius mundi Gubernatori,
Soli suorum Conservatori,
Soli Deo sit semper Gloria.

[1] The same circumstance, which "every schoolboy" can now explain, had also astonished the companions of Magellan, who, on their return from their circumnavigation to San Lucar in 1522, discovered that they had "lost a day." Dampier notes the same thing at the commencement of his Fourteenth Chapter. See page 251.

END OF DRAKE'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

DRAKE'S LAST VOYAGE.

1595.

[An account of Drake's unfortunate expedition to the West Indies in 1595, written by Thomas Maynarde, one of his companions on the occasion, is still preserved, and is given here—though a little apart from the main purpose of the present volume—as an appropriate sequel to Mr Fletcher's narrative of his most brilliant achievement.]

It appears by the attempts and known purposes of the Spaniard—as by his greedy desire to be our neighbour in Britain, his fortifying upon the river of Brest, to gain so near us a quiet and safe road for his fleet, his carelessness in losing the strongholds and towns which he possessed in the Low Countries, not following those wars in that heat which he wonted, the rebellious rising of the Earl of Tyrone (wrought or drawn thereto

undoubtedly by his wicked practices) —that he leaveth no means unattempted which he judged might be a furtherance to turn our tranquillity into accursed thraldom; so robbing us of that quiet peace which we, from the hands of Her Majesty (next under God), abundantly enjoy. This his bloodthirsty desire foreseen by the wisdom of our Queen and Council, they held no better means to curb his unjust pretences, than by sending forces to invade him in that kingdom from whence he hath feathers to fly to the top of his high desires; they knowing that if for two or three years a blow were given him there that might hinder the coming into Spain of his treasure, his poverty, by reason of his huge daily payments, would be so great, and his men of war, most of them mercenaries, that assuredly would fall from him, so would he have more need of means to keep his own territories, than he now hath of superfluity to thrust into others' rights.

This invasion was spoken of in June 1594, a long time before it was put in execution; and it being partly resolved on, Sir Francis Drake was named General in November following: a man of great spirit and fit to undertake matters: in my poor opinion, better able to conduct forces and discreetly to govern in conducting them to places where service was to be done, than to command in the execution thereof. But, assuredly, his very name was a great terror to the enemy in all those parts, having heretofore done many things in those countries to his honourable fame and profit. But entering into them as the child of fortune, it may be his self-willed and peremptory command was doubted, and that caused Her Majesty, as should seem, to join Sir John Hawkins in equal commission: a man old and wary, entering into matters with so laden a foot, that the other's meat would be eaten before his spit could come to the fire; men of so different natures and dispositions, that what the one desireth the other would commonly oppose against; and though their wary carriages sequestered it from meaner wits, yet was it apparently seen to better judgments before our going from Plymouth, that whom the one loved, the other smally esteemed. Agreeing best, for what I could conjecture, in giving out a glorious title to their intended journey, and in not so well victualling the navy as, I deem, was Her Majesty's pleasure it should be, both of them served them to good purpose; for, from this having the distributing of so great sums, their miserable providing for us would free them from incurring any great loss, whatsoever befell of the journey. And the former[1] drew unto them so great repair of voluntaries,[2] that they had choice to discharge such few as they had pressed, and to enforce the stay of others who gladly would be partakers of their voyage. But notwithstanding matters were very forward, and that they had drawn together three thousand men, and had ready furnished twenty-seven ships, whereof six were Her Majesty's, yet many times was it very doubtful whether the journey should proceed;[3] and had not the news of a galleon of the King of Spain, which was driven into Saint John de Puerto Rico with two millions and a half of treasure, come unto them by the report of certain prisoners, whereof they advertised Her Majesty, it is very likely it had been broken, but Her Majesty, persuaded by them of the easy taking thereof, commanded them to hasten their departure.

So on Thursday, being the 28th of August, in the year 1595, having stayed two months in Plymouth, we went thence twenty-seven sail, and

[1] That is, the "giving out a glorious title" to their intended expedition.

[2] Resort of volunteers.

[3] It was detained, among other causes, by artfully propagated rumours that another great Armada was being prepared for the invasion of England—the Spaniards thus gaining time to put their colonies in good defence against the formidable attack now menaced.

were two thousand five hundred men of all sorts. This fleet was divided into two squadrons; not that it was so appointed by Her Majesty, for from her was granted as powerful authority unto either of them over the whole as any part, but Sir Francis victualling the one half and Sir John the other, it made them, as men affecting what they had done,[1] to challenge a greater prerogative over them than the whole; wherein they wronged themselves and the action,[2] for we had not run sixty or seventy leagues in our course, before a flag of council was put out in the Garland, unto which all commanders with the chief masters and gentlemen repaired. Sir Francis complained that he had three hundred men more in his squadron than were in the other, and that he was much pestered in his own ship, whereof he would gladly be eased. Sir John gave no other hearing to this motion, but seemed to dislike that he should bring more than was concluded betwixt them; and this drew them to some choleric speeches. But Sir John would not receive any unless he were entreated; to this Sir Francis' stout[3] heart could never be driven. This was on the 2d of September, and after they were somewhat qualified,[4] they acquainted us that Sir Thomas Baskerville, our Colonel-general, was of their council by virtue of the broad seal, and that they would take unto them Sir Nicholas Clifford and the other captains appointed by Her Majesty, who were, eleven for the land, four for the ships in which they themselves went not. They gave us instructions for directing our course, if, by foul weather or mischance, any should be severed, and orders what allowances we should put our men into for preservation of victuals, with other necessary instructions. In the end, Sir John revealed the places whither we were bound, in hearing of the basest mariner; observing therein no warlike or provident advice, nor was it ever amended to the time of their deaths, but so he named Saint John de Puerto Rico, where the treasure before spoken of was to be taken, even without blows; from whence we should go direct to Nombre de Dios, and so over land to Panama. What other things should fall out by the way, he esteemed them not worth the naming, this being sufficient to make a far greater army rich to their content.

Some seven or eight days after this, we were called aboard the Defiance, where, Sir Francis Drake propounding unto us whether we should give upon the Canaries or Madeiras (for he was resolved to put for one of them by the way), we seeing his bent and the earnestness of the Colonel-general, together with the apparent likelihood of profit, might soon have been drawn thereto, but for considering the weighty matters we had undertaken, and how needful it was to hasten us thither. But General Hawkins utterly misliking this notion—it being a matter, as he said, never before thought of—knew no cause why the fleet should stay in any place till they came to the Indies, unless it should be by his[5] taking in of so great numbers to consume his waters and other provision; the which, if Sir Francis would acknowledge, he would rid him and relieve him the best he could. Now the fire which lay hid in their stomachs began to break forth, and had not the Colonel pacified them, it would have grown farther; but their heat somewhat abated, and they concluded to dine next day aboard the Garland with Sir John, when it was resolved that we should put for the Grand Canaries, though, in my conscience, whatsoever his tongue said, Sir John's heart was against it. These matters were well qualified, and for that place we shaped our course; in which

[1] Taking a greater interest in what had engaged their own attention and touched their own pocket.

[2] Enterprise.

[3] Proud, stubborn.

[4] After their passion had somewhat abated.

[5] Drake's.

we met with a small Fleming bound for the Straits, and a small man-of-war of Weymouth, who kept us company to the Canaries. On Wednesday, the 24th day, we had sight of Lancerotta and Forteventura. The 25th, at night we descried the Canaries, it being a month after our departure from Plymouth. On Friday, being the 26th, we came to anchor some saker-shot from a fort which stands to the WNW. of the harbour. Sir Francis spent much time in seeking out the fittest place to land; the enemy thereby gaining time to draw their forces in readiness to impeach[1] our approach. At length we, putting for the shore in our boats and pinnaces, found a great siege[2] and such power of men to encounter us, that it was then thought it would hazard the whole action if we should give further upon it, whereupon we returned without receiving or doing any harm worthy the writing; but, undoubtedly, had we launched under the fort at our first coming to anchor, we had put fair to be possessors of the town, for the delays gave the enemy great stomachs[3] and daunted our own; and it being the first service our new men were brought into, it was to be doubted they would prove the worse the whole journey following.

We presently weighed hence and came to anchor the 27th at the WSW. part of this island, where we watered. Here Captain Grimstone, one of the twelve captains for land, was slain by the mountaineers, with his boy and a surgeon. Hence we departed the 28th, holding our course SW. three weeks, then we ran WSW. and W. by S. until the 27th of October, on which day we had sight of Maten, an island lying south-east from Dominica. Our Generals meant to water at Guadaloupe, for Dominica being inhabited by Indians, our men straggling soon would have their throats cut. General Drake lying ahead the fleet, ran in by the north of Dominica, Sir John by south. The 29th we anchored under Guadaloupe; Sir Francis being there a day before us. On the 30th, Josias, captain of the Delight, brought news to the Generals, that the Francis, a small ship of company, was taken by nine frigates; whereupon Sir Francis would presently have followed them, either with the whole fleet or some part, for that he knew our intentions were discovered by reason they were so openly made known, as I afore have set down, by Sir John Hawkins. Sir John would in no wise agree to either of these motions, and he was assisted in his opinion by Sir Nicholas Clifford, all others furthering his desires, which might be a means to stay them for going into Puerto Rico before us; but Sir John prevailed, for that he was sickly, Sir Francis being loth to breed his further disquiet. The reason of his stay was, to trim his ships, mount his ordnance, take in water, set by some new pinnaces, and to make things in that readiness, that he cared not to meet with the King's whole fleet. Here we stayed doing these necessaries three days. This is a desert, and was without inhabitants.

On the 4th of November we departed, and being becalmed under the lee of the land, Sir Francis caused the Richard, one of the victuallers, to be unladen and sunk. The 8th we anchored among the Virgins, other west islands: here we drew our company on shore, that every man might know his colours, and we found our company short of the one thousand two hundred promised for land service, few of the captains having above ninety, most not eighty, some not fifty; which fell out partly for that the Generals had selected to them a company for their guard, of many of the gallantest men of the army. Sir John's sickness increased. Sir Francis appointed captains to the merchants' ships; this consumed time till the 11th, when we passed a

[1] Prevent; French, "empêcher." The word is still used in Ireland in the sense of hindering or obstructing.

[2] Fortification.

[3] Courage.

sound, though, by[1] our mariners, never passed by fleet afore, and we came to anchor before Puerto Rico on the 12th about three of the clock in the afternoon, at which time Sir John Hawkins died. I made my men ready presently to have landed, knowing that our sudden resolution would greatly have daunted the enemy, and have held ours in opinion of assured victory; but I was countermanded by authority, and during the time of our deliberation the enemy laboured by all means to cause us to disanchor, so working, that within an hour he had planted three or four pieces of artillery upon the shore next to us, and playing upon the Defiance, knowing her to be the Admiral, whilst our Generals sat at supper with Sir Nicholas Clifford and divers others, a shot came amongst them, wherewith Sir Nicholas, Brute Brown, Captain Strafford, who had Grimstone's company, and some standers-by, were hurt. Sir Nicholas died that night, so seconding Sir John Hawkins in his death, as he did in his opinion at Guadaloupe. My brother Brown lived five or six days after, and died much bewailed. This shot made our General weigh and fall farther to the westward, where we rode safely. The frigates before spoken of rode within their forts: we had no place now to land our men but within them, in the face of the town, which was dangerous, for that both forts and ships could play on us; it was therefore concluded that boats should fire them where they rode. Captain Poore and myself had the command of this service; for the regiments, Captain Salisbury commanding; the grand captain company was sent by the Generals; divers sea commanders were also sent; and on the 13th at night, passing in hard under the fort, we set three of them on fire; only one of which, it was my chance to undertake, was burnt; on the others the fire held not, by reason that being once out they were not maintained with new. The burnt ship gave a great light, the enemy thereby playing upon us with their ordnance and small shot as if it had been fair day, and sinking some of our boats: a man could hardly command his mariners to row, they foolishly thinking every place more dangerous than where they were, when, indeed, none was sure. Thus doing no harm, we returned with two or three prisoners, when, indeed, in my poor opinion, it had been an easier matter to bring them out of the harbour than fire them as we did, for our men aboard the ships numbered five thousand one hundred and sixty pieces of artillery[2] that played on us during this service; and it had been less dangerous to have abidden them close in the frigates and in the dark than as we did. But great commanders many times fail in their judgment, being crossed by a co-partner. But I had cause of more grief than the Indies could yield me of joy, losing my alferez,[3] Davis Pursell; Mr Vaughan, a brother-in-law of Sir John Hawkins, with three others; Thomas Powton, with five or six more, hurt and maimed; and was somewhat discomfited, for the General feigned here to set up his rest; but examining the prisoners, by whom he understood that these frigates were sent for his treasure, and that they would have fallen among us at Guadaloupe had they not taken the Francis, his mind altered: calling to council, he commanded us to give our opinions what we thought of the strength of the place. Most thought it would hazard the whole action.[4] But one Rush, a captain, more to me alleged, that without better putting for it[5] than bare looking upon the outside of the forts, we could hardly give such judg-

[1] According to the report of.

[2] A number wholly incredible; the Spanish accounts say that there were only seventy pieces.

[3] Standard-bearer; a word borrowed from the Arabic, as its prefix plainly enough shows.

[4] That to attack it would bring the whole expedition into jeopardy.

[5] Without some further effort.

ment; and I set it plainly under my hand, that if we resolutely attempted it, all was ours; and that I persuaded myself no town in the Indies could yield us more honour or profit. The General presently said: "I will bring thee to twenty places far more wealthy and easier to be gotten." Such like speeches I think had bewitched the Colonel, for he most desired him to hasten him hence. The enemy, the day after we had fired the frigates, sunk together four to save us labour, but chiefly to strengthen their forts: two other great ships they sunk and fired in the mouth of the harbour, to give them light to play on us from their forts, as we entered the first night. And hence we went the 15th. Here I left all hope of good success.

On the 19th we came to anchor in a fair bay, the Bay of Sta Jermana,[1] at the westernmost part of the island, where we stayed till the 24th, setting up more new pinnaces and unloading the other new victualler, the General taking the most part into his own ship, as he did of the former. Captain Torke, in the Hope, was made Vice-Admiral. This is a very pleasant and fertile island, having upon it good store of cattle, fruits, and fish, with all things necessary to man's sustenance; and were it well manured, no place could yield it in greater abundance or better. Departing hence, we had our course for Curaçoa. The second day after our putting off, the Exchange, a small ship, sprung her mast, and was sunk; the men and part of the victuals were saved by other ships. Upon Curaçoa there is great store of cattle and goats, and we fell with it upon Saturday the 29th; but our General, deceived by the current and westerly course, made it for Aruba,[2] an island lying ten or twelve leagues to the westward, and so made no stay; when, next morning descrying whether he found his error, we bore with Cape de la Vela, and from thence our Colonel, with all the companies in the pinnaces and boats, were sent to the city of Rio de la Hacha, and with small resistance we took it the 1st of December at night. The General came unto us the next morning with the fleet. This town was left bare of goods; the inhabitants, having intelligence of our coming, had carried all in the woods, and hid their treasures in *caches;* but, staying here seventeen days, we made so good search, that little remained unfound within four leagues of the town. We took many prisoners, Spaniards and Negroes, some slaves repairing to us voluntarily. The General with two hundred men went in boats to Lancheria,[3] which is a place where they fish for pearl, standing ten leagues to the eastward of their town, from whence they brought good store of pearl, and took a carvel, in which was some money, wine, and myrrh. During our stay here, the Governor once, divers others often, repaired unto us to redeem their town, Lancheria, their boats, and slaves. They did this to gain time to convey away the King's treasure, and to advertise their neighbour towns to convey their treasure in more safety than themselves had done; for the whole (except the slaves who voluntarily repaired unto us) was yielded unto them for twenty-four thousand pesos, five shillings and sixpence a piece, to be paid in pearls; bringing these to their town at the day, and valuing in double the price they were worth. Our General delivered the hostages and set their town Lancheria and boats on fire, carrying their slaves with us. The wealth we had here was given to countervail the charge of the journey; but I fear it will not so prove in the end. Our Vice-Admiral, Captain Torke, died here of sickness. This is an exceedingly good country, champaign and well inhabited; great store of cattle, horses, sheep, goats, fish, and fowl, whereon we fed, but small store of grain or fruit near the town, rich only in pearl and cattle.

[1] San German.

[2] Mistook it for Oruba.

[3] La Rancheria.

The 20th, being Saturday, we came to Santa Martha. We sunk two ketches, before we came to Rio de la Hacha, which we brought out of England. Presently, upon our coming to anchor, we landed and gave upon[1] the town. We found small resistance more than a few shot playing out of the woods as we marched towards the town. Companies were presently sent abroad to discover and search the country. The inhabitants had too long forewarning to carry their goods out of our possibility to find them in so short time; little or nothing of value was gotten, only the Lieutenant-Governor and some others were taken prisoners; and firing the town the 21st, we departed. Captain Worrell, our trenchmaster,[2] died at this town of sickness. This was a very pretty town, and six leagues off there was a gold mine. If part of our company had been sent thither upon our first arrival at Rio de la Hacha, doubtless we had done much good; but now they had scrubbed it very bare. In this place was great store of fruit and much fernandobuck;[3] for that the wind blew so extremely, and the road wild, we could not ship it. Before we departed hence, it was concluded that we should pass Carthagena and go directly for Nombre de Dios. We anchored in the road on Sunday following, being the 28th; and landing presently, receiving some small shot from the town, we found small resistance more than a little fort at the east end of their town, in which they had left one piece of ordnance, which brake at the first shot. They gave upon us as we gave upon them: certain prisoners were taken in the flying, who made it known, that having intelligence long before of our coming, their treasure was conveyed to places of more safety, either to Panama, or secretly hidden; and it might very well be, for the town was left very bare;[4] wherefore it was resolved that we should hasten with speed to Panama. Nombre de Dios standeth on the North Sea, Panama upon the South,[5] distant some eighteen or nineteen leagues. There were only two ways to get thither; one by the River Chagre, which lies to the westward twenty leagues; upon this it is passable within five leagues of Panama: the other through deserts and over mountains void of inhabitants: this was troublesome and hard, as well for want of means to carry our provision of meat and munition, as for the ill passage with an army through these deserts and unknown places. That by the river our General held more dangerous, feigning there was no place for our fleet to wade safely. This made our Colonel yield to the way by the mountain, though he and others foresaw the danger before our setting hence; but he resolved to make trial of what could be done.

So on Monday the 29th we began our journey, taking with us the strongest and lustiest of our army, to the number of fifty[6] men and seven colours. Before our setting hence, we buried Captain Arnold Baskerville, our Sergeant-major-general, a gallant gentleman. The first day we marched three leagues; the next, six leagues, where we came to a great house which the enemy had set on fire, it being a place where the King's mules do use to lodge coming from Panama to Nombre de Dios with his treasure: it is the midway betwixt both places. The house would receive five hundred horses. We had not marched fully a league on Wednesday morning, when we came to a place fortified upon the top of a hill, which the enemy defended. We had no other way to pass nor no

[1] Attacked; French, "donner sur."

[2] Engineer.

[3] Wood of Pernambuco or Fernandobuco; Brasil wood.

[4] They found, however, at the top of an adjacent watchtower, more than 2000 lbs. of silver, with some gold and other valuables.

[5] The Atlantic and Pacific respectively.

[6] The number was really 750.

means to make our approach but a very deep lane, where but one could pass at once, unless it were by clambering upon the banks and creeping up the hill through the brakes, which some of our men did, and came to the trees which they had plashed[1] to make their palisado, over which they could not pass, the many boughs so hindered them. It was my chance, clambering up the banks to repair to three musketeers whom I had helped up, to fall directly between two of their places fortified, coming unto two paths by which they fetched their water, and giving presently upon them, the place being open, my small number found too good resistance, and I was driven to retire with the loss of these few. Here was the only place to beat them from their hold, whereof I sent the Colonel word, Captain Poore and Bartlett and others repairing to me. I shewed them the path; we heard the enemy plashing and felling of trees far before us. The Colonel sent for us to come unto him: he debated with us what he foresaw before our coming from Nombre de Dios, and though he thought, in his opinion, we should fear the enemy hence, yet, having retreats upon retreats, they would kill our best men without taking little or any hurt themselves; and our men began to drop apace; our powder and match were spoiled by much rain and waters which we had passed, unless it were such as some of our soldiers had with more care preserved. The provision for meat at our coming from Nombre de Dios was seven or eight cakes of biscuit or rusk for a man, which was either by wet spoiled, or their greediness had devoured; so there remained to few one day's bread, to most none at all. Our hurt men, as Captain Nicholas Baskerville and some others of account, we should be driven to leave to the mercy of the enemy, unless they could hold company. Before our coming to Panama, had we beaten them from all these holds, which I think would have been too dangerous for us to have attempted, considering the estate we were in, we must have fought with them at a bridge where they had entrenched themselves in a far greater number than we were; and it is manifest, if we had not within three days gotten some relief, we had been overthrown, though no enemy had fought against us. But our stomachs calling these, with other dangers, to his careful consideration, he resolved to retire, and so commanded us to cause the slain to be thrown out of sight, the hurt to be sent to the quarters from whence we came that morning, and the rest to be drawn away. Here were slain Captain Marchant, our Quarter-master, with some other officers, gentlemen, and soldiers. Upon our coming to the quarters, the Colonel took view of the hurt, and for such as could ride he procured all the horses of the army; for the other, he entreated the enemy to treat them kindly, as they expected the like from us towards theirs, of which we had a far greater number. On the 2d of January we returned to Nombre de Dios; our men so wearied with the illness of the way, surbatted[2] for want of shoes, and weak with their diet, that it would have been a poor day's service that we should have done upon an enemy had they been there to resist us. I am persuaded that never army, great or small, undertook a march through so unknown places so weakly provided and with so small means to help themselves, unless it might be some few going covertly to do some sudden exploit before it were thought of by the enemy, and so return unspied; for, undoubtedly, two hundred men foreknowing their intentions and provided with all things necessary, are able to break or weaken the greatest force that any prince in Christendom can bring thither, if he had place to find more than we had. This march had made many swear that he will never venture to buy gold at such a price again. I confess noble spirits,

[1] Pleached, or plaited, like a hedge.

[2] Bruised, wearied, footsore.

desirous to do service to their Prince and country, may soon be persuaded to all hardness and danger, but having once made trial thereof, would be very loth, as I suppose, to carry any force that way again; for beholding it in many places, a man would judge it dangerous for one man to pass alone, almost impossible for horses and an army.

The day that our General had news of our return, he meant to weigh and fall nearer to the River Chagre with the fleet, leaving some few to bring us if we were enforced to retire, whereby he little doubted. But being beaten from the place where it appeared all his hopes rested for gaining to himself and others this mass of treasure which he so confidently promised before, it was high time for him to devise of some other course. Wherefore, on the 4th of January, he called us to council, and debated with us what was now to be done. All these parts had notice long before of all our intentions, as it appeared by letters written from the Governor of Lima to the Governor of Panama and Nombre de Dios, giving them advice to be careful and to look well to themselves, for that Drake and Hawkins were making ready in England to come upon them. Lima is distant from these places more than three hundred leagues, all overlaid with snakes. It appears that they had good intelligence. This made them to convey their treasure to places which they resolved to defend with better force than we were able to attempt. Like as upon the coming of the sun, dews and mists begin to vanish, so our blinded eyes began now to open, and we found that the glorious speeches, of a hundred places that they[1] knew in the Indies to make us rich, was but a bait to draw Her Majesty to give them honourable employments, and us to adventure our lives for their glory; for now charts and maps must be our chiefest directors, he[2] being in these parts at the furthest limit of his knowledge. There he found out a lake called Laguna de Nicaragua, upon which stand certain towns, as Granada, Leon, and others; also the Bay of Honduras, a place known to be of small wealth by itself, unless it be brought thither to be embarked for Spain. He demanded which of these we would attempt; our Colonel said, "Both, one after the other, and all too little to content us if we took them." It was then resolved that we should first for the river, and as matters fell out, for the other. Nombre de Dios, together with their Negro town, was fired; and we sunk and fired fourteen small frigates which we found in the road. We got here twenty bars of silver, with some gold and certain plate; more would have been found had it been well sought: but our General thought it folly to gather our harvest grain by grain, being so likely at Panama to thrust our hands into the whole heaps; and after our return, being troubled in mind, he seemed little to regard any counsel that should be given him to that purpose, but to hasten thence as fast as he might. This is a most wealthy place, being settled upon a ground full of camphire, environed with hilly woods and mountains, the bottom a dampish fen. Hence we departed the 5th, and held our course for Nicaragua.

On the 9th we found a very deep and dangerous bay, playing it here up and down; all men weary of the place. The 10th we descried a small island called Escudes,[3] where we came to anchor; and here we took a frigate which was an advice[4] of the King's. By this we learned that the towns standing upon this Lake[5] were of small wealth and very dangerous, by reason of many shoals and great roughs our mariners should have, it being a hundred leagues: yet if the wind would have permitted, we had

[1] The promoters of the expedition.
[2] Drake.
[3] Escudo Island, near the bottom of Mosquito Bay.
[4] An "aviso," or despatch-boat.
[5] Of Nicaragua.

assuredly put for them, and never returned to one half again. Here we stayed, at a waste island where there was no relief but a few tortoises for such as could catch them, twelve days. This is counted the sickliest place of the Indies; and here died many of our men, victuals beginning to grow scarce with us. In the end, finding the wind to continue contrary, he resolved to depart, and to take the wind as God sent it.

So on the 22d we went hence, having there buried Captain Plott, Egerton, and divers others. I questioned with our General, being often private with him whilst we stayed here, to see whether he would reveal unto me any of his purposes; and I demanded of him, why he so often conjured me, being in England, to stay with him in these parts as long as himself, and where the place was? He answered me with grief, protesting that he was as ignorant of the Indies as myself, and that he never thought any place could be so changed, as it were from a delicious and pleasant arbour into a waste and desert wilderness; besides the variableness of the wind and weather, so stormy and blusterous as he never saw it before. But he most wondered that since his coming out of England he never saw sail worth giving chase unto: yet in the greatness of his mind, he would in the end, conclude with these words: "It matters not, man; God hath many things in store for us; and I know many means to do Her Majesty good service and to make us rich, for we must have gold before we see England;" when, good gentleman, in my conceit, it fared with him as with some careless-living man who prodigally consumes his time, fondly persuading himself that the nurse that fed him in his childhood will likewise nourish him in his old age, and, finding the dug dried and withered, enforced then to behold his folly, tormented in mind, dieth with a starved body. He had, besides his own adventure, gaged his own reputation greatly, in promising Her Majesty to do her honourable service, and to return her a very profitable adventure; and having sufficiently experienced, for seven or eight years together, how hard it was to regain favour once thought ill of, the mistress of his fortune now leaving him to yield to a discontented mind.[1] And since our return from Panama he never carried mirth nor joy in his face; yet no man he loved must conjecture that he took thought thereof. But here he began to grow sickly. At this island we sunk a carvel which we brought out of England, putting her men and victuals into a last-taken frigate. From hence a great current sets towards the eastward; by reason whereof, with the scant of wind we had, on Wednesday, being the 28th, we came to Portobello, which is within eight or nine leagues of Nombre de Dios. It was the best harbour we came into since we left Plymouth.

This morning, about seven of the clock, Sir Francis died. The next day Sir Thomas Baskerville carried him a league off, and buried him in the sea. In this place, the inhabitants of Nombre de Dios meant to build a town, it being far more healthy than where they dwell. Here they began a fort which already cost the King seven thousand purses, and a few houses towards their town, which they called Civitas Sti Philippi. Them we fired, razing the fortification to the ground. Here we found, as in other places, all abandoned; their ordnance cast into the sea, some of which we found, and carried aboard the Garland.

Our Generals being dead, most men's hearts were bent to hasten for England as soon as they might; but Sir Thomas Baskerville, having the command of the army by virtue of

[1] Referring, doubtless, to the failure of the expedition to Portugal, for the restoration of Dom Antonio, which Drake undertook in 1589, with Sir John Novis as commander of the land forces. Though the Admiral was acquitted honourably of all blame, his reputation seems to have for the time lain under a cloud.

Her Majesty's broad seal, endeavoured to prevent the dissevering of the fleet, and to that end talked with such as he heard intended to quit company before they were disembogued,[1] and drew all companies to subscribe to certain articles signifying our purposes: viz., that putting hence, we should turn it back to Santa Martha, if the wind would suffer us, otherwise to run over for Jamaica, where it was thought we should be refreshed with some victuals. Matters thus concluded, the Delight, the Elizabeth, and our late taken frigates were sunk. Many of the Negro men and base[2] prisoners were here put on shore; and here we weighed on Sunday the 8th of February. Our victuals began to shorten apace, yet we had lain a long time at very hard allowance—four men each morning one quart of beer and cake of biscuit for dinner, and for supper one quart of beer and two cakes of biscuit and two cans of water, with a pint of pease, or half a pint of rice, or somewhat more of oatmeal. This was our allowance being at Portobello, and six weeks before, but that we had sometimes stock-fish. From thence there is a current that sets to the eastward, by the help of which, on the 14th, we had sight of an island short of Carthagena fifteen or sixteen leagues; further than this we could not go to the eastward, for that the current had left us. The 15th at night, it being fair weather, we lost sight of our fleet. Here as I grew discontented, knowing it touched my poor regulation so to leave the army; and I had many things to persuade me that it was done of purpose by the captain and master, thereby gaining an excuse to depart; I showed the captain the danger he would run into by leaving so honourable forces when they had need of our company; and God knoweth that had I but had judgment which way to have cast for them, I would rather have lost my life than so forsake the like. He deposed on the Bible, and Christianity made me believe him. But playing it up and down about twelve of the clock, and discovering none of them, the wind blew so contrary that the seamen affirmed by holding this course we should be cast back in the bay, and they were persuaded that our fleet could not attain Santa Martha, but were gone over for Jamaica, whither they would follow them. I plainly foresaw that if we missed them there, it was like that we should no more meet till we came to England, which would have made me to persuade a longer search upon the main; but my hope of their being there, together with the weakness of our men and the small means we had to retain them, fearing lest my delay might endanger Her Majesty's ships and the whole company, I yielded to their persuasions. We were in ten degrees and a half when we put from hence, and we came till the 22d, when we had sight of a very dangerous shoal which our seamen thought they had passed near two days ago. If we had fallen in with it in the night we had been all lost. The shoal is named Secrana.

On Shrove Wednesday, being the 24th, we fell with Jamaica, and by means of a Mulatto and an Indian we had, this night, forty bundles of dried beef, which served our whole company so many days. We came to anchor at the westernmost part of the island, in a fair sandy bay, where we watered, and stayed, in hope to have some news of our fleet, seven days. This our stay brought no intelligence, wherefore, our seamen thought that our fleet, not able to recover this place, were fallen either with Cape Corrientes or Cape Saint Antonio;[3] these places we meant to touch in our course; and hence we went the 1st of March. On the 6th we saw a ship on the leeward of us, and the next morning we made her to be the Pegasine, one of our fleet, who, as they said, lost the Admiral near the time as we did, being by the Colonel

[1] Before they passed the Boccas or narrow seas, and entered the wider Ocean.

[2] Commoner sort.

[3] At the west of Cuba.

sent to the Susan Bonaventure, whom they left in great distress, by reason of a leak they had taken, and I greatly feared, by their report, they are perished. There were in her one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty persons, many gallant gentlemen and good men. If they perish this ship shall repent it. Holding our course for these places, we descried five sails astern of us. We stayed for them, and soon made them out to be none of our fleet; and we had good reason to persuade us they were enemies. They had the wind of us, but we soon regained it upon them, which made them, upon a piece of ordnance shot off by the greatest ship, tack about; we tacked with them; when the captain of this ship faithfully protested unto me not to shoot a piece of ordnance till we came board and board, and then I promised him, with our small shot, to win the greatest or lose our persons. This we might have done without endangering Her Majesty's ships; but our enemy, playing upon us with their ordnance, made our gunners fall to it ere we were at musket shot, and no nearer could I bring them, though I had no hope to take any of them but by boarding. Here we popped away powder and shot to no purpose, for most of our gunners would hardly have stricken Paul's steeple had it stood there. I am a young seaman, yet my small judgment and knowledge make me avow, that never ship of Her Majesty's went so vilely manned out of her kingdom; not twenty of them worthy to come into her ships; and I know not what had possessed the captain, but his mind was clean altered, telling me that he had no authority to lay any ship aboard, whereby he might endanger this, Her Majesty's; and they being, as he said, the King's men of war, they would rather fire with us than be taken. Had I been a merchant of her burthen (God favouring me) they would have been mine, as many as stood to the trial of their fortune; but the paltry Pegasie we lately met withal never came near us by a league, which was some colour to our men to give them over. So after I had endeavoured, by myself, my lieutenant, and other gentlemen, by persuasion, to work the captain resolutely to attempt them, and finding no disposition in him but to consume powder and shot to no purpose but firing it in the air, I yielded to give them over, persuading myself that God had even ordained that we should not, with any nature, attempt where we were resisted with never so weak forces. Thus away we went, and the wind chopping us southerly, our seamen held that our fleet could neither ride at Corrientes nor at Saint Antonio, which made me condescend to leave the Indies, with all their treasure, and to ply the next course to disembogue, for little hope was left me that we should do Her Majesty any service, or good to ourselves, when, upon the feigned excuse of endangering her ships which she sent forth to fight if occasion were offered; and to persuade myself that Her Majesty prizeth not her ships dearer than the lives of so many faithful subjects, who gladly would have ventured their lives, and upon no brain-sick humour, but from a true desire to do Her Highness some service for the charge and adventure she had been at in this glorious spoken-of journey. Fortune's child was dead, things would not fall into our mouths, nor riches be our portions, how dearly soever we ventured for them. Thus avoiding Scylla (after the proverb) we fell into Charybdis, and indeed we were not now far from it.

Our master, a careful old man, but not experienced upon these coasts, rather following the advice of others than relying on his own judgment, brought us, on the 12th three hours before day, into a very shallow water, upon a dangerous bank, which some held to be the Meltilettes, others the Tortugas, either like enough to have swallowed us, had not God blessed us with fair weather. Freeing ourselves of this danger, upon Monday the 15th of March we entered the Gulf, and by ten of the clock we brought the Cape of Florida west of us. On the 17th (the Lord be thanked) we were dis-

embogued. After this we ran with most foul weather and contrary winds till the 1st of May, when we had soundings in ninety fathoms, being in the Channel, and on the 3d we had sight of Scilly; the which day, ere night we came to anchor (the Lord be therefore praised) 1596.

To give mine opinion of the Indies, I verily think that filching men-of-war shall do more good, than such a fleet if they have any forewarning of their coming. And unless Her Majesty will undertake so royally as to dispossess him of the lands of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, and Cuba, her charge will be greater in sending thither, than the profit such a fleet can return; for having but a few days' warning, it is easy for them to convey their goods into assured safety, as experience hath taught us. Their towns they dare not redeem, being enjoined the contrary by the King's commandment. These places will be taken and possessed by two thousand men; and by this Her Majesty might debar the King of Spain of his whole profit of the Indies; and the first gaining them will return her a sufficient requital for her adventure. God grant I may live to see such an enterprise put in practice; and the King of Spain will speedily fly to what conditions of peace Her Majesty will require.

Thus I have truly set down the whole discourse of our voyage, using therein many idle words and ill-compared sentences. It was done on the sea, which I think can alter any disposition. Your loves, I think, can pardon these faults, and secrete them from the view of others.

The 1st of March the fleet fell in with the Island of Pinos, on the land of Cuba, which day they had sight of the Spanish fleet by eleven of the clock; where Sir Thomas Baskerville gave directions for the fleet as thus: the Garland, being Admiral, with one half of the fleet, to have the vanguard; the Hope, being Vice-admiral, with the other half, the rearward. The fight continued fiercely three hours within musket-shot. That night they saw the Spanish Vice-admiral, a ship of seven hundred tons, burnt, with other six lost and sunk by the next morning, when they departed. The Hope received a leak and was forced to go from the fleet to an island, called Saint Crusado, inhabited by cannibals, where they had store of hens and Indian wheat for nine weeks. March 8th, the fleet shot the Gulf and came for England, leaving Florida on the starboard side; and when they came to the Enchanted Islands[1] they were dispersed, and came home one by one.

THOMAS MAYNARDE.

[1] The Azores.

END OF DRAKE'S LAST VOYAGE.

DAMPIER'S

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1679—1691.

[redacted]

ARCTIC OCEAN
North East C.
Liakov Is or New Siberia
Kara Sea
SIBERIA
SIAN EMPIRE
BEHRING SEA
Aleutian
Okhotsk
SEA OF OKHOTSK
BEHRING SEA
ASIA
Kiakhta
Sea of Aral
Balkash
CHINESE EMPIRE
URKESTAN
Pekin
Sea of Japan
Yezo
Takodadi
JAPAN
Lodo
ISLANDS
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
CHINA
Shanghai
Formosa
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
ARABIAN SEA
Madras
BAY OF BENGAL
SIAM
CHINA SEA
Philippine Islands
Marianne or Ladrones
Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Ceylon
Maldive Is.
Pelew Is.
Molucco Is.
Borneo
Celebes
Papua
Solomon Is.
INDIAN OCEAN
Chagos
Amirante
Java
Batavia
Islands
Timor
Navig. Is.
Friendly
Mauritius
Bourbon
New Hebrides
Fegiee Is.
Caledonia
AUSTRALIA
Western Australia
Queensland
Brisbane
Northlk I.
South Australia
Perth
Wales
Sydney
King George's
Adelaide
Melbourne
Tasmania
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Amsterdam I.
St. Paul
Kerguelen I.
Royal Company Is.
Macquarie I.
Mt. Donnelly
Emerald I.
Clarie Id.
Kemp Id.
Balleny Is.
Supposed Antarctic Continent

A

New Voyage

ROUND THE

WORLD.

Deſcribing particularly,

The *Iſthmus* of *America*, ſeveral Coaſts and Iſlands in the *Weſt Indies*, the Iſles of *Cape Verd*, the Paſſage by *Terra del Fuego*, the *South Sea* Coaſts of *Chili*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*; the Iſle of *Guam* one of the *Ladrones*, *Mindanao*, and other *Philippine* and *Eaſt-India* Iſlands near *Cambodia*, *China*, *Formoſa*, *Luconia*, *Celebes*, &c. *New Holland*, *Sumatra*, *Nicobar* Iſles; the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, and *Santa Hellena*.

THEIR

Soil, Rivers, Harbours, Plants, Fruits, Animals, and Inhabitants.

THEIR

Cuſtoms, Religion, Government, Trade, *&c.*

By *William Dampier*.

Illuſtrated with Particular Maps and Draughts.

The Second Edition Corrected.

LONDON,

Printed for *James Knapton*, at the *Crown* in St *Paul's* Church-yard. M DC XCVII.

THE AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF.

[The Second Edition of Dampier's "Voyage Round the Terrestrial Globe" appeared in two volumes; the first containing the Circumnavigation proper, the second occupied by three Appendices, to which frequent references were made in the chief recital. These Appendices bore the following titles: I. "A Supplement of the Voyage round the World," being a fuller account of the Author's voyagings and observations during the time he spent in the East Indies between his arrival there in 1686 and his departure for England in 1691. II. "Two Voyages to Campeachy," narrating Dampier's experiences among the logwood cutters in the Bay of Campeachy between 1675 and 1678, and describing the western and south-western coast of the Caribbean Sea. III. "A Discourse of Trade Winds, Breezes, Storms, Seasons of the Year, Tides, and Currents of the Torrid Zone," entirely meteorological and professional. In the second Appendix the Author gives an account of himself fuller than any that we have from other sources; and, both from their autobiographical interest, and from the direct way in which they lead up to the greater subject, the main personal incidents of the Campeachy Voyages are here prefixed to the "Voyage Round the World."]

My friends did not originally design me for the sea, but bred me at school till I came to years fit for a trade.[1] But upon the death of my father and mother, they who had the disposal of me took other measures; and having removed me from the Latin school to learn writing and arithmetic, they soon after placed me with a master of a ship at Weymouth,[2] complying with the inclinations I had very early of seeing the world. With him I made a short voyage to France; and, returning thence, went to Newfoundland, being then about eighteen years of age. In this voyage I spent one summer, but [was] so pinched with the rigour of that cold climate, that upon my return I was absolutely against going to those parts of the world, but went home again to my friends. Yet going up, a while after to London, the offer of a warm voyage and a long one, both which I always desired, soon carried me to sea again. For hearing of an outward-bound East Indiaman, the John and Martha of London, I entered myself aboard, and was employed before the mast, for which my two former voyages had some way qualified me. We went directly for Bantam in the Isle of Java, and staying there about two months, came home again in little more than a year; touching at Santiago of the Cape Verd Islands at our going out, and at Ascension in our return. In this voyage I gained more experience in navigation, but kept no journal. We arrived at Plymouth about two months before Sir Robert Holms went out to fall upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet; and the second Dutch War breaking out upon this, I forebore going to sea that summer, retiring to my brother in Somersetshire. But growing weary of staying ashore, I listed myself on board the Royal Prince, commanded by Sir Edward Sprągge, and served under him in the year 1673, being the last of the Dutch War. We had three engagements that summer; I was in two of them, but falling very sick, I

[1] Dampier was born in 1652.

[2] About 1669.

was put on board an hospital ship, a day or two before the third engagement, seeing it at a distance only; and in this Sir Edward Spragge was killed. Soon after I was sent to Harwich, with the rest of the sick and wounded; and having languished a great while, I went home to my brother to recover my health. By this time the war with the Dutch was concluded; and with my health I recovered my old inclination for the sea. A neighbouring gentleman, Colonel Hellier of East Coker in Somersetshire, my native parish, made me a seasonable offer to go and manage a plantation of his in Jamaica, under one Mr Whalley: for which place I set out with Captain Kent in the Content of London. I was then about twenty-two years old, and had never been in the West Indies; and therefore, lest I might be trepanned and sold as a servant after my arrival in Jamaica, I agreed with Captain Kent to work as a seaman for my passage, and had it under his hand to be cleared at our first arrival. We sailed out of the River Thames in the beginning of the year 1674, and, meeting with favourable winds, in a short time got into the trade-wind and went merrily along, steering for the Island of Barbadoes. When we came in sight of it Captain Kent told his passengers, if they would pay his port charges he would anchor in the road, and stop whilst they got refreshment; but the merchants not caring to part with their money, he bore away, directing his course towards Jamaica, . . . where we arrived, . . . bringing with us the first news they had of the peace with the Dutch. Here, according to my contract, I was immediately discharged; and the next day I went to the Spanish Town, called Santiago de la Vega; where meeting with Mr Whalley, we went together to Colonel Hellier's plantation in Sixteen-Mile Walk. . . . I lived with Mr Whalley at Sixteen-Mile Walk for almost six months, and then entered myself into the service of one Captain Heming, to *manage his plantation* at St Ann's, on the north side of the Island, and accordingly rode from Santiago de la Vega towards St Ann's. This road has but sorry accommodation for travellers. The first night I lay at a poor hunter's hut, at the foot of Mount Diabolo [Devil's Mountain], on the south side of it, where for want of clothes to cover me in the night I was very cold when the land-wind sprang up. . . . The next day, crossing Mount Diabolo, I got a hard lodging at the foot of it on the north side; and the third day after arrived at Captain Heming's plantation. I was clearly out of my element there; and therefore, as soon as Captain Heming came thither, I disengaged myself from him, and took my passage on board a sloop to Port Royal, with one Mr Statham, who used to trade round the Island, and touched there at that time. From Port Royal I sailed with one Mr Fishook, who traded to the north side of the Island, and sometimes round it; and by these coasting voyages I came acquainted with all the ports and bays about Jamaica, as also with the benefit of the land and sea winds. For our business was to bring goods to, or carry them from planters to Port Royal; and we were always entertained civilly by them, both in their houses and plantations, having liberty to walk about and view them. They gave us also plantains, yams, potatoes, &c., to carry aboard with us; on which we fed commonly all our voyage. But after six or seven months I left that employ also, and shipped myself aboard one Captain Hudswell, who was bound to the Bay of Campeachy to load logwood. We sailed from Port Royal about the beginning of August, in 1675, in company with Captain Wren in a small Jamaica bark, and Captain Johnson, commander of a ketch belonging to New England. This voyage is all the way before the wind, and therefore ships commonly sail it in twelve or fourteen days: neither were we longer in our passage; for we had very fair weather, and touched nowhere till we came to

Trist Island, in the Bay of Campeachy, which is the only place they go to. . . . Trist is the road only for big ships. Smaller vessels that draw but a little water run three leagues farther, by crossing over a great lagoon that runs from the island up into the mainland; where they anchor at a place called One Bush Key. We stayed at Trist three days to fill our water, and then with our two consorts sailed thence with the tide of flood; and the same tide arrived there. This Key is not above forty paces long, and five or six broad, having only a little crooked tree growing on it, and for that reason it is called One Bush Key. . . . [It] is about a mile from the shore; and just against the island is a small creek that runs a mile farther, and then opens into another wide lagoon; and through this creek the logwood is brought to the ships riding at the Key. . . . Here we lay to take in our lading. Our cargo to purchase logwood was rum and sugar; a very good commodity for the logwood cutters, who were then about 250 men, most English, that had settled themselves in several places hereabouts. Neither was it long before we had these merchants come aboard to visit us. We were but six men and a boy in the ship, and all little enough to entertain them; for besides what rum we sold by the gallon or firkin, we sold it made into punch, wherewith they grew frolicsome. We had none but small arms to fire at their drinking healths, and therefore the noise was not very great at a distance; but on board the vessels we were loud enough till all our liquor was spent. We took no money for it, nor expected any; for logwood was what we came hither for, and we had of that in lieu of our commodities after the rate of £5 per ton, to be paid at the place where they cut it; and we went with our long boat to fetch small quantities. But because it would have taken up a long time to load our vessel with our own boat only, we hired a periago of the logwood cutters, to bring it on board, and by that means made the quicker despatch. I made two or three trips to their huts, where I and those with me were always very kindly entertained by them with pork and pease, or beef and dough-boys. Their beef they got by hunting in the savannahs. As long as the liquor lasted which they bought of us, we were treated with it, either in drams or punch. . . . It was the latter end of September 1675, when we sailed from One Bush Key with the tide of ebb, and anchored again at Trist that same tide; where we watered our vessel in order to sail. This we accomplished in two days, and the third day sailed from Trist towards Jamaica. A voyage which proved very tedious and hazardous to us, by reason of our ship's being so sluggish a sailer that she would not ply to windward, whereby we were necessarily driven upon several shoals that otherwise we might have avoided, and forced to spend thirteen weeks in our passage, [which] is usually accomplished in half that time.

[Dampier gives a long and particular account of the voyage to Jamaica, with descriptions of the Alacranes Islands or Reefs on which the ship struck, and the Island of Pines, near Cuba, on which the crew landed in pursuit of food. After narrowly escaping capture by the Spaniards, shipwreck, and death by starvation, the mountains of Jamaica were sighted, and the ship anchored at Negril.]

As soon as we came to anchor, we sent our boat ashore to buy provisions to regale ourselves, after our long fatigue and fasting, and were very busy going to drink a bowl of punch; when unexpectedly Captain Rawlings, commander of a small New England vessel that we left at Trist, and Mr John Hooker, who had been in the Bay [of Campeachy] a twelvemonth cutting logwood, and was now coming up to Jamaica to sell it, came aboard, and were invited into the cabin to drink with us. The bowl had not yet been touched (I think there might be six quarts in it), but Mr Hooker being drunk to by Captain Rawlings, who pledged Captain Hud-

swell, and having the bowl in his hand, said, that he was under an oath to drink but three draughts of strong liquor a day; and putting the bowl to his head, turned it off at one draught, and so making himself drunk, disappointed us of our expectations, till we made another bowl. The next day, having a brisk NW. wind, . . . we arrived at Port Royal, and so ended this troublesome voyage. It was not long after our arrival at Port Royal, before we were paid off, and discharged. Now, Captain Johnson of New England being bound again into the Bay of Campeachy, I took the opportunity of going a passenger with him, being resolved to spend some time at the logwood trade; and accordingly provided such necessaries as were required about it, viz., hatchets, axes, macheats[1] (*i.e.*, long knives), saws, wedges, &c., a pavilion to sleep in, a gun, with powder and shot, &c. And leaving a letter of attorney with Mr Fleming, a merchant of Port Royal, as well to dispose of anything that I should send up to him, as to remit to me what I should order, I took leave of my friends, and embarked. About the middle of February 1675-6 we sailed from Jamaica, and with a fair wind and weather soon got as far as Cape Catoche and there met a pretty strong north, which lasted two days. After that the trade [wind] settled again at ENE., which speedily carried us to Trist Island. In a little time I settled myself in the west creek of the west lagoon with some old logwood cutters, to follow the employment with them.

[Dampier here suspends "the relation of his own affairs," to give a long description of the coast and country bordering on the Bay of Campeachy, with its natural products by land and sea; and an account of the life and habits of the logwood cutters.]

. . . The logwood trade was grown very common before I came hither, there being, as I said before, about 260 or 270 men living in all the lagoon and at Beef Island. This trade had its rise from the decay of privateering; for after Jamaica was well settled by the English, and a peace established with Spain, the Privateers, who had hitherto lived upon plundering the Spaniards, were put to their shifts; for they had prodigally spent whatever they got, and now wanting subsistence, were forced either to go to Petit Goave,[2] where the Privateer trade still continued, or into the Bay for logwood. The more industrious sort of them came hither; yet even these, though they could work well enough if they pleased, yet thought it a dry business to toil at cutting wood. They were good marksmen, and so took more delight in hunting; but neither of these employments affected them[3] so much as privateering; therefore they often made sallies out in small parties among the nearest Indian towns, where they plundered, and brought away the Indian women to serve them at their huts, and sent their husbands to be sold at Jamaica. Besides, they had not their old drinking-bouts forgot, and would still spend £30 or £40 at a sitting aboard the ships that came hither from Jamaica, carousing and firing off guns three or four days together. And though afterwards many sober men came into the Bay to cut wood, yet by degrees the old standers so debauched them, that they could never settle themselves under any civil government, but continued in their wickedness till the Spaniards, encouraged by their careless rioting, fell upon them, and took most of them singly at their own huts, and carried them away prisoners to Campeachy or La Vera Cruz; from whence they were sent to Mexico, and sold to several tradesmen in that city; and from thence, after two or three years, when they could speak Spanish, many of them made their escapes,

[1] Spanish, "machete," a long knife, *or cutlass.*

[2] See page 194.

[3] They affected, or relished, neither of these employments.

and marched in by paths back to La Vera Cruz, and [were] by the Flota[1] conveyed to Spain, and so to England. I have spoken with many of them since, who told me that none of them were sent to the silver mines to work, but kept in or near the city, and never suffered to go with their caravans to New Mexico or that way. I relate this, because it is generally suggested that the Spaniards commonly send their prisoners thither, and use them very barbarously; but I could never learn that any European has been thus served; whether for fear of discovering their weakness, or for any other reason, I know not. But to proceed: it is most certain that the logwood cutters that were in the Bay when I was there were all routed or taken; a thing I ever feared; and that was the reason that moved me at last to come away, although at a place where a man might have gotten an estate.[2] . . . Though I was a stranger to their employment and manner of living, as being known but to those few only of whom we bought our wood in my former voyage hither, yet that little acquaintance I then got encouraged me to visit them after my second arrival here, being in hopes to strike in to work with them. There were six in company, who had a hundred tons ready cut, logged, and chipped, but not brought to the creek's side; and they expected a ship from New England in a month or two, to fetch it away. When I came thither they were beginning to bring it to the creek; and because the carriage is the hardest work, they hired me to help them, at the rate of a ton of wood per month; promising me that after this carriage was over I should strike in to work with them, for they were all obliged in bonds to procure this 100 tons jointly together, but for no more. This wood lay all in the circumference of 500 or 600 yards, and about 300 from the creek side, in the middle of a very thick wood, impassable with burthens. The first thing we did was to bring it all to one place in the middle; and from thence we cut a very large[3] path to carry it to the creek's side. We laboured hard at this work five days in the week, and on Saturdays went into the savannahs and killed beeves. . . . When my month's service was up, in which time we brought down all the wood to the creek's side, I was presently paid my ton of logwood; with which, and some more that I borrowed, I bought a little provision, and was afterwards entertained as a companion at work with some of my former masters; for they presently broke up consortships, letting the wood lie till either Mr West came to fetch it, according to his contract, or else till they should otherwise dispose of it. Some of them immediately went to Beef Island, to kill bullocks for their hides, which they preserve. . . . I was yet a stranger to this work, therefore remained with three of the old crew to cut more logwood. . . .

[By and by, two of the company, Scotsmen, get tired of the work and go away, the third—a Welshman, Price Morris by name, though the author calls him a Scotsman also—proves lazy and self-indulgent; and Dampier "keeps to his work by himself." He is hindered, however, by a growth of worms in his leg; afterward a great storm makes the region so uninhabitable, that with some other cutters he takes his departure for One Bush Key, and finding little aid from the ships there, themselves sufficiently distressed, goes to Beef Island, to hunt cattle for the sake of their hides. Dampier describes very minutely the features, peoples, and products of the southern and western coasts of the Bay of Campeachy; incidentally, in his mention of Vera Cruz, giving the following account of the Spanish West Indian squadrons:]

[1] An explanation of the terms Armada and Flota will be found in Chapter VII. of the Voyage: see page 189; and the Flota is described on next page.

[2] Enriched himself.

[3] Broad.

The Flota comes hither every three years from Old Spain; and besides goods of the product of the country, and what is brought from the East Indies [across New Spain from the port of Neapulco] and shipped aboard them, the King's plate that is gathered in this kingdom, together with what belongs to the merchants, amounts to a vast sum. Here also comes every year the Barralaventa Fleet in October or November, and stays till March. This is a small squadron, consisting of six or seven sail of stout ships, from 20 to 50 guns. These are ordered to visit all the Spanish seaport towns once every year, chiefly to hinder foreigners from trading, and to suppress Privateers. . . . If they meet with any English or Dutch trading-sloops, they chase and take them, if they are not too nimble for them; the Privateers keep out of their way, having always intelligence where they are.

[The personal narrative is resumed and concluded thus:]

The account I have given of the Campeachy rivers, &c., was the result of the particular observations I made in cruising about that coast, in which I spent eleven or twelve months. For when the violent storm before-mentioned took us, I was but just settling to work; and not having a stock of wood to purchase such provision as was sent from Jamaica, as the old standards had, I, with many more in my circumstances, was forced to range about to seek a subsistence in company of some Privateers then in the Bay. In which rambles we visited all the rivers, from Trist to Alvarado; and made many descents into the country among the villages there, where we got Indian corn to eat with the beef and other flesh that we got by the way, or manatee,[1] and turtle, which was also a great support to us. Alvarado was the westernmost place I was at. Thither we went in two barks with thirty men in each, and had ten or eleven men killed and desperately wounded in taking the fort; being four or five hours engaged in that service, in which time the inhabitants, having plenty of boats and canoes, carried all their riches and best movables away. It was after sunset before the fort yielded; and growing dark, we could not pursue them, but rested quietly that night; the next day we killed, salted, and sent aboard twenty or thirty beeves, and a good quantity of salt fish, and Indian corn, as much as we could stow away. Here were but few hogs, and those ate very fishy; therefore we did not much esteem them, but of cocks, hens, and ducks were sent aboard in abundance. . . . So that, with provision chests, hencoops, and parrot-cages, our ships were full of lumber, with which we intended to sail; but the second day after we took the fort, having had a westerly wind all the morning, with rain, seven armadilloes that were sent from La Vera Cruz appeared in sight, within a mile of the bar, coming in with full sail. But they could scarce stem the current of the river; which was very well for us, for we were not a little surprised. Yet we got under sail, in order to meet them; and clearing our decks by heaving all the lumber overboard, we drove out over the bar, before they reached it: but they being to windward, forced us to exchange a few shot with them. Their admiral was called the Toro; she had 10 guns and 100 men; another had 4 guns and 80 men: the rest, having no great guns, had only 60 or 70 men a piece, armed with muskets, and the vessels barricaded round with bullhides breast high. We had not above 50 men in both ships, 6 guns in one and 2 in the other. As soon as we were over the bar, we got our larboard tacks aboard and stood to the eastward, as nigh the wind as we could lie. The Spaniards came away quartering on us; and, our ship being the headmost, the Toro came directly towards us, designing to board us. We kept firing at her, in hopes to have lamed either mast or yard; but failing, just as she was sheering aboard, we gave her a good volley, and pre-

[1] Described in Voyage, Chapter III. page 139.

sently clapped the helm a-weather, wore our ship, and got our starboard tacks aboard, and stood to the westward: and so left the Toro, but were saluted by all the small craft as we passed by them, who stood to the eastward, after the Toro, that was now in pursuit [of] and close by our consort. We stood to the westward till we were against the river's mouth; then we tacked, and by the help of a current that came out of the river, we were near a mile to windward of them all: then we made sail to assist our consort, who was hard put to it; but on our approach the Toro edged away towards the shore, as did all the rest, and stood away for Alvarado; and we, glad of the deliverance, went away to the eastward, and visited all the rivers in our return again to Trist. . . . And now the effects of the late storm being almost forgot, the lagoon men settled again to their employments; and I amongst the rest fell to work in the east lagoon, where I remained till my departure for Jamaica. . . . After I had spent about ten or twelve months at the logwood trade, and was grown pretty well acquainted with the way of traffic here, I left the employment; yet with a design to return hither after I had been in England; and accordingly went from hence with Captain Chambers of London, bound to Jamaica. We sailed from Trist the beginning of April 1678, and arrived at Jamaica in May, where I remained a small time, and then returned for England with Captain Loader of London. I arrived there the beginning of August the same year; and at the beginning of the following year I set out again for Jamaica, in order to have gone thence to Campeachy: but it proved to be a Voyage round the World. . . .

MR WILLIAM DAMPIER'S

VOYAGE ROUND THE TERRESTRIAL GLOBE.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

To the Right Honourable

CHARLES MOUNTAGUE, Esq.,

President of the Royal Society, One of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, &c.

Sir,—May it please you to pardon the boldness of a stranger to your person, if upon the encouragement of common fame he presumes so much upon your candour, as to lay before you this Account of his Travels. As the scene of them is not only remote, but for the most part little frequented also, so there may be some things in them new even to you, and some, possibly, not altogether unuseful to the public: And that just veneration which the world pays, as to your general worth, so especially to that zeal for the advancement of knowledge and the interest of your country which you express upon all occasions, gives you a particular right to whatever may any way tend to the promoting these interests, as an offering due to your merit. I have not so much of the vanity of a traveller, as to be fond of telling stories, especially of

this kind; nor can I think this plain piece of mine deserves a place among your more curious collections, much less have I the arrogance to use your name by way of patronage for the too obvious faults both of the Author and the Work. Yet dare I avow, according to my narrow sphere and poor abilities, a heavy zeal for the promoting of useful knowledge, and of anything that may never so remotely tend to my country's advantage; and I must own an ambition of transmitting to the public through your hands these essays I have made toward those great ends of which you are so deservedly esteemed the patron. This hath been my design in this publication, being desirous to bring in my gleanings here and there in remote regions, to that general magazine of the knowledge of foreign parts which the Royal Society thought you most worthy the custody of when they chose you for their President; and if in perusing these papers your goodness shall so far distinguish the experience of the Author from his faults, as to judge him capable of serving his country either immediately, or by serving you, he will endeavour by some real proofs to show himself,

Sir, Your most Faithful,

Devoted, Humble Servant,

W. DAMPIER.

THE PREFACE.

BEFORE the Reader proceeds any further in the perusal of this Work, I must bespeak a little of his patience here, to take along with him this short account of it. It is composed of a mixed relation of places and actions, *in* the same order of time in which they occurred; for which end I kept a Journal of every day's observations.

In the description of places, their produce, &c., I have endeavoured to give what satisfaction I could to my countrymen; though possibly to the describing several things that may have been much better accounted for by others; choosing to be more particular than might be needful with respect to the intelligent Reader, rather than to omit what I thought might tend to the information of persons no less sensible and inquisitive, though not so learned or experienced. For which reason my chief care hath been to be as particular as was consistent with my intended brevity in setting down such observables[1] as I met with, nor have I given myself any great trouble since my return to compare my discoveries with those of others; the rather, because, should it so happen that I have described some places or things which others have done before me, yet in different accounts, even of the same things, it can hardly be but there will be some new light afforded by each of them. But after all, considering that the main of this voyage hath its scene laid in long tracts of the remoter parts both of the East and West Indies, some of which are very seldom visited by Englishmen, and others as rarely by any Europeans, I may without vanity encourage the Reader to expect many things wholly new to him, and many others more fully described than he may have seen elsewhere; for which not only this Voyage, though itself of many years' continuance, but also several former long and distant voyages, have qualified me.

As for the actions of the company among whom I made the greatest part of this Voyage, a thread of which I have carried on through it, it is not to divert the Reader with them that I mention them, much less that I take any pleasure in relating them, but for method's sake, and for the Reader's satisfaction, who could not so well acquiesce in my description of places, &c., without

[1] Notable things or incidents.

knowing the particular traverses I made among them; nor in these, without an account of the concomitant circumstances; besides that I would not prejudice the truth and sincerity of my relation, though by omissions only. And as for the traverses themselves, they make for the Reader's advantage, how little soever for mine, since thereby I have been the better enabled to gratify his curiosity; as one who rambles about a country can give usually a better account of it, than a carrier who jogs on to his inn without ever going out of his road.

As to my style, it cannot be expected that a seaman should affect politeness; for were I able to do it, yet I think I should be little solicitous about it in a work of this nature. I have frequently indeed divested myself of sea-phrases to gratify the land Reader; for which the seamen will hardly forgive me; and yet possibly I shall not seem complacent enough to the other; because I still retain the use of so many sea-terms. I confess I have not been at all scrupulous in this matter, either as to the one or the other of these; for I am persuaded, that if what I say be intelligible, it matters not greatly in what words it is expressed.

For the same reason I have not been curious as to the spelling of the names of places, plants, fruits, animals, &c., which in many of these remoter parts are given at the pleasure of travellers, and vary according to their different humours: neither have I confined myself to such names as are given by learned authors, or so much as inquired after many of them. I write for my countrymen; and have therefore for the most part used such names as are familiar to our English seamen, and those of our colonies abroad, yet without neglecting others that occurred. And it may suffice me to have given such names and descriptions as I could: I shall leave to those of more leisure and opportunity the trouble of comparing these with those which other authors have designed. . . .[1]

I have nothing more to add, but that there are here and there some mistakes made, as to expression and the like, which will need a favourable correction as they occur upon reading. For instance, the log of wood lying out at some distance from [the] sides of the boats described at Guam,[2] and parallel to their keel, which for distinction's sake I have called the little boat, might more clearly and properly have been called the side-log, or by some such name; for though [it is] fashioned at the bottom and ends boatwise, yet [it] is not hollow at top, but solid throughout. In other places also I may not have expressed myself so fully as I ought: but any considerable omission that I shall recollect, or be informed of, I shall endeavour to make up in these accounts I have yet to publish; and for any faults I leave the Reader to the joint use of his judgment and candour.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I FIRST set out of England on this voyage at the beginning of the year 1679, in the Loyal Merchant of London, bound for Jamaica, Captain Knapman, commander. I went a passenger, designing when I came thither to go from thence to the Bay of Campeachy, in the Gulf of Mexico, to cut logwood; where in a former voyage I had spent about three years in that employ, and so was well acquainted with the place and the work. We sailed with a prosperous gale, without any impediment or remarkable passage in our voyage: unless that, when we came in sight of the Island of Hispaniola, and were coasting along on the south side of it, by the little Isles of Vacca, or Ash,[3] I

[1] Two paragraphs are omitted here, which refer to the Appendices already noticed, and to the "maps and draughts" that illustrated the earlier editions of the work.

[2] Chapter X., page 225.

[3] La Vache is a small island at the south-west end of Hayti; in Dam-

observed Captain Knapman was more vigilant than ordinary, keeping at a good distance off shore, for fear of coming too near those small low islands; as he did once, in a voyage from England, about the year 1673, losing his ship there by the carelessness of his mates. But we succeeded better, and arrived safe at Port Royal in Jamaica some time in April 1679, and went immediately ashore. I had brought some goods with me from England which I intended to sell here, and stock myself with rum and sugar, saws, axes, hats, stockings, shoes, and such other commodities as I knew would sell among the Campeachy logwood cutters. Accordingly I sold my English cargo at Port Royal; but upon some maturer considerations of my intended voyage to Campeachy, I changed my thoughts of that design, and continued at Jamaica all that year, in expectation of some other business.

I shall not trouble the Reader with my observations at that isle, so well known to Englishmen; nor with the particulars of my own affairs during my stay there. But in short, having there made a purchase of a small estate in Dorsetshire, near my native country of Somerset, of one whose title to it I was well assured of, I was just embarking myself for England, about Christmas 1679, when one Mr Hobby invited me to go first a short trading voyage to the country of the Mosquitoes. I was willing to get up some money before my return, having laid out what I had at Jamaica; so I sent the writing of my new purchase along with the same friends whom I should have accompanied to England, and went on board Mr Hobby. Soon after our setting out, we came to an anchor again in Negril Bay, at the west end of Jamaica; but finding there Captains Coxon, Sawkins, Sharpe, and other Privateers, Mr Hobby's men all left him to go with them upon an expedition they had contrived, leaving not one with him besides myself; and being thus left alone, after three or four days' stay with Mr Hobby, I was the more easily persuaded to go with them too.

It was shortly after Christmas 1679 when we set out. The first expedition was to Portobello, which being accomplished, it was resolved to march by land over the Isthmus of Darien, upon some new adventures in the South Seas. Accordingly, on the 5th of April 1680, we went ashore on the Isthmus, near Golden Island, one of the Sambaloes,[1] to the number of between 300 and 400 men, carrying with us such provisions as were necessary, and toys wherewith to gratify the wild Indians through whose country we were to pass. In about nine days' march we arrived at Santa Maria, and took it; and after a stay there of about three days, we went on to the South Sea coast, and there embarked ourselves in such canoes and periagoes,[2] as our Indian friends furnished us withal. We were in sight of Panama by the 23d of April, and having in vain attempted Pueblo Nuevo, before which Sawkins, then commander-in-chief, and others, were killed, we made some stay at the neighbouring Isles of Quibo. Here we resolved to change our course and stand away to the southward for the coast of Peru. Accordingly we left the Keys or Isles of Quibo the 6th of June, and spent the rest of the year in that southern course; for, touching at the isles of Gorgona and Plata, we came to Ylo, a small town on the coast of Peru, and took it. This was in October, and in November we went thence to Coquimbo on the same coast, and about Christmas were got as far as the Isle of Juan Fernan-

pier's time called "Ash" by English seamen.

[1] Probably corresponding with what is now called the Muletas Archipelago, a number of small islands and rocks extending along the north-eastern coast of the Isthmus of Darien, from Point San Blas.

[2] Piroques; large canoes made square at one of the ends; called also "piraguas:" Italian, "piroga;" Spanish, "piragua."

dez, which was the farthest of our course to the southward. After Christmas, we went back again to the northward, having a design upon Arica, a strong town advantageously situated in the hollow of the elbow or bending of the Peruvian coast. But being there repulsed with great loss, we continued our course northward, till by the middle of April we were come in sight of the Isle of Plata, a little to the southward of the Equinoctial Line. . . .

While we lay at the Isle of Juan Fernandez, Captain Sharpe[1] was by general consent displaced from being commander, the company being not satisfied either with his courage or behaviour. In his stead, Captain Watling was advanced; but, he being killed shortly after before Arica, we were without a commander during all the rest of our return towards Plata. Now, Watling being killed, a great number of the meaner sort began to be as earnest for choosing Captain Sharpe again into the vacancy, as before they had been as forward as any to turn him out; and, on the other side, the abler and more experienced men, being altogether dissatisfied with Sharpe's former conduct, would by no means consent to have him chosen. In short, by the time we were come in sight of the Island of Plata, the difference between the contending parties was grown so high, that they resolved to part companies, having first made an agreement, that which party soever should, upon polling, appear to have the majority, they should keep the ship, and the other should content themselves with the launch or longboat, and canoes, and return back over the Isthmus, or go to seek their fortune other ways, as they would. Accordingly, we put it to the vote, and, upon dividing, Captain Sharpe's party carried it. I, who had never been pleased with his management, though I had hitherto kept my mind to myself, now declared myself on the side of those that were outvoted; and, according to our agreement, we took our shares of such necessaries as were fit to carry overland with us (for that was our resolution), and so prepared for our departure.

[1] Who had been made chief in command after Sawkins was killed at Pueblo Nuevo.

CHAPTER I.

APRIL the 17th, 1681, about 10 o'clock in the morning, being twelve leagues NW. from the Island of Plata, we left Captain Sharpe and those who were willing to go with him in the ship, and embarked into our launch and canoes, designing for the River of Santa Maria,[2] in the Gulf of San Miguel, which is about 200 leagues from the Isle of Plata. We were in number forty-four white men, who bore arms; a Spanish Indian, who bore arms also; and two Mosquito Indians, who always bare arms amongst the Privateers, and are much valued by them for striking fish and turtle, or tortoise, and manatee or sea-cow; and five slaves taken in the South Seas, who fell to our share. The craft which carried us was a launch or longboat, one canoe, and another canoe which had been sawn asunder in the middle, in order to have made bumkins, or vessels for carrying water, if we had not separated from our ship. This we joined together again and made it tight, providing sails to help us along; and for three days before we parted, we sifted as much flour as we could well carry, and rubbed up 20 or 30 lbs. of chocolate, with sugar to sweeten it; these things and a kettle the slaves carried also on their backs after we landed. And because there were some who designed to go with us that we knew were not well able to march, we gave out, that if any man faltered in the journey overland, he must expect to be shot to death;

[2] Now, apparently, the Tuyra, which flows into the south-east corner of the Gulf

for we knew that the Spaniards would soon be after us, and one man falling into their hands might be the ruin of us all, by giving an account of our strength and condition; yet, this would not deter them from going with us. We had but little wind when we parted from the ship, but before 12 o'clock the sea breeze came in strong, which was like to founder us before we got in with the shore. For our security, therefore, we cut up an old dry hide that we brought with us, and barricaded the launch all round with it, to keep the water out. About 10 o'clock at night we got in about seven leagues to windward of Cape Pasado, under the Line, and then it proved calm, and we lay and drove all night, being fatigued the preceding day. The 18th we had little wind till the afternoon, and then we made sail, standing along the shore to the northward, having the wind at SSW., and fair weather. At 7 o'clock we came abreast of Cape Pasado, and found a small bark at anchor in a small bay to leeward of the Cape, which we took, our own boats being too small to transport us. We took her just under the Equinoctial Line. She was not only a help to us, but in taking her we were safe from being described. We did not design to have meddled with any when we parted with our consorts, nor to have seen any if we could have helped it. The bark came from Gallo, laden with timber, and was bound for Guayaquil. The 19th, in the morning, we came to an anchor about twelve leagues to the southward of Cape San Francisco, to put our new bark into a better trim. In three or four hours' time we finished our business, and came to sail again, and steered along the coast with the wind at SSW., intending to touch at Gorgona.

Being to the northward of Cape San Francisco, we met with very wet weather; but, the wind continuing, we arrived at Gorgona the 24th, in the morning, before it was light: we were afraid to approach it in the daytime, for fear the Spaniards should lie there for us, it being the place where we careened lately, and where they might expect us. When we came ashore we found the Spaniards had been there to seek after us, by a house they had built which would entertain 100 men, and by a great cross before the doors. This was token enough that the Spaniards did expect us this way again, therefore we examined our prisoners if they knew anything of it, who confessed they had heard of a periago, that rowed with fourteen oars, which was kept in a river on the main, and once in two or three days came over to Gorgona purposely to seek for us; and that, having discovered us, she was to make all speed to Panama with the news, where they had three ships ready to send after us. We lay here all the day, and scrubbed our new bark, that if ever we should be chased we might the better escape; we filled our water, and in the evening went from thence, having the wind at SW., a brisk gale. The 25th we had much wind and rain, and we lost the canoe that had been cut and was joined together; we would have kept all our canoes to carry us up the river, the bark not being so convenient. The 27th we went from thence with a moderate gale of wind at SW. In the afternoon we had excessive showers of rain.

The 28th was very wet all the morning; betwixt ten and eleven it cleared up, and we saw two great ships about a league and a half to the westward of us, we being then two leagues from the shore, and about ten leagues to the southward of Point Garachina. These ships had been cruising between Gorgona and the Gulf six months; but whether our prisoners did know it, I cannot tell. We presently furled our sails, and rowed in close under the shore, knowing that they were cruisers. The glare did not continue long before it rained again, and kept us from the sight of each other; but if they had seen and chased us, we were resolved to run our bark and canoes ashore, and take ourselves to the mountains and travel

overland, for we knew that the Indians which lived in these parts never had any commerce with the Spaniards, so we might have had a chance for our lives. The 29th, at 9 o'clock in the morning, we came to an anchor at Point Garachina, about seven leagues from the Gulf of San Miguel, which was the place where we first came into the South Seas, and the way by which we designed to return. Here we lay all the day, and went ashore and dried our clothes, cleaned our guns, dried our ammunition, and fixed ourselves[1] against our enemies if we should be attacked; for we did expect to find some opposition at landing; we likewise kept a good lookout all the day, for fear of those two ships that we saw the day before. The 30th, in the morning at 8 o'clock, we came into the Gulf of San Miguel's mouth; for we put from Point Garachina in the evening, designing to have reached the islands in the Gulf before day, that we might the better work our escape from our enemies, if we should find any of them waiting to stop our passage. About 9 o'clock we came to an anchor a mile without a large island, which lies four miles from the mouth of the river; we had other small islands without us, and might have gone up into the river, having a strong tide of flood, but would not adventure farther till we had looked well about us. We immediately sent a canoe ashore on the island, where we saw (what we always feared) a ship at the mouth of the river, lying close by the shore, and a large tent by it, by which we found it would be a hard task for us to escape them. When the canoe came aboard with this news, some of our men were a little disheartened; but it was no more than I ever expected.

Our care was now to get safe overland, seeing we could not land here according to our desire; therefore, before the tide of flood was spent, we manned our canoe and rowed again to the island, to see if the enemy was yet in motion. When we came ashore we dispersed ourselves all over the island, to prevent our enemies from coming any way to view us; and presently after high water, we saw a small canoe coming over from the ship to the island that we were on, which made us all get into our canoe and wait their coming; and we lay close till they came within pistol shot of us, and then, being ready, we started out and took them. There were in her one white man and two Indians, who, being examined, told us that the ship which we saw at the river's mouth had lain there six months guarding the river, waiting for our coming; that she had 12 guns, and 150 seamen and soldiers; that the seamen all lay aboard, but the soldiers lay ashore in their tent; that there were 300 men at the mines, who had all small arms, and would be aboard in two tides' time. They likewise told us, that there were two ships cruising in the bay, between this place and Gorgona; the biggest had 20 guns and 200 men; the other 10 guns and 150 men. Besides all this, they told us that the Indians on this side the country were our enemies, which was the worst news of all. However, we presently brought these prisoners aboard, and got under sail, turning out with the tide of ebb, for it was not convenient to stay longer there. We did not long consider what to do, but intended to land that night or the next day betimes; for we did not question but we should either get a good commerce with the Indians by such toys as we had purposely brought with us, or else force our way through their country in spite of all their opposition; and we did not fear what these Spaniards could do against us in case they should land and come after us. We had a strong southerly wind, which blew right in; and the tide of ebb being far spent, we could not

[1] Prepared ourselves, put ourselves in trim: the so-called Americanism "to fix," like other words now specially used in the United States, having really its origin in a — possibly technical or local—English use of the word.

turn out. I persuaded[1] them to run into the River of Congo, which is a large river, about three leagues from the islands where we lay; which, with a southerly wind, we could have done; and when we were got as high as the tide flows, then we might have landed. But all the arguments I could use were not of force sufficient to convince them that there was a large river so near us; but they would land somewhere, they neither did know how, where, nor when. When we had rowed and towed against the wind all night, we just got about Cape San Lorenzo in the morning, and sailed about four miles farther to the westward, and ran into a small creek within two keys[2] or little islands, and rowed up to the head of the creek, being about a mile up, and there we landed, May 1st, 1681. We got out all our provision and clothes, and then sunk our vessel. While we were landing and fixing our snapsacks[3] to march, our Mosquito Indians struck a plentiful dish of fish, which we immediately dressed, and therewith satisfied our hunger.

Having made mention of the Mosquito Indians, it may not be amiss to conclude this Chapter with a short account of them. They are tall, well made, rawboned, lusty, strong, and nimble of foot; long-visaged, lank black hair, look stern, hard-favoured, and of a dark copper-coloured complexion. They are but a small nation or family, and not 100 men of them in number, inhabiting on the main, on the north side, near Cape Gracias Dios, between Cape Honduras and Nicaragua. They are very ingenious at throwing the lance, fisgig,[4] harpoon, or any manner of dart, being bred to it from their infancy, for the children, imitating their parents, never go abroad without a lance in their hands, which they throw at any object, till use has made them masters of the art. Then they learn to put by[5] a lance, arrow, or dart. The manner is thus:—Two boys stand at a small distance, and dart a blunt stick at one another, each of them holding a small stick in his right hand, with which he strikes away that which was darted at him. As they grow in years they become more dexterous and courageous, and then they will stand a fair mark to any one that will shoot arrows at them, which they will put by with a very small stick no bigger than the rod of a fowling-piece; and when they are grown to be men, they will guard themselves from arrows though they come very thick at them, provided two do not happen to come at once. They have extraordinary good eyes, and will descry a sail at sea farther, and see anything better, than we. Their chief employment in their own country is to strike fish, turtle, or manatee, the manner of which I describe elsewhere (Chapter III.). For this they are esteemed and coveted by all Privateers, for one or two of them in a ship will maintain 100 men; so that when we careen our ships, we choose commonly such places where there is plenty of turtle or manatee for these Mosquito men to strike; and it is very rare to find Privateers destitute of one or more of them when the commander or most of the men are English; but they do not love the French, and the Spaniards they hate mortally. When they come among Privateers they get the use of guns, and prove very good marksmen. They behave themselves very boldly in

[1] Advised.

[2] A key or cay (Latin, "cautes," a cliff; Spanish, "cayo;" French, "cayes") is a low island or ledge of rocks rising above the water; it is generally of coralline formation, and differs from a reef inasmuch as the latter is either below water, or washed by the waves. Keys are numerous among the West Indian Islands, and in the Gulf of Mexico, &c.

[3] (Swedish, "snappäck") soldiers' bags, knapsacks.

[4] A kind of harpoon or spear, with several barbed prongs, and a line attached; it is used for striking fish at sea, and is also called a "fishgig" or "fisgy."

[5] Parry.

fight, and never seem to flinch nor hang back, for they think that the White men with whom they are know better than they do when it is best to fight; and, let the disadvantage of their party be never so great, they will never yield nor give back while any of their party stand. I could never perceive any religion, nor any ceremonies, or superstitious observations[1] among them, being ready to imitate us in whatsoever they saw us do at any time. Only they seem to fear the devil, whom they call *Wallesaw;* and they say he often appears to some among them, whom our men commonly call their priests, when they desire to speak with him on urgent business, but the rest know not anything of him, nor how he appears, otherwise than as these priests tell them. Yet they all say they must not anger him, for then he will beat them, and that sometimes he carries away these their priests. Thus much I have heard from some of them who speak good English.

They marry but one wife, with whom they live till death separates them. At their first coming together the man makes a very small plantation, for there is land enough, and they may choose what spot they please. They delight to settle near the sea, or by some river, for the sake of striking fish, their beloved employment. Far within land there are other Indians with whom they are always at war. After the man has cleared a spot of land, and has planted it, he seldom minds it afterwards but leaves the managing of it to his wife, and goes out a-striking. Sometimes he seeks only for fish, at other times for turtle or manatee; and whatever he gets he brings home to his wife, and never stirs out to seek for more till it is all eaten. When hunger begins to bite, he either takes his canoe and seeks for more game at sea, or walks out into the woods and hunts about for peccary,[2] warree—each a sort of wild hogs—or deer, and seldom returns empty-handed, nor seeks for any more so long as any of it lasts. Their plantations are so small that they cannot subsist with what they produce, for their largest plantations have not above twenty or thirty plantain-trees, a bed of yams and potatoes, a bush of Indian pepper, and a small spot of pine-apples, which last fruit is a main thing they delight in, for with these they make a sort of drink which our men call pine-drink, much esteemed by these Mosquitoes, and to which they invite each other to be merry, providing fish and flesh also. Whoever of them makes of this liquor treats his neighbours, making a little canoe full at a time, and so enough to make them all drunk; and it is seldom that such feasts are made but the party that makes them hath some design, either to be revenged for some injury done him, or to debate of such differences as have happened between him and his neighbours, and to examine into the truth of such matters. Yet before they are warmed with drink they never speak one word of their grievances; and the women, who commonly know their husbands' designs, prevent them from doing any injury to each other by hiding their lances, harpoons, bows and arrows, or any other weapon that they have.

While they are among the English they wear good clothes, and take delight to go neat and tight; but when they return again to their own country they put by all their clothes, and go after their own country fashion, wearing only a small piece of linen tied about their waists hanging down to their knees.

[1] Observances.

[2] The Mexican hog, or tajaçu—*Dicotyles tajaçu.*

CHAPTER II.

Being landed, May the 1st, we began our march about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, directing our course by our pocket compasses NE.; and having gone about two miles we came to the foot of a hill, where we built small

huts and lay all night, having excessive rains till 12 o'clock. The 2d, in the morning, having fair weather, we ascended the hill, and found a small Indian path, which we followed till we found it ran too much easterly, and then, doubting[1] it would carry us out of our way, we climbed some of the highest trees on the hill, which was not meanly furnished with as large and tall trees as ever I saw. At length we discovered some houses in a valley on the north side of the hill, but it being steep [we] could not descend on that side, but followed the small path, which led us down the hill on the east side, where we presently found several other Indian houses. The first that we came to at the foot of the hill had none but women at home, who could not speak Spanish, but gave each of us a good calabash or shell full of corn-drink. The other houses had some men at home, but none that spoke Spanish; yet we made a shift to buy such food as their houses or plantations afforded, which we dressed and ate all together, having all sorts of our provision in common, because none should live better than others, or pay dearer for anything than it was worth. This day we had marched six miles. In the evening the husbands of those women came home, and told us in broken Spanish that they had been on board the guard-ship which we fled from two days before; that we were now not above three miles from the mouth of the River of Congo, and that they could go from thence aboard the guard-ship in half a tide's time. This evening we supped plentifully on fowls and peccary which we bought of the Indians; yams, potatoes, and plantains served us for bread, whereof we had enough. After supper we agreed with one of these Indians to guide us a day's march into the country towards the north side; he was to have for his pains a hatchet, and his bargain was to bring us to a certain Indian's habitation who could speak Spanish, from whom we were in hopes to be better satisfied of our journey.

The 3d, having fair weather, we began to stir betimes, and set out betwixt 6 and 7 o'clock, marching through several old ruined plantations. This morning one of our men, being tired, gave us the slip. By 12 o'clock we had gone eight miles, and arrived at the Indian's house, who lived on the bank of the River Congo, and spoke very good Spanish; to whom we declared the reason of this visit. At first he seemed to be very dubious of entertaining any discourse with us, and gave very impertinent answers to the questions that we demanded of him; he told us he knew no way to the north side of the country, but could carry us to Chepo, or to Santa Maria, which we knew to be Spanish garrisons, the one lying to the eastward of us, the other to the westward: either of them at least twenty miles out of our way. We could get no other answer from him, and all his discourse was in such an angry tone as plainly declared he was not our friend. However, we were forced to make a virtue of necessity and humour him; for it was neither time nor place to be angry with the Indians, all our lives lying in their hand. We were now at a great loss, not knowing what course to take, for we tempted him with beads, money, hatchets, macheats or long knives, but nothing would work on him, till one of our men took a sky-coloured petticoat out of his bag, and put it on his wife; who was so much pleased with the present, that she immediately began to chatter to her husband, and soon brought him into a better humour. He could then tell us that he knew the way to the north side, and would have gone with us, but that he had cut his foot two days before, which made him incapable of serving us himself: but he would take care that we should not want a guide; and therefore he hired the same Indian who brought us hither, to conduct us two days' march farther for another hatchet. The old man would have stayed us here all the day, be-

[1] Suspecting, apprehending.

cause it rained very hard; but our business required more haste, our enemies lying so near us, for he told us that he could go from his house aboard the guard-ship in a tide's time; and this was the fourth day since they saw us. So we marched three miles farther, and then built huts, where we stayed all night; it rained all the afternoon, and the greatest part of the night. The 4th, we began our march betimes, for the forenoons were commonly fair, but much rain after noon; though whether it rained or shined it was much at one with us, for I verily believed we crossed the rivers thirty times this day: the Indians having no paths to travel from one part of the country to another, and therefore, guiding themselves by the rivers. We marched this day twelve miles, and then built our huts and lay down to sleep; but we always kept two men on the watch, otherwise our own slaves might have knocked us on the head while we slept. It rained violently all the afternoon and most part of the night. We had much ado to kindle a fire this evening: our huts were but very mean or ordinary, and our fire small, so that we could not dry our clothes, scarce warm ourselves, and no sort of food for the belly; all which made it very hard with us. I confess these hardships quite expelled the thoughts of an enemy; for now, having been four days in the country, we began to have but few other cares than how to get guides and food: the Spaniards were seldom in our thoughts. The 5th, we set out in the morning betimes, and having travelled seven miles in those wild pathless woods, by 10 o'clock in the morning we arrived at a young Spanish Indian's house who had formerly lived with the Bishop of Panama. The young Indian was very brisk, spoke very good Spanish, and received us very kindly. This plantation afforded us store of provision, yams, and potatoes, but nothing of any flesh besides two fat monkeys we shot, part whereof we distributed to some of our company who were weak and sickly; for others we got eggs, and such refreshments as the Indians had; for we still provided for the sick and weak. We had a Spanish Indian in our company, who first took up arms with Captain Sawkins, and had been with us ever since his death. He was persuaded to live here by the master of the house, who promised him his sister in marriage, and to be assistant to him in clearing a plantation; but we would not consent to part with him here for fear of some treachery, but promised to release him in two or three days, when we were certainly out of danger of our enemies. We stayed here all the afternoon, dried our clothes and ammunition, cleared our guns, and provided ourselves for a march the next morning. Our Surgeon, Mr Wafer, came to a sad disaster here. Being drying his powder, a careless fellow passed by with his pipe lighted, and set fire to his powder, which blew up and scorched his knee, and reduced him to that condition that he was not able to march; wherefore we allowed him a slave to carry his things, being all of us the more concerned at the accident, because liable ourselves every moment to misfortune, and none to look after us but him. This Indian plantation was seated on the bank of the River Congo, in a very fat soil; and thus far we might have come in our canoe, if I could have persuaded them to it.

The 6th, we set out again, having hired another guide. Here we first crossed the River Congo in a canoe, having been from our first landing on the west side of the river; and being over, we marched to the eastwards two miles, and came to another river, which we forded several times, though it was very deep. Two of our men were not able to keep company with us, but came after us as they were able. The last time we forded the river, it was so deep, that our tallest men stood in the deepest place and handed the sick, weak, and short men; by which means we all got over safe, except those two who were behind. Foreseeing a necessity of wading through rivers frequently in our land march, I took care, before I

left the ship, to provide myself a large joint of bamboo, which I stopped at both ends, closing it with wax, so as to keep out any water. In this I preserved my journal and other writings from being wet, though I was often forced to swim. When we were over this river, we sat down to wait the coming of our consorts who were left behind, and in half an hour they came. But the river by that time was so high, that they could not get over it; neither could we help them over, but bid them be of good comfort and stay till the river did fall: but we marched two miles farther by the side of the river, and there built our huts, having gone this day six miles. We had scarce finished our huts before the river rose much higher, and, overflowing the banks, obliged us to remove into higher ground: but the night came on before we could build more huts, so we lay straggling in the woods, some under one tree, some under another, as we could find conveniency; which might have been indifferent comfortable if the weather had been fair, but the greatest part of the night we had extraordinary hard rain, with much lightning and terrible claps of thunder. These hardships and inconveniences made us all careless, and there was no watch kept (though I believe nobody did sleep); so our slaves, taking opportunity, went away in the night, all but one who was hid in some hole and knew nothing of their design, or else fell asleep. Those that went away carried with them our Surgeon's gun and all his money. The next morning, being the 8th, we went to the river's side and found it much fallen; and here our guide would have us ford it again, which, being deep, and the current running swift, we could not. Then we contrived[1] to swim over; those that could not swim we were resolved to help over as well as we could; but this was not so feasible, for we should not be able to get all our things over. At length we concluded to send one man over with a line, who should haul over all our things first, and then get the men over. This being agreed on, one George Gayny took the end of a line, and made it fast about his neck, and left the other end ashore; and one man stood by the line, to clear it away to him. But when Gayny was in the midst of the water, the line in drawing after him chanced to kink, or grow entangled; and he that stood by to clear it away stopped the line, which turned Gayny on his back, and he that had the line in his hand threw it all into the river after him, thinking he might recover himself; but the stream running very swift, and the man having three hundred dollars at his back, [he] was carried down, and never seen more by us. Those two men whom we left behind the day before told us afterwards that they found him lying dead in a creek, where the eddy had driven him ashore, and the money on his back; but they meddled not with any of it, being only in care how to work their way through a wild unknown country. This put a period to that contrivance. This was the fourth man that we lost in this land journey; for those two men that we left the day before did not come to us till we were in the North Seas, so we yielded them also for lost. Being frustrated of getting over the river this way, we looked about for a tree to fell across the river. At length we found one, which we cut down, and it reached clear over; on this we passed to the other side, where we found a small plantain walk, which we soon ransacked. While we were busy getting plantains, our guide was gone; but in less than two hours came to us again, and brought with him an old Indian, to whom he delivered up his charge; and we gave him a hatchet and dismissed him, and entered ourselves under the conduct of our new guide: who immediately led us away, and crossed another river, and entered into a large valley of the fattest land I did ever take notice of; the trees were not very thick, but the largest that I saw in all my travels. We

[1] Planned, sought to devise means.

saw great tracks which were made by the peccaries, but saw none of them. We marched in this pleasant country till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, in all about four miles, and then arrived at the old man's country-house, which was only a habitation for hunting; there was a small plantain walk, some yams and potatoes. Here we took up our quarters for this day, and refreshed ourselves with such food as the place afforded, and dried our clothes and ammunition. At this place our young Spanish Indian provided to leave us, for now we thought ourselves past danger. This was he that was persuaded to stay at the last house we came from, to marry the young man's sister; and we dismissed him according to our promise.

The 9th the old man conducted us towards his own habitation. We marched about five miles in this valley, and then ascended a hill, and travelled about five miles farther over two or three small hills before we came to any settlement. Half a mile before we came to the plantations we light of[1] a path, which carried us to the Indians' habitations. We saw many wooden crosses erected in the way, which created some jealousy[2] in us that here were some Spaniards; therefore we new-primed all our guns, and provided ourselves for an enemy; but coming into the town [we] found none but Indians, who were all got together in a large house to receive us: for the old man had a little boy with him that he sent before. They made us welcome to such as they had, which was very mean; for these were new plantations, the corn being not eared. Potatoes, yams, and plantains they had none but what they brought from their old plantations. There were none of them spoke good Spanish; two young men could speak a little; it caused us to take more notice of them. To these we made a present and desired them to get us a guide to conduct us to the north side, or part of the way; which they promised to do themselves if we would reward them for it; but told us we must lie still the next day. But we thought ourselves nearer the North Sea than we were, and proposed to go without a guide rather than stay here a whole day. However some of our men who were tired, resolved to stay behind; and Mr Wafer, our Surgeon, who marched in great pain ever since his knee was burned with powder, was resolved to stay with them. The 10th we got up betimes, resolving to march, but the Indians opposed it as much as they could; but seeing they could not persuade us to stay, they came with us; and having taken leave of our friends we set out. Here therefore we left the Surgeon and two more, as we said, and marched away to the eastward, following our guides. But we often looked on our pocket compasses, and showed them to the guides, pointing at the way that we would go; which made them shake their heads, and say they were pretty things, but not convenient[3] for us. After we had ascended the hill on which the town stood, we came down into a valley, and guided ourselves by a river which we crossed thirty-two times; and having marched nine miles, we built huts and lay there all night. This evening I killed a quam,[4] a large bird as big as a turkey, wherewith we treated our guides; for we brought no provision with us. This night our last slave ran away. The 11th we marched ten miles farther and built huts at night, but went supperless to bed. The 12th, in the morning we crossed a deep river, passing over it on a tree, and marched seven miles in a low swampy ground, and came to the side of a great deep river, but could not get over. We built huts upon its banks, and lay there all night, upon our

[1] Came upon, lighted upon.

[2] Suspicion; to "jalouse" is still used in Scotland for to suspect.

[3] Of no advantage.

[4] Or Guan; *Penelope cristata*, a bird resembling the curassow, thirty inches long, of a dusky black above, glossed with green and olive, the neck and breast spotted with white.

barbecues, or frames of sticks, raised about three feet from the ground. The 13th, when we turned out, the river had overflowed its banks, and was two feet deep in our huts, and our guides went from us, not telling us their intent, which made us think they were returned home again. Now we began to repent our haste in coming from the last settlements, for we had no food since we came from thence. Indeed we got macaw-berries in this place, wherewith we satisfied ourselves this day, though coarsely. The 14th, in the morning betimes, our guides came to us again, and, the waters being fallen within their bounds, they carried us to a tree that stood on the bank of the river, and told us if we could fell that tree across it, we might pass; if not, we could pass no farther. Therefore we set two of the best axemen that we had, who felled it exactly across the river, and the boughs just reached over; on this we passed very safe. We afterwards crossed another river three times, with much difficulty; and at 3 o'clock in the afternoon we came to an Indian settlement, where we met a drove of monkeys, and killed four of them, and stayed here all night; having marched this day six miles. Here we got plantains enough, and a kind reception of the Indian that lived here all alone, except one boy to wait on him. The 15th, when we set out, the kind Indian and his boy went with us in a canoe, and set us over such places as we could not ford, and being past those great rivers he returned back again, having helped us at least two miles. We marched afterwards five miles, and came to large plantain walks, where we took up our quarters that night; we there fed plentifully on plantains, both ripe and green, and had fair weather all the day and night. I think these were the largest plantain walks, and the biggest plantains that ever I saw; but no house [was] near them. We gathered what we pleased by our guides' orders. The 16th, we marched three miles, and *came to* a large settlement, where we abode all day. Not a man of us but wished the journey at an end: our feet being blistered, and our thighs stripped with wading through so many rivers; the way being almost continually through rivers or pathless woods. In the afternoon five of us went to seek for game, and killed three monkeys, which we dressed for supper. Here we first began to have fair weather, which continued with us till we came to the North Seas. The 18th, we set out at 10 o'clock; and the Indians with five canoes carried us a league up a river, and when we landed, the kind Indians went with us and carried our burthens. We marched three miles farther, and then built our huts, having travelled from the last settlements six miles. The 19th, our guides lost their way, and we did not march above two miles. The 20th, by 12 o'clock, we came to Chepo River. The rivers we crossed hitherto, ran all into the South Seas; and this of Chepo was the last we met that ran that way. Here an old man who came from the last settlements distributed his burthen of plantains amongst us, and taking his leave returned home. Afterwards we forded the river and marched to the foot of a very high mountain, where we lay all night. This day we marched about nine miles. The 21st, some of the Indians returned back, and we marched up a very high mountain; being on the top, we went some miles on a ridge, and steep on both sides; then descended a little, and came to a fine spring, where we lay all night, having gone this day about nine miles; the weather still very fair and clear. The 22d, we marched over another very high mountain, keeping on the ridge, five miles. When we came to the north end, we to our great comfort saw the sea; then we descended and parted ourselves into three companies, and lay by the side of a river, which was the first we met that runs into the North Sea. The 23d, we came through several large plantain walks, and at 10 o'clock came to an Indian habitation not far from the

North Sea. Here we got canoes to carry us down the River Concepcion to the seaside; having gone this day about seven miles. We found a great many Indians at the mouth of this river. They had settled themselves here for the benefit of trade with the Privateers, and their commodities were yams, potatoes, plantains, sugar-canes, fowls, and eggs. These Indians told us that there had been a great many English and French ships here, which were all gone but one barcolongo,[1] a French Privateer, that lay at La Sound's Key or Island. This island is about three leagues from the mouth of the River Concepcion, and is one of the Sambaloes, a range of islands reaching for about twenty leagues from Point Samballas[2] to Golden Island eastward. These islands or keys, as we call them, were first made the rendezvous of Privateers in the year 1679, being very convenient for careening, and had names given to some of them by the Captains of the Privateers; as this La Sound's Key particularly. Thus we finished our journey from the South Sea to the North in twenty-three days; in which time, by my account, we travelled 110 miles, crossing some very high mountains; but our common march was in the valleys among deep and dangerous rivers.

On the 24th of May, having lain one night at the river's mouth, we all went on board the Privateer who lay at La Sound's Key. It was a French vessel; Captain Tristian, commander. The first thing we did was to get such things as we could to gratify our Indian guides, for we were resolved to reward them to their hearts' content. This we did by giving them beads, knives, scissors, and looking-glasses, which we bought of the Privateer's crew; and half-a-dollar a man from each of us, which we would have bestowed in goods also, but could not get any, the Privateer having no more toys. They were so well satisfied with these, that they returned with joy to their friends, and were very kind to our consorts whom we left behind; as Mr Wafer our Surgeon, and the rest of them told us, when they came to us some months afterwards, as shall be said hereafter.

[1] A small, low, long, sharp-built vessel without a deck, going with oars and sails; Spanish, "barcalonga."

[2] Point San Blas, from which Dampier's title for the islands seems to be corrupted.

CHAPTER III.

The Privateer on board which we went being now cleaned, and our Indian guides satisfied and set ashore, we set sail in two days for Springer's Key, another of the Sambaloes Isles, about seven or eight leagues from La Sound's Key. Here lay eight sail of Privateers more, viz.:—

English commanders and Englishmen.

Captain Coxon, 10 guns, 100 men.
Captain Payne, 10 guns, 100 men.
Captain Wright, a barcolongo, 4 guns, 40 men.
Captain Williams, a small barcolongo.

Captain Yanky, a barcolongo, 4 guns, about 60 men, English, Dutch, and French; himself a Dutchman.

French commanders and men.

Captain Archembo, 8 guns, 40 men.
Captain Tucker, 6 guns, 70 men.
Captain Rose, a barcolongo.

An hour before we came to the fleet, Captain Wright, who had been sent to the Chagres River, arrived at Springer's Key, with a large canoe or periago laden with flour, which he took there. Some of the prisoners belonging to the periago came from Panama not above six days before he took her, and told the news of our coming overland, and likewise related the condition and strength of Panama, which was the main thing they inquired after; for Captain Wright was sent thither purposely to get a prisoner that was able to inform them

of the strength of that city, because these Privateers designed to join all their force, and by the assistance of the Indians (who had promised to be their guides) to march overland to Panama; and there is no other way of getting prisoners for that purpose but by absconding[1] between Chagres and Porto Bello, because there are much goods brought that way from Panama, especially when the Armada lies at Porto Bello. All the commanders were aboard of Captain Wright when we came into the fleet, and were mighty inquisitive of the prisoners to know the truth of what they related concerning us. But as soon as they knew we were come, they immediately came aboard of Captain Tristian, being all overjoyed to see us; for Captain Coxon and many others had left us in the South Seas about twelve months since, and had never heard what became of us since that time. They inquired of us what we did there? how we lived? how far we had been? and what discoveries we made in those seas? After we had answered these general questions, they began to be more particular in examining us concerning our passage through the country from the South Seas. We related the whole matter, giving them an account of the fatigues of our march, and the inconveniences we suffered by the rains, and disheartened them quite from that design. Then they proposed several other places where such a party of men as were now got together might make a voyage; but the objections of some or other still hindered any proceeding. For the Privateers have an account of most towns within twenty leagues of the sea on all the coast from Trinidad down to La Vera Cruz, and are able to give a near guess of the strength and riches of them, for they make it their business to examine all prisoners that fall into their hands concerning the country, town, or city they belong to: whether born there, or how long they have known it? how many families? whether most Spaniards? or whether the major part are not copper-coloured, as mulattoes, Mustesoes, or Indians? whether rich, and what their riches consist in? and what their chief manufactures? If fortified, how many great guns, and what number of small arms? whether it is possible to come undescried on them? how many look-outs or sentinels? for such the Spaniards always keep; how the look-outs are placed? whether possible to avoid the look-outs or take them? If any river or creek comes near it, or where the best landing? with innumerable other such questions, which their curiosity leads them to demand. And if they have had any former discourse of such places from other prisoners, they compare one with the other; then examine again, and inquire if he or any of them are capable to be guides to conduct a party of men thither; if not, where and how any prisoner may be taken that may do it; and from thence they afterwards lay their schemes to prosecute whatever design they take in hand.

It was seven or eight days before any resolution was taken, yet consultations were held every day. The French seemed very forward to go to any town that the English could or would propose, because the Governor of Petit Goave (from whom the Privateers take commissions) had recommended a gentleman lately come from France to be General of the expedition, and sent word by Captain Tucker, with whom this gentleman came, that they should if possible make an attempt on some town before he returned again. The English, when they were in company with the French, seemed to approve of what the French said, but never looked on that General to be fit for the service in hand. At length it was concluded to go to a town called Coretaga,[2]

[1] Lying in ambush or concealment.

[2] Cartago, near San Jose, the present capital of Costa Rica; the "Carpenter's River" afterwards mentioned would be the Matina.

which lies a great way in the country, but not such a tedious march as it would be from hence to Panama. Our way to it lay up Carpenter's River, which is about sixty leagues to the westward of Porto Bello. Our greatest obstruction in this design was our want of boats, therefore it was concluded to go with all our fleet to St Andreas,[1] a small uninhabited island lying near the Isle of Providence, to the W. of it, in 13° 15′ N. Lat., and from Porto Bello NNW. about seventy leagues, where we should be but a little way from Carpenter's River. And besides, at this island we might build canoes, it being plentifully stored with large cedars for such a purpose; and for this reason the Jamaica-men come hither frequently to build sloops, cedar being very fit for building, and being to be had here at free cost, besides other wood. Jamaica is well stored with cedars of its own, chiefly among the Rocky Mountains; these also of St Andreas grow in stony ground, and are the largest that ever I knew or heard of, the bodies alone being ordinarily forty or fifty feet long, many sixty or seventy and upwards, and of a proportionable bigness. The Bermudas Isles are well stored with them; so is Virginia, which is generally a sandy soil. I saw none in the East Indies, nor in the South Sea coast, except on the Isthmus as I came over it.[2] We reckon the periagoes and canoes that are made of cedar to be the best of any; they are nothing but the tree itself made hollow boat-wise, with a flat bottom, and the canoe generally sharp at both ends, the periago at one only, with the other end flat. But what is commonly said of cedar, that the worm will not touch it, is a mistake; for I have seen it very much worm-eaten.

All things being thus concluded on, we sailed from hence, directing our course toward St Andreas. We kept company the first day, but at night it blew a hard gale at NE., and some of our ships bore away. The next day others were forced to leave us, and the second night we lost all our company. I was now belonging to Captain Archembo, for all the rest of the fleet were over-manned. Captain Archembo wanting men, we that came out of the South Seas must either sail with him or remain among the Indians. Indeed, we found no cause to dislike the Captain; but his French seamen were the saddest creatures that ever I was among; for though we had bad weather that required many hands aloft, yet the biggest part of them never stirred out of their hammocks but to eat or ease themselves. We made a shift to find the Island the fourth day, where we met Captain Wright, who came thither the day before, and had taken a Spanish tartane,[3] wherein were thirty men, all well armed. She had four petereroes,[4] and some long guns placed in a swivel on the gunwale. They fought an hour before they yielded. The news they related was, that they came from Carthagena in company of eleven armadilloes (which are small vessels of war) to seek for the fleet of Privateers lying in the Sambaloes; that they parted from the armadilloes two days before; that they were ordered to search the Sambaloes for us, and if they did not find us, then they were ordered to go to Porto Bello, and lie there till they had further intelligence of us; and he supposed these armadilloes to be now there. We that came overland out of the South Seas, being weary of living among the French, desired Captain Wright to fit up his prize the tartane, and make a man-of-war of

[1] St Andrew's Island.

[2] The Author afterwards (Chapter IX., page 221) tells us that he found large cedars at the Three Marias Islands, off the coast of Mexico.

[3] A small coasting vessel used in the Mediterranean, with one mast and a large lateen sail; Spanish, "tartana;" French, "tartane."

[4] Or pedereroes (Spanish, "pedrero," from "piedra," a stone); a sort of swivel-gun which, before the invention of iron balls, were loaded with stone shot.

her for us, which he at first seemed to decline, because he was settled among the French on Hispaniola, and was very well beloved both by the Governor of Petit Goave, and all the gentry; and they would resent it ill that Captain Wright, who had no occasion of men, should be so unkind to Captain Archembo as to seduce his men from him; he being so meanly manned that he could hardly sail his ship with his Frenchmen. We told him we would no longer remain with Captain Archembo, but would go ashore there and build canoes to transport ourselves down to the Mosquitoes if he would not entertain us; for Privateers are not obliged to any ship, but free to go ashore where they please, or to go into any other ship that will entertain them, only paying for their provision. When Captain Wright saw our resolution, he agreed with us on condition we should be under his command as one ship's company, to which we unanimously consented.

We stayed here about ten days to see if any more of our fleet would come to us; but there came no more of us to the island but three, Captain Wright, Captain Archembo, and Captain Tucker. Therefore we concluded the rest were bore away either for Boca del Toro or Blewfields River on the main; and we designed to seek them. We had fine weather while we lay here, only some tornadoes or thunder-showers. But in this Isle of St Andreas there being neither fish, fowl, nor deer, and it being therefore but an ordinary place for us who had but little provision, we sailed from hence again in quest of our scattered fleet, directing our course for some islands lying near the main, called by the Privateers the Corn Islands; being in hopes to get corn there. These islands I take to be the same which are generally called in the maps the Pearl Islands, lying about the lat. of 12° 10′ N. Here we arrived the next day, and went ashore on one of them, but found none of the inhabitants, for there are but a few poor naked Indians that live here, who have been so often plundered by the Privateers, that they have but little provision; and when they see a sail they hide themselves, otherwise ships that come here would take them, and make slaves of them; and I have seen some of them that have been slaves. They are people of a mean stature, yet strong limbs; they are of a dark copper-colour, black hair, full round faces, small black eyes, their eye-brows hanging over their eyes, low foreheads, short thick noses, not high but flattish; full lips, and short chins. They have a fashion to cut holes in the lips of the boys when they are young, close to their chin, which they keep open with little pegs till they are fourteen or fifteen years old: then they wear beards in them made of turtle or tortoise shell. A little notch at the upper end they put in through the lip, where it remains between the teeth and the lip; the under part hangs down over their chin. This they commonly wear all day, and when they sleep they take it out. They have likewise holes bored in their ears, both men and women, when young; and by continual stretching them with great pegs, they grow to be as big as a milled five-shilling piece: herein they wear pieces of wood cut very round and smooth, so that their ear seems to be all wood, with a little skin about it. Another ornament the women use is about their legs, which they are very curious in; for from the infancy of the girls their mothers make fast a piece of cotton cloth about the small of their leg, from the ankle to the calf, very hard, which makes them have a very full calf: this the women wear to their dying day. Both men and women go naked, only a clout about their waists; yet they have but little feet though they go barefoot. Finding no provision here, we sailed towards Blewfields River, where we careened our tartane; and there Captain Archembo and Captain Tucker left us, and went towards Boca del Toro. This Blewfields River[1] comes

[1] Marked on some modern maps as the River Escondido or Segovia; it

out between the Rivers of Nicaragua and Veragua. It had this name from Captain Blewfield, a famous Privateer living on Providence Island long before Jamaica was taken: which Island of Providence was settled by the English and belonged to the Earls of Warwick. In this river we found a canoe coming down the stream; and though we went with our canoes to seek for inhabitants, yet we found none, but saw in two or three places signs that Indians had made on the side of the river. The canoe which we found was but meanly made for want of tools; therefore we concluded these Indians have no commerce with the Spaniards nor with other Indians that have.

While we lay here, our Mosquito-men went in their canoe and struck us some manatee or sea-cow.[1] Besides this Blewfields River I have seen the manatee in the Bay of Campeachy, on the coasts of Boca del Drago and Boca del Toro, in the River of Darien, and among the south keys or little islands of Cuba. I have heard of their being found on the north of Jamaica, a few; and in the rivers of Surinam in great multitudes, which is a very low land. I have seen them also at Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, and on the coast of New Holland. This creature is about the bigness of a horse, and ten or twelve feet long. The mouth of it is much like the mouth of a cow, having great thick lips. The eyes are no bigger than a small pea. The ears are only two small holes on each side of the head. The neck is short and thick, bigger than the head. The biggest part of this creature is at the shoulders, where it has two large fins, one on each side of its belly. Under each of these fins the female has a small dug to suckle her young. From the shoulders towards the tail it retains its bigness for about two feet, then grows smaller and smaller to the very tail, which is flat, and about fourteen inches broad and twenty inches long, and in the middle four or five inches thick, but about the edges not above two inches thick. From the head to the tail it is round and smooth, without any fin but those two before-mentioned. I have heard that some have weighed above 1200 lbs., but I never saw any so large. The manatee delights to live in brackish water; and they are commonly in creeks and rivers near the sea. They live on grass seven or eight inches long, and of a narrow blade, which grows in the sea in many places, especially among islands near the main; this grass grows likewise in creeks or in great rivers near the sides of them, in such places where there is but little tide or current. They never come ashore, nor into shallower water than where they can swim. Their flesh is white, both the fat and the lean, and extraordinary sweet wholesome meat. The tail of a young cow is most esteemed; but if old both head and tail are very tough. A calf that sucks is the most delicate meat; Privateers commonly roast them, as they do also great pieces cut out of the bellies of the old ones. The skin of the manatee is of great use to Privateers; for they cut them out into straps, which they make fast on the sides of their canoes, through which they put their oars in rowing, instead of tholes[2] or pegs. The skin of the bull or of the back of the cow is too thick for this use; but of it they make horse-whips, cutting them two or three feet long; at the handle they leave the full substance of the skin, and from thence cut it away tapering, but very even and square [on] all the four sides. While the thongs are green they twist them and hang them to dry; which in a week's time become as hard as wood. The Mosquito-men have always a small canoe for their use, to

runs south-eastward to the sea through the Mosquito country, and at its mouth are Blewfields town and lagoon.

[1] The description generally applies to some variety of the *Phoca*, or seal—known in different seas and to different navigators as the sea-dog, the sea-calf, the sea-cow, and the sea-lion.

[2] Pins in the gunwale to support the oar in rowing; also called "thowls."

strike fish, tortoise, or manatee: which they keep usually to themselves, and very neat and clean. They use no oars, but paddles, the broad part of which does not go tapering towards the staff, pole, or handle of it as in the oar; nor do they use it in the same manner, by laying it on the side of the vessel, but hold it perpendicularly, gripping the staff hard with both hands, and putting back the water by main strength and very quick strokes. One of the Mosquitoes (for there go but two in a canoe) sits in the stern, the other kneels down in the head; and both paddle till they come to the place where they expect their game. Then they lie still, or paddle very softly, looking well about them; and he that is in the head of the canoe lays down his paddle and stands up with his striking staff in his hand. This staff is about eight feet long, almost as big as a man's arm at the great end, in which there is a hole to place his harpoon in. At the other end of his staff there is a piece of light wood called bob-wood, with a hole in it through which the small end of the staff comes; and on this piece of bob-wood there is a line of ten or twelve fathoms wound neatly about, and the end of the line made fast to it. The other end of the line is made fast to the harpoon, which is at the great end of the staff; and the Mosquito-man keeps about a fathom of it loose in his hand. When he strikes, the harpoon presently comes out of the staff, and as the manatee swims away the line runs off from the bob; and although at first both staff and bob may be carried under water, yet as the line runs off it will rise again. Then the Mosquito-men paddle with all their might to get hold of the bob again, and spend usually a quarter of an hour before they get it. When the manatee begins to be tired, it lies still; and then the Mosquito-men paddle to the bob and take it up, and begin to haul in the line. When the manatee feels them he swims away again with the canoe after him; then he that steers must be nimble to turn the head of the canoe that way that his consort points, who being in the head of his canoe, and holding the line, both sees and feels which way the manatee is swimming. Thus the canoe is towed with a violent motion till the manatee's strength decays. Then they gather in the line, which they are often forced to let all go to the very end. At length, when the creature's strength is spent, they haul it up to the canoe's side, and knock it on the head, and tow it to the nearest shore, where they make it fast, and seek for another; which having taken, they go ashore with it to put it into their canoe. For it is so heavy that they cannot lift it in; but they haul it up in shoal water as near the shore as they can, and then overset the canoe, laying one side close to the manatee. Then they roll it in, which brings the canoe upright again; and when they have heaved out the water they fasten a line to the other manatee that lies afloat, and tow it after them.[1]

When we had cleaned our tartane we sailed from hence, bound for Boca del Toro, which is an opening between two islands about 10° 10′ N., between the Rivers of Veragua and Chagres. Here we met with Captain Yanky, who told us that there had been a fleet of Spanish armadilloes to seek us: that Captain Tristian having fallen to leeward, was coming to Boca del Toro, and fell in amongst them, supposing them to be our fleet: that they fired and chased him, but he rowed and towed, and they supposed he got away; that Captain Payne was likewise chased by them,

[1] The manner of striking the tortoise is also given at length, but being much the same as the method employed in striking the sea-cow, it has been omitted. Instead of a harpoon, a four-square sharp iron peg on the end of a striking staff is used, with a line attached. When the tortoise is struck it flies off, but the iron with the end of the line attached being buried beneath the shell, there is no possibility of its escape.

and Captain Williams, and that they had not seen them since; that they lay within the islands; that the Spaniards never came in to him; and that Captain Coxon was in at the careening place. This Boca del Toro is a place that the Privateers use to resort to as much as any place in all the coast, because here is plenty of green tortoise and a good careening place. The Indians here have no commerce with the Spaniards, but are very barbarous, and will not be dealt with. They have destroyed many Privateers, as they did not long after this some of Captain Payne's men; who having built a tent ashore to put his goods in while he careened his ship, and some men lying there with their arms, in the night the Indians crept softly into the tent and cut off the heads of three or four men, and made their escape; nor was this the first time they had served the Privateers so. There grow on this coast vinelloes in great quantity, with which chocolate is perfumed; these I shall describe elsewhere.[1]

Our fleet being thus scattered, there were now no hopes of getting together again; therefore every one did what they thought most conducing to obtain their ends. Captain Wright, with whom I now was, was resolved to cruise on the coast of Carthagena; and it being now almost the westerly wind season, we sailed from hence, and Captain Yanky with us; and we consorted, because Captain Yanky had no commission, and was afraid the French would take away his bark. We passed by Scuda,[2] a small island where it is said Sir Francis Drake's bowels were buried, and came to a small river to westward of Chagres, where we took two new canoes, and carried them with us into the Sambaloes. We had the wind at W. with much rain; which brought us to Point Samballas.[3] Here Captain Wright and Captain Yanky left us in the tartane to fix the canoes, while they went on the coast of Carthagena to seek for provision. We cruised in among the islands, and kept our Mosquito-men or strikers out, who brought aboard some half-grown tortoise; and some of us went ashore every day to hunt for what we could find in the woods. Sometimes we got peccary, warree, or deer; at other times we lighted on a drove of large fat monkeys or quams, corrosoes[4] (each a large sort of fowl), pigeons, parrots, or turtle-doves. We lived very well on what we got, not staying long in one place: but sometimes we would go on the islands, where there grow great groves of sappodillas,[5] which is a sort of fruit much like a pear, but more juicy; and under those trees we found plenty of soldiers,[6] a little kind of animals that live in shells, and have two great claws like a crab, and are good food. One time our men found a great many large ones, and, being sharp-set had them dressed, but most of them were very sick afterwards, being poisoned by them: for on this island were many manchineel trees,[7] whose fruit

[1] See Chapter VIII., page 206.

[2] Escudo de Veragua, off the Lagoon of Chiriqui. In Maynarde's narrative, however (*ante*, page 107), it is stated that Drake was buried at sea.

[3] San Blas.

[4] For Quam or Guan see Note 4, page 133. The Corroso, or Curassow, is described elsewhere by Dampier as "a larger fowl than the quam: the cock is black, the hen is of a dark brown. The cock has a crown of black feathers on his head, and appears very stately. These live also on berries, and are very good to eat; but their bones are said to be poisonous; therefore we do either burn or bury them, or throw them into the water for fear our dogs should eat them."

[5] Sappodilla is the name applied to plants of the genus *Achras*, natives of the West Indies and some parts of South America; the plum, or fruit, according to Lindley, is esteemed as an article of the dessert; the bark is employed in medicine as an astringent.

[6] Soldier-crab, or hermit-crab.

[7] Spanish, "Manzanilla;" a West Indian tree, used for furniture, and

is like a small crab,[1] and smells very well, but they are not wholesome; and we commonly take care of meddling with any animals that eat them. And this we take for a general rule: when we find any fruits that we have not seen before, if we see them pecked by birds we may freely eat; but if we see no such sign we may let them alone; for of this fruit no birds will taste. Many of these islands have these manchineel trees growing on them. Thus cruising in among these islands at length we came again to La Sound's Key; and the day before, having met with a Jamaica sloop that was come over on the coast to trade, she went with us. It was in the evening when we came to an anchor, and the next morning we fired two guns for the Indians that lived on the main to come aboard; for by this time we concluded we should hear from our five men that we left in the heart of the country among the Indians, this being about the latter end of August, and it was the beginning of May when we parted from them. According to our expectation the Indians came aboard and brought our friends with them. Mr Wafer wore a clout about him, and was painted like an Indian; and he was some time aboard before I knew him. One of them, named Richard Cobson, died within three or four days after, and was buried on La Sound's Key. After this we went to other keys to the eastward of these, to meet Captain Wright and Captain Yanky, who met with a fleet of periagoes laden with Indian corn, hog, and fowls, going to Carthagena; being convoyed by a small armadillo of two guns and six petereroes. Her they chased ashore, and most of the periagoes; but they got two of them off and brought them away. Here Captain Wright's and Captain Yanky's barks were cleaned; and we stocked ourselves with corn and then went towards the coast of Carthagena. In our way thither we passed by the River of Darien; which is very broad at the mouth, but not above six feet [of] water on a springtide; for the tide rises but little here. Captain Coxon, about six months before we came out of the South Seas, went up this river with a party of men: every man carried a small strong bag to put his gold in, expecting great riches there, though they got little or none. They rowed up about 100 leagues before they came to any settlement, and then found some Spaniards who lived there to truck[2] with the Indians for gold; there being gold scales in every house. The Spaniards admired[3] how they came so far from the mouth of the river; because there are a sort of Indians living between that place and the sea who are very dreadful to the Spaniards, and will not have any commerce with them, nor with any white people.

To return therefore to the prosecution of our voyage. Meeting with nothing of note, we passed by Carthagena, which is a city so well known that I shall say nothing of it. We sailed by in sight of it, for it lies open to the sea; and had a fair view of Madre de Popa, or Nuestra Señora de Popa, a monastery of the Virgin Mary, standing on the top of a very steep hill just behind Carthagena. It is a place of incredible wealth, by reason of the offerings made there continually; and for this reason often in danger of being visited by the Privateers, did not the neighbourhood of Carthagena keep them in awe. It is, in short, the very Loretto of the West Indies: it has innumerable miracles related of it. Any misfortune that befalls the Privateers is attributed to this Lady's doing; and the Spaniards report that she was abroad that night the Oxford man-of-war was blown up at the Isle of Vacca near Hispaniola, and that she came home all wet; as, belike, she often returns with her clothes dirty and torn with passing

well known for its poisonous white juice; the *Hippomane mancinella*.

[1] Apple.

[2] Barter, traffic by exchange; Spanish, "trocar," French, "troquer."

[3] Wondered.

through woods and bad ways when she has been out upon any expedition; deserving doubtless a new suit for such eminent pieces of service. From hence we passed on to the Rio Grande,[1] where we took up fresh water at sea, a league off the mouth of that river. From thence we sailed eastward, passing by Santa Marta, a large town and good harbour belonging to the Spaniards: yet hath it within these few years been twice taken by the Privateers. It stands close upon the sea, and the hill within land is a very large one, towering up a great height from a vast body of land.[2] I am of opinion that it is higher than the Peak of Teneriffe; others also that have seen both, think the same; though its bigness makes its height less sensible. I have seen it in passing by, thirty leagues off, at sea; others, as they told me, above sixty. Its head is generally hid in the clouds; but in clear weather, when the top appears, it looks white, supposed to be covered with snow. Santa Marta lies in Lat. 12°. Being advanced five or six leagues to the eastward of Santa Marta, we left our ships at anchor, and returned back in our canoes to the Rio Grande, entering it by a mouth of it that disembogues itself near Santa Marta: purposing to attempt some towns that lie a pretty way up that river. But this design meeting with discouragements, we returned to our ships and set sail to Rio la Hacha. This hath been a strong Spanish town, and is well built; but being often taken by the Privateers, the Spaniards deserted it some time before our arrival. It lies to the westward of a river; and right against the town is a good road for ships, the bottom clean and sandy. The Jamaica sloops used often to come over to trade here: and I am informed that the Spaniards have again settled themselves in it and made it very strong. We entered the fort and brought two small guns aboard. From thence we went to the Rancherias, one or two small Indian villages where the Spaniards keep two barks to fish for pearl.

When we had spent some time here, we returned again towards the coast of Carthagena; and being between Rio Grande and that place, we met with westerly winds, which kept us still to the eastward of Carthagena three or four days; then in the morning we descried a sail off at sea, and we chased her at noon. Captain Wright, who sailed best, came up with her and engaged her; and in half an hour after, Captain Yanky, who sailed better than the tartane (the vessel that I was in), came up with her likewise and laid her aboard, then Captain Wright also; and they took her before we came up. They lost two or three men, and had seven or eight wounded. The prize was a ship of 12 guns and forty men, who had all good small arms; she was laden with sugar and tobacco, and had eight or ten tons of marmalade on board: she came from Santiago de Cuba, and was bound to Carthagena. We went back with her to Rio Grande to fix our rigging, which was shattered in the fight, and to consider what to do with her; for these were commodities of little use to us, and not worth going into a port with. At the Rio Grande, Captain Wright demanded the prize as his due by virtue of his commission; Captain Yanky said it was his due by the law of Privateers. Indeed Captain Wright had the most right to her, having by his commission protected Captain Yanky from the French, who would have turned him out because he had no commission; and he likewise began to engage her first. But the company were all afraid that Captain Wright would presently carry her into a port; therefore most of Captain Wright's men stuck to Captain Yanky, and Captain Wright losing[3] his prize, burned his own bark, and had Captain

[1] Now Rio Magdalena.

[2] The Sierra de Santa Marta, the highest point of which, about thirty miles from the town, is 19,000 feet in elevation.

[3] Yielding up.

Yanky's, it being bigger than his own; the tartane was sold to a Jamaica trader, and Captain Yanky commanded the prize ship. We went again from hence to Rio la Hacha, and set the prisoners ashore: and it being now the beginning of November, we concluded to go to Curaçoa to sell our sugar, if favoured by westerly winds, which were now come in. We sailed from thence, having fair weather and winds to our mind, which brought us to Curaçoa, a Dutch island. Captain Wright went ashore to the Governor, and offered him the sale of the sugar: but the Governor told him he had a great trade with the Spaniards, therefore he could not admit us in there; but if we would go to St Thomas, which is an island and free port belonging to the Danes, and a sanctuary for Privateers, he would send a sloop with such goods as we wanted, and money to buy the sugar, which he would take at a certain rate; but it was not agreed to.

Curaçoa is the only island of importance that the Dutch have in the West Indies. It is about five leagues in length, and may be nine or ten in circumference: the northernmost point is laid down in N. Lat. 12° 40′, and it is abont seven or eight leagues from the main, near Cape San Roman. On the south side of the east end is a good harbour called Santa Barbara; but the chief harbour is about three leagues from the SE. end, on the south side of it, where the Dutch have a very good town and a very strong fort. At the east end are two hills, one of them much higher than the other, and steepest towards the north side. The rest of the island is in different level; where of late some rich men have made sugar-works; which formerly was all pasture for cattle. There are also some small plantations of potatoes and yams, and they have still a great many cattle on the island: but it is not so much esteemed for its produce, as for its situation for the trade with the Spaniards. Formerly the harbour was never without ships from Carthagena and Porto Bello, that did use to *buy of* the Dutch here, 1000 or 1500 Negroes at once, besides great quantities of European commodities; but of late that trade is fallen into the hands of the English at Jamaica: yet still the Dutch have a vast trade over all the West Indies, sending from Holland ships of good force laden with European goods, whereby they make very profitable returns. The Dutch have two other islands there, but of little moment in comparison of Curaçoa; the one lies seven or eight leagues to the westward of Curaçoa, called Oruba; the other nine or ten leagues to the eastward of it, called Buen Ayre. From these islands the Dutch fetch in sloops, provision for Curaçoa, to maintain their garrison and Negroes. I was never at Oruba, therefore cannot say anything of it as to my own knowledge; but by report it is much like Buen Ayre, which I shall describe, only not so big. Between Curaçoa and Buen Ayre is a small island called Little Curaçoa; it is not above a league from Great Curaçoa. The King of France has long had an eye on Curaçoa, and made some attempts to take it, but never yet succeeded. I have heard that about twenty-three or twenty-four years since the Governor had sold it to the French, but died a small time before the fleet came to demand it; and by his death that design failed. Afterwards, in the year 1678, the Count D'Estrées, who a year before had taken the Isle of Tobago from the Dutch, was sent hither also with a squadron of stout ships, very well manned, and fitted with bombs and carcasses,[1] intending to take it by storm. This fleet first came to Martinico; where, while they stayed, orders were sent to Petit Goave for all Privateers to repair thither and assist the Count in his design. There were but two Privateers' ships that went thither to him, which were

[1] Carcasses (Italian, "carcassa," Spanish, "carcax" or "carcaza") are hollow cases made of ribs of iron, filled with inflammable matter, and thrown into besieged places with incendiary intent.

manned partly with French, partly with Englishmen. These set out with the Count; but in their way to Curaçoa, the whole fleet was lost on a reef or ridge of rocks that runs off from the Isle of Aves; not above two ships escaping, one of which was one of the Privateers: and so that design perished.

Wherefore not driving a bargain for our sugar with the Governor of Curaçoa, we went from thence to Buen Ayre, another Dutch island, where we met a Dutch sloop come from Europe laden with Irish beef which we bought in exchange for some of our sugar. Buen Ayre is the easternmost of the Dutch islands, and the largest of the three, though not the most considerable. The middle of the island is laid down in Lat. 12° 16′ [N.]. It is about twenty leagues from the main, and nine or ten from Curaçoa, and is accounted sixteen or seventeen leagues round. The road is on the SW. side, near the middle of the island, where there is a pretty deep bay runs in. The houses are about half-a-mile within land, right in the road. There is a Governor lives here, a deputy to the Governor of Curaçoa, and seven or eight soldiers, with five or six families of Indians. There is no fort; and the soldiers in peaceable times have little to do but to eat and sleep, for they never watch but in time of war. The Indians are husbandmen, and plant maize and Guinea corn, and some yams and potatoes: but their chief business is about cattle; for this island is plentifully stocked with goats; and they send great quantities every year in salt to Curaçoa. There are some horses, and bulls and cows; but I never saw any sheep, though I have been all over the island. The south side is plain low land, and there are several sorts of trees, but none very large. There is a small spring of water by the houses, which serves the inhabitants, though it is brackish. At the west end of the island there is a good spring of fresh water, and three or four Indian families live there; but no water nor houses at any other place. On the south side near the east end is a good salt-pond, where Dutch sloops come for salt. From Buen Ayre we went to the Isle of Aves, or birds; so called from its great plenty of birds, as man-of-war and boobies, but especially boobies. The booby is a water-fowl, somewhat less than a hen, of a light greyish colour. I observed the boobies of this island to be whiter than others. This bird has a strong bill, longer and bigger than a crow's, and broader at the end; its feet are flat like a duck's feet. The man-of-war (as it is called by the English) is about the bigness of a kite, and in shape like it, but black; and the neck is red. It lives on fish, yet never lights on the water, but soars aloft like a kite, and when it sees its prey, it flies down head-foremost to the water's edge, very swiftly takes its prey out of the sea with its bill, and immediately mounts again as swiftly, never touching the water with its body. His wings are very long; his feet are like other land-fowl; and he builds on trees, where he finds any; but where they are wanting, on the ground. This Island of Aves lies about eight or nine leagues to the eastward of the island Buen Ayre, about fourteen or fifteen leagues from the main, and about the Lat. of 11° 45′ north. It is but small, not above four miles in length, and towards the east end not half-a-mile broad. On the north side it is low land, commonly overflown with the tide; but on the south side there is a great rocky bank of coral thrown up by the sea. The west end is, for near a mile's space, plain even savannah land, without any trees. There are two or three wells dug by Privateers, who often frequent this island, because there is a good harbour about the middle of it on the north side, where they may conveniently careen. The reef or bank of rocks on which the French fleet was lost, runs along from the east end to the northward about three miles, then trends away to the westward, making as it were a half-moon. This reef breaks off all the sea, and there is

good riding in even sandy ground to the westward of it. There are two or three small low sandy keys or islands within this reef, about three miles from the main island. The Count D'Estrées lost his fleet here in this manner: Coming from the eastward, he fell in on the back of the reef, and fired guns to give warning to the rest of his fleet. But they, supposing their Admiral was engaged with enemies, hoised up their topsails, and crowded all the sail they could make, and ran full sail ashore after him; all within half-a-mile of each other. For his light being in the maintop was an unhappy beacon for them to follow; and there escaped but one King's ship, and one Privateer. The ships continued whole all day, and the men had time enough, most of them, to get ashore; yet many perished in the wreck: and many of those that got safe on the island, for want of being accustomed to such hardships, died like rotten sheep. But the Privateers who had been used to such accidents, lived merrily; from whom I had this relation: and they told me that if they had gone to Jamaica with £30 a man in their pockets they could not have enjoyed themselves more. For they kept in a gang by themselves, and watched when the ships broke to get the goods that came from them; and though much was staved against the rocks, yet abundance of wine and brandy floated over the reef, where these Privateers waited to take it up. They lived here about three weeks, waiting an opportunity to transport themselves back again to Hispaniola; in all which time they were never without two or three hogsheads of wine and brandy in their tents, and barrels of beef and pork, which they could live on without bread well enough, though the new comers out of France could not. There were about forty Frenchmen on board one of the ships where there was good store of liquor, till the after part of her broke away and floated over the reef, and was carried away to sea, *with all the men* drinking and singing, who, being in drink, did not mind the danger, but were never heard of afterwards. In a short time after this great shipwreck, Captain Payne, commander of a Privateer of 6 guns, had a pleasant accident befell him at this island. He came hither to careen, intending to fit himself very well; for here lay driven on the island, masts, yards, timbers, and many things that he wanted, therefore he hauled into the harbour, close to the island, and unrigged his ship. Before he had come, a Dutch ship of 20 guns was sent from Curaçoa to take up the guns that were lost on the reef. But seeing a ship in the harbour, and knowing her to be a French Privateer, they thought to take her first, and came within a mile of her, and began to fire at her, intending to warp in the next day; for it is very narrow going in. Captain Payne got ashore some of his guns, and did what he could to refit them, though he did in a manner conclude he must be taken. But, while his men were thus busied, he spied a Dutch sloop turning to get into the road, and saw her at the evening anchor at the west end of the island. This gave him some hope of making his escape, which he did, by sending two canoes in the night aboard the sloop, who took her, and got considerable purchase in her, and he went away in her, making a good reprisal, and leaving his own empty ship to the Dutch man-of-war. There is another island to the eastward of the Isle of Aves about four leagues, called by Privateers the Little Isle of Aves, which is overgrown with mangrove trees. I have seen it, but was never on it. There are no inhabitants that I could learn on either of these islands but boobies, and a few other birds. While we were at the Isle of Aves we careened Captain Wright's bark, and scrubbed the sugar prize, and got two guns out of the wrecks, continuing here till the beginning of February 1681-2. We went from hence to the Isles Roques to careen the sugar prize, which the Isle of Aves was not a place so convenient for. Accord-

ingly we hauled close to one of the small islands, and got our guns ashore the first thing we did, and built a breastwork on the point, and planted all our guns there, to hinder an enemy from coming to us while we lay on the careen; then we made a house, and covered it with our sails, to put our goods and provisions in. While we lay here, a French man-of-war, of 36 guns, came through the keys or little islands, to whom we sold about ten tons of sugar. I was aboard twice or thrice, and very kindly welcomed both by the captain and his lieutenant, who was a Cavalier of Malta; and they both offered me great encouragement in France, if I would go with them; but I ever designed to continue with those of my own nation. The Islands Roques are a parcel of small uninhabited islands, lying about the Lat. of 11° 40′, about fifteen or sixteen leagues from the main, and about twenty leagues NW. by W. from Tortuga, and six or seven leagues W. of Orchillo, another island, lying about the same distance from the main. [Los] Roques stretch themselves E. and W. about five leagues, and their breadth [is] about three leagues. The northernmost of these islands is the most remarkable, by reason of a high white rocky hill at the west end of it, which may be seen a great way; and on it there are abundance of tropic birds, men-of-war, boobies, and noddies, which breed there. The booby and man-of-war I have described already.[1] The middle of this island is low plain land, overgrown with long grass, where there are multitudes of small grey fowls, no bigger than a blackbird; yet [they] lay eggs bigger than a magpie's: and they are therefore by Privateers called egg-birds. The east end of the island is overgrown with black mangrove trees.[2] The other islands are low, and have red mangroves, and other trees on them. Here also ships may ride; but no such place for careening as where we lay, because at that place ships may haul close to the shore; and, if they have but four guns on the point, may secure the channel, and hinder any enemy from coming near them.

After we had filled what water we could from hence, we set out again in April 1682, and came to Salt Tortuga; so called to distinguish it from the shoals of Dry Tortugas, near Cape Florida, and from the Isle of Tortugas by Hispaniola, which was called formerly French Tortugas; though not having heard any mention of that name a great while, I am apt to think it is swallowed up in that of Petit Goave, the chief garrison the French have in those parts. This island we arrived at is pretty large, uninhabited, and abounds with salt. It is in Lat. 11° N., and lies W. and a little N. from Margarita, an island inhabited by the Spaniards, strong and wealthy; it is distant from it about fourteen leagues, and seventeen or eighteen from Cape Blanco on the main.[3] At this isle we

[1] The noddy is described as a small black bird, about the size of an English blackbird, and esteemed good for food by voyagers there. In shape, they are round and plump like a partridge, and all white, save two or three feathers in each wing, which are of a light grey.

On the Roques Islands here described, the water was found to taste "copperish," and after two or three days' use of it, no other water seemed to possess any taste.

[2] The mangrove trees according to Dampier, are of three sorts, black, red, and white. Of these, the black and red form the most serviceable timber. The young saplings were used by the Privateers for making that part of the oar within the boat, called the "loom" or handle.

[3] Some remarks not generally interesting, are here made on a large salt pond at the east end of the Island of Tortuga, and often visited by ships to lade salt. This island had its name from the turtle or tortoise, which came upon the sandy bays to lay their eggs.

thought to have sold our sugar among the English ships that come hither for salt; but failing there we designed for Trinidad, an island near the main inhabited by the Spaniards, tolerably strong and wealthy: but the current and easterly winds hindering us, we passed through between Margarita and the main, and went to Blanco,[1] a pretty large island almost north of Margarita, about thirty leagues from the main, and in 11° 50′ N. Lat. It is a flat, even, low, uninhabited island, dry and healthy, most savannah of long grass, and has some trees of *Lignum-vitæ* growing in spots, with shrubby bushes of other wood about them. It is plentifully stored with guanos,[2] which are an animal like a lizard, but much bigger. The body is as big as the small of a man's leg, and from the hind quarter the tail grows tapering to the end, which is very small. If a man takes hold of the tail, except very near the hind quarter, it will part and break off in one of the joints, and the guano will get away. They lay eggs, as most of those amphibious creatures do, and are very good to eat. Their flesh is much esteemed by Privateers, who commonly dress them for their sick men; for they make very good broth. They are of divers colours, as almost black, dark brown, light brown, dark green, light green, yellow, and speckled; they all live as well in the water as on land, and some of them are constantly in the water, and among rocks: these are commonly black. Others that live in swampy wet ground are commonly on bushes and trees: these are green. But such as live on dry ground, as here at Blanco, are commonly yellow; yet these also will live in the water, and are sometimes on trees. There are sandy bays round the island, where turtle or tortoise come up in great abundance, going ashore in the night. Those that frequent this island are called green turtle; and they are the best of that sort, both for largeness and sweetness, of any in all the West Indies.

We stayed at the Isle of Blanco not above ten days, and then went back to Salt Tortuga again, where Captain Yanky parted with us. And from thence, after about four days, all which time our men were drunk and quarrelling, we in Captain Wright's ship went to the coast of Caracas on the mainland.[3] The cacao tree[4] has a body about a foot and a half thick (the largest sort) and seven or eight feet high to the branches, which are large, and spreading like an oak, with a pretty thick, smooth, dark-green leaf, shaped like that of a plum tree, but larger. The nuts are enclosed in cods as big as both a man's fists put together, at the broad end of which there is a small, tough, limber[5] tree, by which they hang pendulous from the body of the tree in all parts of it from top to bottom, scattered at irregular distances, and from the greater branches a little way up, especially at the joints of them, or partings, where they hang thickest, but never on the smaller boughs. There may be ordinarily about twenty or thirty of these cods upon a well-bearing tree, and they have two crops of them in a year, one in December, but the best in June. The cod itself, or shell, is almost half-an-inch thick; neither spongy nor woody, but of a substance between both, brittle, yet harder than the rind of a lemon, like which, its

[1] Or Blanquilla.

[2] Guana, or iguana, is the designation of several species of lizards, the best known being the *Iguana tuberculatum*, found in many parts of America and the West Indies, and *valued for its* flesh.

[3] The low-lying lands on the coast of Caracas are here characterised as extremely fertile, well watered, and inhabited by Spaniards and their Negroes, and that the main product of these valleys is the cacao nut, of which the chocolate is made, and of which such a painstaking description follows.

[4] Not to be confused with the cocoa-nut tree.

[5] Supple, flexible.

surface is grained or knobbed, but more coarse and unequal. The cods at first are of a dark green, but the side of them next the sun of a muddy red. As they grow ripe the green turns to a fine bright yellow and the muddy to a more lively beautiful red, very pleasant to the eye. They neither ripen nor are gathered [all] at once; but for three weeks or a month, when the season is, the overseers of the plantations go every day about to see which are turned yellow, cutting at once, it may be, not above one from a tree. The cods thus gathered they lay in several heaps to sweat, and then, bursting the shell with their hands, they pull out the nuts, which are the only substance they contain, having no stalk or pith among them; and (excepting that these nuts lie in regular rows) are placed like the grains of maize, but sticking together, and so closely stowed, that after they have been once separated, it would be hard to place them again in so narrow a compass. There are generally near 100 nuts in a cod, in proportion to the greatness of which, for it varies, the nuts are bigger or less. When taken out they dry them in the sun upon mats spread on the ground, after which they need no more care, having a thin hard skin of their own, and much oil, which preserves them. Salt water will not hurt them, for we had our bags rotten lying in the bottom of our ships, and yet the nuts never the worse. They raise the young trees [from] nuts set with the great end downward in fine black mould, and in the same places where they are to bear, which they do in four or five years' time without the trouble of transplanting. There are ordinarily of these trees from 500 to 2000 and upwards in a plantation, or cacao walk as they call them; and they shelter the young trees from the weather with plantains set about them for two or three years, destroying all the plantains by such time the cacao trees are of a pretty good body and able to endure the heat, which I take to be most pernicious to them of anything; for though these valleys lie open to the north winds, unless a little sheltered here and there by some groves of plantain trees which are purposely set near the shores of the several bays, yet, by all that I could either observe or learn, the cacaos in this country are never blighted, as I have often known them to be in other places. Cacao nuts are used as money in the Bay of Campeachy.

The chief town of this country is called Caracas, a good way within land; it is a large wealthy place, where live most of the owners of these cacao walks that are in the valleys by the shore, the plantations being managed by overseers and Negroes. It is in a large savannah country that abounds with cattle; and a Spaniard of my acquaintance, a very sensible man who hath been there, tells me that it is very populous, and he judges it to be three times as big as Coruña in Galicia. The way to it is very steep and craggy, over that ridge of hills which I said closes up the valleys and partition hills of the cacao coast. In this coast itself the chief place is La Guayra, a good town close by the sea; and though it has but a bad harbour, yet it is much frequented by the Spanish shipping, for the Dutch and English anchor in the sandy bays that lie here and there in the mouth of several valleys, and where there is very good riding. The town is open, but has a strong fort, yet both were taken some years since by Captain Wright and his Privateers. It is seated about four or five leagues to the westward of Cape Blanco, which is the easternmost boundary of this coast of Caracas. Farther eastward, about twenty leagues, is a great lake or branch of the sea, called La Laguna de Venezuela, about which are many rich towns; but the mouth of the lake is [so] shallow that no ships can enter. Near this mouth is a place called Cumana, where the Privateers were once repulsed without daring to attempt it any more, being the only place in the North Seas they attempted in vain for many years; and the Spaniards since throw it in their teeth frequently as a word of

reproach or defiance to them. Not far from that place is Varinas, a small village and Spanish plantation famous for its tobacco, reputed the best in the world. But to return to Caracas. All this coast is subject to dry winds, generally north-east, which caused us to have scabby lips; and we always found it thus, and that in different seasons of the year, for I have been on this coast several times. In other respects it is very healthy, and a sweet clear air. The Spaniards have look-outs or scouts on the hills, and breastworks in the valleys, and most of their Negroes are furnished with arms also for defence of the bays. The Dutch have a very profitable trade here almost to themselves. I have known three or four great ships at a time on the coast, each, it may be, of 30 or 40 guns. They carry hither all sorts of European commodities, especially linen, making vast returns, chiefly in silver and cacao. And I have often wondered and regretted that none of my own countrymen find the way thither directly from England, for our Jamaica-men trade thither indeed, and find the sweet[1] of it, though they carry English commodities at second or third hand.

While we lay on this coast we went ashore in some of the bays and took seven or eight tons of cacao; and after that, three barks, one laden with hides, the second with European commodities, the third with earthenware and brandy. With these three barks we went again to the Islands of Roques, where we shared our commodities, and separated, having vessels enough to transport us all whither we thought most convenient. Twenty of us (for we were about sixty) took one of the vessels and our share of the goods, and went directly for Virginia. In our way thither we took several of the sucking-fishes,[2] for when we see them about the ship we cast out a line and hook, and they will take it with any manner of bait, whether fish or flesh. The sucking-fish is about the bigness of a large whiting, and much of the same shape towards the tail, but the head is flatter. From the head to the middle of its back there grows a sort of flesh of a hard gristly substance, like that part of the limpet, a shell-fish tapering up pyramidically, which sticks to the rocks; or like the head or mouth of a shell-snail, but harder. This excrescence is of a flat oval form about seven or eight inches long and five or six broad, and rising about half-an-inch high. It is full of small ridges, with which it will fasten itself to anything that it meets with in the sea, just as a snail does to a wall. When any of them happen to come about a ship, they seldom leave her, for they will feed on such filth as is daily thrown overboard, or on mere excrements. When it is fair weather and but little wind, they will play about the ship; but in blustering weather, or when the ship sails quick, they commonly fasten themselves to the ship's bottom, from whence neither the ship's motion, though never so swift, nor the most tempestuous sea, can remove them. They will likewise fasten themselves to any other bigger fish, for they never swim fast themselves if they meet with anything to carry them. I have found them sticking to a shark after it was hauled in on the deck, though a shark is so strong and boisterous a fish, and throws about him so vehemently for half-an-hour together, it may be, when caught, that did not the sucking-fish stick at no ordinary rate it must needs be cast off by so much violence. It is usual also to see them sticking to turtle, to any old trees, planks, or the like, that lie driving at sea. Any knobs or inequalities at a ship's bottom are a great hindrance to the swiftness of its sailing, and ten or twelve of these sticking to it must needs retard it as much, in a manner, as if its bottom were foul. So that I am inclined to think that this fish is the *Remora*, of which the ancients tell such stories: if it be not, I know no other that is,

[1] Advantage, gratification.

[2] The *Echeneis remora*, or sea lamprey.

and I leave the reader to judge.[1] I have seen these sucking-fishes in great plenty in the Bay of Campeachy, and in all the sea between that and the coast of Caracas, as about those islands particularly I have lately described, Roques, Blanco, Tortuga, &c. They have no scales, and are very good meat.

We met nothing else worth remark in our voyage to Virginia, where we arrived in July 1682. That country is so well known to our nation, that I shall say nothing of it; nor shall I detain the reader with the story of my own affairs, and the troubles that befell me during about thirteen months of my stay there: but in the next Chapter enter immediately upon my Second Voyage into the South Seas and round the Globe.

CHAPTER IV.

BEING now entering upon the relation of a new voyage, which makes up the main body of this book, proceeding from Virginia by the way of Tierra del Fuego and the South Seas, the East Indies, and so on, till my return to England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, I shall give my reader this short account of my first entrance upon it. Among those who accompanied Captain Sharpe into the South Seas in our former expedition, and, leaving him there, returned overland (as is said in the Introduction and in the First and Second Chapters), there was one Mr Cooke, an English native of St Christopher's, a Creole, as we call all born of European parents in the West Indies. He was a sensible man, and had been some years a Privateer. At our joining ourselves with those Privateers we met at our coming again to the North Seas, his lot was to be with Captain Yanky, who kept company for some considerable time with Captain Wright, in whose ship I was, and parted with us at our second anchoring at the Isle of Tortuga. After our parting, this Mr Cooke, being Quarter-master under Captain Yanky, the second place in the ship, according to the law of Privateers, laid claim to a ship they took from the Spaniards; and such of Captain Yanky's men as were so disposed, particularly all those who came with us overland, went aboard this prize ship, under the new Captain Cooke. This distribution was made at the Isle of Vacca, or the Isle of Ash, as we call it; and here they parted also such goods as they had taken. But Captain Cooke having no commission, as Captain Yanky, Captain Tristian, and some other French commanders had, who lay then at that island, and they grudging the English such a vessel, they all joined together, plundered the English of their ship, goods, and arms, and turned them ashore. Yet Captain Tristian took in about eight or ten of these English, and carried them with him to Petit Goave; of which number Captain Cooke was one, and Captain Davis another, who with the rest found means to seize the ship as she lay at anchor in the road, Captain Tristian and many of his men being then ashore. And the English sending ashore such Frenchmen as remained in the ship and were mastered by them, though superior in number, stood away with her immediately for the Isle of Vacca, before any notice of this surprise could reach the French Governor of that Isle; so deceiving him also by a stratagem, they got on board the rest of their countrymen who had been left on

[1] Pliny, in the opening chapter of his 32d book, is very eloquent on the powers of the *echineis*, or *remora*, or delaying-fish. "Let the winds rush," he says, among other grandiose things, "and the storms rage, one little fishling lays commands on their fury, and controls their mighty forces, and compels the ships to stand still: a thing that could be done by no bonds, by no anchor cast with irrevocable weight. It curbs the shocks and tames the madness of the world by no labour of its own, not by holding back, nor in any other way than simply by adhering."

that island; and going thence they took a ship newly come from France laden with wines. They also took a ship of good force, in which they resolved to embark themselves and make a new expedition into the South Seas, to cruise on the coast of Chili and Peru. But first they went for Virginia with their prizes; where they arrived the April after my coming thither. The best of their prizes carried eighteen guns: this they fitted up there with sails and everything necessary for so long a voyage; selling the wines they had taken for such provisions as they wanted. Myself and those of our fellow-travellers over the Isthmus of America who came with me to Virginia the year before this (most of whom had since made a short voyage to Carolina, and were again returned to Virginia), resolved to join ourselves to these new adventurers; and as many more engaged in the same design as made our whole crew consist of about seventy men. So having furnished ourselves with necessary materials, and agreed upon some particular rules, especially of temperance and sobriety, by reason of the length of our intended voyage, we all went on board our ship.

August 23d, 1683, we sailed from Achamack[1] in Virginia, under the command of Captain Cooke, bound for the South Seas. I shall not trouble the reader with an account of every day's run, but hasten to the less known parts of the world, to give a description of them: only relating such memorable accidents as happened to us, and such places as we touched at by the way. We met nothing worth observation till we came to the Islands of Cape Verd, except a terrible storm, which [we] could not escape: this happened in a few days after we left Virginia, with a SSE. wind just in our teeth. The storm lasted above a week: it drenched us all like so many drowned rats, and was one of the worst storms I ever was in. One I met with in the East Indies was more violent for the time, but of not above twenty-four hours' continuance. After that storm we had favourable winds and good weather; and in a short time we arrived at the Island [of] Sal, which is one of the easternmost of the Cape Verd Islands. Of these there are ten in number, so considerable as to bear distinct names; and they lie several degrees off from Cape Verd in Africa, whence they receive that appellation; taking up about 5° of longitude in breadth, and about as many of latitude in their length, viz., from near 14° to 19° North. They are mostly inhabited by Portuguese banditti. This of Sal is an island, lying in Lat. 16°, in Long. 19° 33′ W. from the Lizard in England, stretching from north to south about eight or nine leagues, and not above a league and a half or two leagues wide. It has its name from the abundance of salt that is naturally congealed there, the whole island being full of large salt ponds. The land is very barren, producing no tree that I could see, but some small shrubby bushes by the sea-side; neither could I discern any grass; yet there are some poor goats on it. [The island was also well stocked with wild fowl, especially flamingoes, which build their nests in shallow ponds among the mud. The bird itself is in shape like a heron, but bigger, and of a reddish colour. The flesh of both the young and old birds they found eatable, especially the tongue, "a dish of flamingoes' tongues being fit for a prince's table."]

There were not above five or six men on this Island of Sal, and a poor Governor, as they called him, who came aboard in our boat, and brought three or four poor lean goats for a present to our Captain, telling him they were the best that the island did afford. The Captain, minding more the poverty of the giver than the value of the present, gave him in

[1] Accomack is a county in or rather of Virginia, lying in some sort as an *enclave* in the peninsula of Maryland, which runs down towards Cape Charles between the Chesapeake and the Atlantic Ocean.

requital a coat to clothe him; for he had nothing but a few rags on his back, and an old hat not worth three farthings; which yet I believe he wore but seldom, for fear he should want before he might get another, for he told us there had not been a ship in three years before. We bought of him about twenty bushels of salt for a few old clothes; and he begged a little powder and shot. We stayed here three days: in which time one of these Portuguese offered to some of our men a lump of ambergris in exchange for some clothes, desiring them to keep it secret; for he said if the Governor should know it he should be hanged. At length one Mr Coppinger bought it for a small matter; yet I believe he gave more than it was worth. We had not a man in the ship that knew ambergris: but I have since seen it in other places, and therefore am certain it was not right. It was of a dark colour like sheep's dung, and very soft, but of no smell; and possibly it was some of their goats' dung. . . . We went from this Island of Sal to San Nicolas, another of the Cape Verd Islands, lying WSW. from Sal about twenty-two leagues. We arrived there the next day after we left the other, and anchored on the SE. side of the island. This is a pretty large island; it is one of the biggest of all the Cape Verd, and lies in a triangular form. The largest side, which lies to the east, is about thirty leagues long, and the other two above twenty leagues each. It is a mountainous barren island, and rocky all round towards the sea; yet in the heart of it there are valleys where the Portuguese which inhabit here have vineyards and plantations and wood for fuel. Here are many goats, which are but poor in comparison with those in other places, yet much better than those at Sal; there are likewise many asses. The Governor of this island came aboard us, with three or four gentlemen more in his company, who were all indifferently well clothed, and accoutred with swords and pistols; but the rest that accompanied him to the sea-side, which were about twenty or thirty men more, were but in a ragged garb. The Governor brought aboard some wine made in the island, which tasted much like Madeira wine; it was of a pale colour, and looked thick. He told us the chief town was in a valley fourteen miles from the bay where we rode; that he had there under him above one hundred families besides other inhabitants that lived scattering in valleys more remote. They were all very swarthy; the Governor was the clearest of them, yet of a dark tawny complexion. At this island we scrubbed the bottom of our ship; and here also we dug wells ashore on the bay, and filled all our water; and after five or six days' stay we went from hence to Mayo, another of the Cape Verd Islands, lying about forty miles E. and by S. from the other; arriving there the next day, and anchoring on the NW. side of the island. We sent our boat on shore, intending to have purchased some provision, as beef or goats, with which this island is better stocked than the rest of the islands. But the inhabitants would not suffer our men to land; for about a week before our arrival, there came an English ship, the men of which came ashore pretending friendship, and seized on the Governor with some others, and carrying them aboard made them send ashore for cattle to ransom their liberties: and yet after this set sail, and carried them away, and they had not heard of them since. The Englishman that did this, as I was afterwards informed, was one Captain Bond of Bristol. Whether ever he brought back those men again, I know not. He himself and most of his men have since gone over to the Spaniards: and it was he who had like to have burnt our ship after this in the Bay of Panama, as I shall have occasion to relate.[1] This Isle of Mayo is but small and environed with shoals, yet a place much frequented by shipping, for its great plenty of salt; and though there is but bad

[1] In Chapter VII., page 193.

landing, yet many ships lade here every year. Here are plenty of bulls, cows, and goats; and at a certain season in the year, as May, June, July, and August, a sort of small sea tortoise come hither to lay their eggs: but these turtle are not so sweet as those in the West Indies. The inhabitants plant corn, yams, potatoes, and some plantains, and breed a few fowls; living very poor, yet much better than the inhabitants of any other of these islands, Santiago excepted, which lies four or five leagues to the westward of Mayo, and is the chief, the most fruitful, and best inhabited of all the Islands of Cape Verd; yet mountainous, and much barren land in it.

On the east side of the Isle of Santiago is a good port, which in peaceable times especially is seldom without ships; for this hath long been a place which ships have been wont to touch at for water and refreshments, as those outward bound to the East Indies, English, French, and Dutch; many of the ships bound to the coast of Guinea, and Dutch to Surinam, and their own Portuguese Fleet going for Brazil, which is generally about the latter end of September: but few ships call in here in their return for Europe. When any ships are here the country people bring down their commodities to sell to the seamen and passengers, viz., bullocks, hogs, goats, fowls, eggs, plantains, and cocoa-nuts; which they will give in exchange for shirts, drawers, handkerchiefs, hats, waistcoats, breeches, or in a manner for any sort of cloth, especially linen; for woollen is not much esteemed there. They care not willingly to part with their cattel[1] of any sort but in exchange for money, or linen, or some other valuable commodity. Travellers must have a care of these people, for they are very thievish, and, if they see an opportunity, will snatch anything from you and run away with it. We did not touch at this island in this voyage; but I was there before this in the year 1670, when I saw a fort here lying on the top of an hill, and commanding the harbour. The Governor of this island is chief over all the rest of the islands. I have been told that there are two large towns on this island, some small villages, and a great many inhabitants; and that they make a great deal of wine, such as is that of San Nicolas. I have not been on any other of the Cape Verd Islands, nor near them, but have seen most of them at a distance. They seem to be mountainous and barren, some of these before mentioned being the most fruitful and most frequented by strangers, especially Santiago and Mayo. As to the rest of them, Fogo and Brava are two small islands lying to the westward of Santiago, but of little note; only Fogo is remarkable for its being a volcano. It is all of it one large mountain of a good height, out of the top whereof issue flames of fire, yet only discerned in the night; and then it may be seen a great way at sea. Yet this island is not without inhabitants, who live at the foot of the mountain near the sea. Their subsistence is much the same as in the other islands; they have some goats, fowls, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c., as I am informed. The remainder of these islands of Cape Verd are San Antonia, Santa Lucia, San Vincente, and Bona Vista: of which I know nothing considerable.

Our entrance among these islands was from the NE.; for in our passage from Virginia we ran pretty far toward the coast of Gualata[2] in Africa, to preserve the trade-wind, lest we should be borne off too much to the westward, and so lose the islands. We anchored at the south of Sal, and passing by the south of San Nicolas anchored again at Mayo, as hath been said; where we made the shorter stay, because we could get no flesh among the inhabitants, by reason of

[1] Goods, chattels.

[2] Apparently the coast north of Cape Blanco, under the Tropic of Cancer; two Arab tribes with the designation of Aoulâd or Walad inhabit the interior.

the regret they had at their Governor and his men being carried away by Captain Bond. So leaving the Isles of Cape Verd we stood away to the southward with the wind at ENE., intending to have touched no more till we came to the Straits of Magellan. But when we came into the Lat. of 10° N., we met the winds at S. by W. and SSW., therefore we altered our resolutions, and steered away for the coast of Guinea, and in few days came to the mouth of the River of Sherboro', which is an English factory lying south of Sierra Leone. We had one of our men who was well acquainted there; and by his direction we went in among the shoals, and came to an anchor. Sherboro' was a good way from us, so I can give no account of the place, or our factory there; save that I have been informed, that there is a considerable trade driven there for a sort of red wood for dyeing, which grows in that country very plentifully; it is called by our people Camwood. A little within the shore where we anchored was a town of Negroes, natives of this coast. It was screened from our sight by a large grove of trees that grew between them and the shore; but we went thither to them several times during the three or four days of our stay here, to refresh ourselves; and they as often came aboard us, bringing with them plantains, sugar-canes, palm-wines, rice, fowls, and honey, which they sold us. They were no way shy of us, being well acquainted with the English, by reason of our Guinea factories and trade. This town seemed pretty large; the houses but low and ordinary; but one great house in the midst of it, where their chief men meet and receive strangers: and here they treated us with palm-wine. As to their persons they are like other Negroes. While we lay here we scrubbed the bottom of our ship, and then filled all our water-casks; and buying up two puncheons of rice for our voyage, we departed from hence about the middle of November 1683, prosecuting our intended course towards the Straits of Magellan.

We had but little wind after we got out, and very hot weather, with some fierce tornadoes, commonly rising out of the NE., which brought thunder, lightning, and rain. These did not last long; sometimes not a quarter of an hour; and then the wind would shuffle about to the southward again, and fall flat calm; for these tornadoes commonly come against the wind that is then blowing, as our thunder-clouds are often observed to do in England. At this time many of our men were taken with fevers: yet we lost but one. While we lay in the calms we caught several great sharks; sometimes two or three in a day, and ate them all, boiling and squeezing them dry, and then stewing them with vinegar, pepper, &c., for we had but little flesh aboard. We took the benefit of every tornado, which came sometimes three or four in a day, and carried what sail we could to get to the southward, for we had but little wind when they were over; and those small winds between the tornadoes were much against us till we passed the Equinoctial Line. In the Lat. of 5° S. we had the wind at ESE., where it stood a considerable time, and blew a fresh topgallant gale. We then made the best use of it, steering on briskly with all the sail we could make; and this wind by the 18th of January carried us into the Lat. of 36° S. In all this time we met with nothing worthy remark; not so much as a fish, except flying fish, which have been so often described, that I think it needless for me to do it. Here we found the sea much changed from its natural greenness, to a white or palish colour, which caused us to sound, supposing we might strike ground; for whenever we find the colour of the sea to change, we know we are not far from land, or shoals which stretch out into the sea, running from some land. But here we found no ground with 100 fathom line. The 20th, one of our Surgeons died, much lamented, because we had but one more for such a dangerous voyage.

January 28th, we made the Sibbel

de Wards,[1] which are three islands lying in the Lat. of 51° 25′ S., and Long. W. from the Lizard in England, by my account, 57° 28′. I had, for a month before we came hither, endeavoured to persuade Captain Cooke and his company to anchor at these islands, where I told them we might probably get water, as I then thought; and in case we should miss it here, yet by being good husbands of what we had, we might reach Juan Fernandez in the South Seas, before our water was spent. This I urged to hinder their designs of going through the Straits of Magellan, which I knew would prove very dangerous to us; the rather, because our men being Privateers, and so more wilful and less under command, would not be so ready to give a watchful attendance in a passage so little known. For although these men were more under command than I had ever seen any Privateers, yet I could not expect to find them at a minute's call in coming to anchor, or weighing anchor: besides, if ever we should have occasion to moor, or cast out two anchors, we had not a boat to carry out or weigh an anchor. These Islands of Sibbel de Wards were so named by the Dutch. They are all three rocky barren islands without any tree, only some dildo bushes growing on them; and I do believe there is no water on any one of them, for there was no appearance of any water.

Leaving therefore the Sibbel de Ward Islands, as having neither good anchorage nor water, we sailed on, directing our course for the Straits of Magellan. But the winds hanging in the wester-board, and blowing hard, oft put us by our topsails; so that we could not fetch it. The 6th of February we fell in with the Straits of Le Maire, which is very high land on both sides, and the Straits very narrow. We had the wind at NNW. a fresh gale; and seeing the opening of the Straits, we ran in with it, till within four miles of the mouth, and then it fell calm, and we found a strong tide setting out of the Straits to the northward, and like to founder our ship; but whether flood or ebb I know not; only it made such a short cockling sea as if we had been in a race, or place where two tides meet. For it ran every way, sometimes breaking in over our waist, sometimes over our poop, sometimes over our bow, and the ship tossed like an egg-shell, so that I never felt such uncertain jerks in a ship. At 8 o'clock in the evening we had a small breeze at WNW., and steered away to the eastward, intending to go round the Staten Island, the east end of which we reached the next day by noon, having a fresh breeze all night. At the east end of Staten Island are three small islands, or rather rocks, pretty high, and white with the dung of fowls. Having observed the sun, we hauled up south, designing to pass round to the southward of Cape Horn, which is the southernmost land of Tierra del Fuego. The winds hung in the western quarter betwixt the NW. and the W., so that we could not get much to the westward, and we never saw Tierra del Fuego after that evening that we made the Straits of Le Maire. I have heard that there have been smokes and fires on Tierra del Fuego, not on the tops of hills, but in plains and valleys, seen by those who have sailed through the Straits of Magellan; supposed to be made by the natives.[2]

The 14th of February, being in Lat. 57°, and to the west of Cape Horn, we had a violent storm, which held us till the 3d day of March, blowing commonly at SW. and SW. by W.

[1] The Sebaldine group, lying on the north-west of the Falkland Islands; they were discovered by the Dutch navigator Sebald de Wert in 1600, and, until Commodore Byron rechristened them in 1765, they gave their name to the whole group now *called the Falklands.*

[2] In the account of Drake's voyage (*ante*, page 56), we find it stated: "The people inhabiting these parts made fires as we passed by in divers places."

and WSW., thick weather all the time, with small drizzling rain, but not hard. We made a shift, however, to save twenty-three barrels of rain-water besides what we dressed our victuals withal. March the 3d, the wind shifted at once, and came about at S., blowing a fierce gale of wind; soon after it came about to the eastward, and we stood into the South Seas. The 9th, having an observation of the sun, not having seen it of late, we found ourselves in Lat. 47° 10′. The wind stood at SE., we had fair weather, and a moderate gale; and the 17th, we were in Lat. 36° by observation. The 19th day, when we looked out in the morning, we saw a ship to the southward of us coming with all the sail she could make after us. We lay muzzled to let her come up with us, for we supposed her to be a Spanish ship come from Valdivia bound to Lima; we being now to the northward of Valdivia, and this being the time of the year when ships that trade thence to Valdivia return home. They had the same opinion of us, and therefore made sure to take us, but coming nearer we both found our mistakes. This proved to be one Captain Eaton, in a ship sent purposely from London for the South Seas. We hailed each other, and the Captain came on board, and told us of his actions on the coast of Brazil and in the river of Plate. He met Captain Swan, one that came from England to trade here, at the east entrance into the Straits of Magellan, and they accompanied each other through the Straits, and were separated after they were through by the storm before mentioned. Both we and Captain Eaton being bound for Juan Fernandez's Isle, we kept company, and we spared him bread and beef and he spared us water, which he took in as he passed through the Straits.

March the 22d, 1684, we came in sight of the island, and the next day got in and anchored in a bay at the south end of the island, in twenty-five fathom water, not two cables' length from the shore. We presently got out our canoe and went ashore to seek for a Mosquito Indian whom we left here when we were chased hence by three Spanish ships in the year 1681, a little before we went to Arica, Captain Watling being then our commander, after Captain Sharpe was turned out. This Indian lived here alone above three years, and although he was several times sought after by the Spaniards, who knew he was left on the island, yet they could never find him. He was in the woods hunting for goats when Captain Watling drew off his men, and the ship was under sail before he came back to shore. He had with him his gun and a knife, with a small horn of powder, and a few shot, which being spent, he contrived a way, by notching his knife, to saw the barrel of his gun into small pieces, wherewith he made harpoons, lances, hooks, and a long knife; heating the pieces first in the fire, which he struck with his gun-flint, and a piece of the barrel of his gun, which he hardened, having learnt to do that among the English. The hot pieces of iron he would hammer out and bend as he pleased with stones, and saw them with his jagged knife, or grind them to an edge by long labour, and harden them to a good temper as there was occasion. All this may seem strange to those that are not acquainted with the sagacity of the Indians; but it is no more than these Mosquito men are accustomed to in their own country, where they make their own fishing and striking instruments without either forge or anvil, though they spend a great deal of time about them. Other wild Indians who have not the use of iron, which the Mosquito men have from the English, make hatchets of a very hard stone, with which they will cut down trees (the cotton tree especially, which is a soft tender wood), to build their houses or make canoes; and though in working their canoes hollow they cannot dig them so neat and thin, yet they will make them fit for their service. This their digging or hatchet-work they help out by fire, whether for the felling of the trees or for the making the inside of their canoes hol-

low. These contrivances are used particularly by the savage Indians of Blewfields River, whose canoes and stone hatchets I have seen. These stone hatchets are about ten inches long, four broad, and three inches thick in the middle. They are ground away flat and sharp at both ends; right in the midst, and clear round it, they make a notch, so wide and deep that a man might place his finger along it; and taking a stick or withe about four feet long, they bind it round the hatchet-head in that notch, and so twisting it hard, use it as a handle or helve,[1] the head being held by it very fast. Nor are other wild Indians less ingenious. Those of Patagonia, particularly, head their arrows with flint cut or ground, which I have seen and admired.[2]

But to return to our Mosquito man on the Isle of Juan Fernandez. With such instruments as he made in that manner, he got such provision as the island afforded, either goats or fish. He told us that at first he was forced to eat seal, which is very ordinary meat, before he had made hooks; but afterwards he never killed any seals but to make lines, cutting their skins into thongs. He had a little house or hut half-a-mile from the sea, which was lined with goatskin; his couch, or barbecue, of sticks, lying along about two feet distant from the ground, was spread with the same, and was all his bedding. He had no clothes left, having worn out those he brought from Watling's ship, but only a skin about his waist. He saw our ship the day before we came to an anchor, and did believe we were English, and therefore killed three goats in the morning before we came to anchor, and dressed them with cabbage to treat us when we came ashore. He came then to the sea-side to congratulate our safe arrival. And when we landed, a Mosquito Indian, named Robin, first leaped ashore, and running to his brother Mosquito-man, threw himself flat on his face at his feet, who, helping him up and embracing him, fell flat with his face on the ground at Robin's feet, and was by him taken up also. We stood with pleasure to behold the surprise and tenderness and solemnity of this interview, which was exceedingly affectionate on both sides; and when their ceremonies of civility were over, we also that stood gazing at them drew near, each of us embracing him we had found here, who was overjoyed to see so many of his old friends come hither, as he thought, purposely to fetch him. He was named Will, as the other was named Robin. These were names given them by the English, for they have no names among themselves; and they take it as a great favour to be named by any of us, and will complain for want of it if we do not appoint them some name when they are with us, saying, of themselves they are poor men and have no name.

This island is in Lat. 34° 15′, and about 120 leagues from the main. It is about twelve leagues round, full of high hills and small pleasant valleys, which, if manured, would probably produce anything proper for the climate. The sides of the mountains are part savannahs, part woodland. Savannahs are clear pieces of land without woods, not because more barren than the woodland, for they are frequently spots of as good land as any, and often are intermixed with woodland. [The grass in these savannahs is here described as long and flaggy, and the valleys well stocked with wild goats, these having been first left there by Juan Fernandez in his voyage from Lima to Valdivia. The sea about it is described as swarming with fish, "so plentiful that two men in an hour's time will take with hook and line as many as will serve 100 men."]

Seals swarm as thick about this island as if they had no other place to live in, for there is not a bay nor rock that one can get ashore on but is full of them. The seals are a sort of creatures pretty well

[1] From Anglo-Saxon "helf," a haft or handle.

[2] Marvelled at.

known, yet it may not be amiss to describe them. They are as big as calves, the head of them like a dog, therefore called by the Dutch sea-hounds. Under each shoulder grows a long thick fin; these serve them to swim with them in the sea, and are instead of legs to them when on the land, for raising their bodies up on end by the help of these fins or stumps, and so having their tail-parts drawn close under them, they rebound, as it were, and throw their bodies forward, drawing their hinder parts after them; and then again rising up and springing forward with their fore-parts alternately, they lie tumbling up and down all the while they are moving on land. From their shoulders to their tails they grow tapering like fish, and have two small fins on each side of the rump, which is commonly covered with their fins. These fins serve instead of a tail in the sea, and on land they sit on them when they give suck to their young. Their hair is of divers colours, as black, grey, dun, spotted, looking very sleek and pleasant when they come first out of the sea; for these at Juan Fernandez have fine thick short fur, the like I have not taken notice of anywhere but in these seas. Here are always thousands, I might say possibly millions of them, sitting on the bays or going and coming in the sea round the island, which is covered with them, as they lie at the top of the water playing and sunning themselves for a mile or two from the shore. When they come out of the sea, they bleat like sheep for their young; and though they pass through hundreds of others' young ones before they come to their own, yet they will not suffer any of them to suck. The young ones are like puppies, and lie much ashore; but when beaten by any of us, they, as well as the old ones, will make towards the sea, and swim very swift and nimble, though on shore they lie very sluggishly, and will not go out of our ways unless we beat them, but snap at us. A blow on the nose soon kills them. Large ships might here load themselves with seal-skins and train-oil, for they are extraordinary fat. Seals are found as well in cold as hot climates, and in the cold places they love to get on lumps of ice, where they will lie and sun themselves as here on the land. They are frequent in the northern parts of Europe and America, and in the southward parts of Africa, as about the Cape of Good Hope, and at the Straits of Magellan; and though I never saw any in the West Indies but in the Bay of Campeachy, at certain islands called the Alecranes, and at others called the Desertas, yet they are over all the American coast of the South Seas, from Tierra del Fuego up to the Equinoctial Line; but to the north of the Equinox again in these seas I never saw any till as far as 21° N. Nor did I ever see any in the East Indies. In general they seem to resort where there is plenty of fish, for that is their food; and fish such as they feed on, as cods, groopers, &c., are most plentiful on rocky coasts, and such is mostly the western coast of South America.

The sea-lion[1] is a large creature about twelve or fourteen feet long. The biggest part of his body is as big as a bull: it is shaped like a seal, but six times as big. The head is like a lion's head; it hath a broad face, with many long hairs growing about its lips like a cat. It has a great goggle eye, the teeth three inches long, about the bigness of a man's thumb. In Captain Sharpe's time some of our men made dice with them. They have no hair on their bodies like the seal; they are of a dun colour, and are all extraordinary fat: one of them being cut up and boiled will yield a hogshead of oil, which is very sweet and wholesome to fry meat withal. The lean flesh is black, and of a coarse grain, yet indifferent good food. They will lie a week at a time ashore if not disturbed. Where three or four or more of them come ashore together, they huddle one on

[1] A large species of seal, the male of which has a mane on its neck.

another like swine, and grunt like them, making a hideous noise. They eat fish, which I believe is their common food. The snapper is a fish made much like a roach, but a great deal bigger. It has a large head and mouth, and great gills. The back is of a bright red, the belly of a silver colour. The scales are as broad as a shilling. The snapper is excellent meat. They are in many places in the West Indies and the South Seas. The rock-fish[1] is called by seamen a grooper: the Spaniards call it "baccalao," which is the name for cod, because it is much like it. It is rounder than the snapper, of a dark brown colour, and hath small scales no bigger than a silver penny. This fish is good sweet meat, and is found in great plenty on all the coast of Peru and Chili.

There are only two bays in the whole island where ships may anchor; these are both at the east end, and in both of them is a rivulet of good fresh water. Either of these bays may be fortified, with little charge, to that degree that fifty men in each may be able to keep off 1000; and there is no coming into these bays from the west end but with great difficulty, over the mountains, where if three men are placed they may keep down as many as come against them on any side. This was partly experienced by five Englishmen that Captain Davis left here, who defended themselves against a great body of Spaniards who landed in the bays, and came here to destroy them; and though the second time one of their consorts deserted and fled to the Spaniards, yet the other four kept their ground, and were afterward taken in from hence by Captain Strong of London.

We remained at Juan Fernandez sixteen days. Our sick men were ashore all the time, and one of Captain Eaton's doctors (for he had four in his ship) tending and feeding them with goat, and several herbs, whereof here is plenty growing in the brooks; and their diseases were chiefly scorbutic.

[1] The *Gobius niger*, or black goby.

CHAPTER V.

THE 8th of April 1684, we sailed from the Isle of Juan Fernandez with the wind at SE. We were now two ships in company: Captain Cooke's, whose ship I was in, and who here took the sickness of which he died a while after; and Captain Eaton's. Our passage lay now along the Pacific Sea, properly so called. For though it be usual with our map-makers to give that name to this whole Ocean, calling it Mare Australe, Mare del Zur, or Mare Pacificum; yet, in my opinion, the name of the Pacific Sea ought not to be extended from S. to N. farther than from 30° to about 4° S. Lat., and from the American shore westward indefinitely. In this sea we made the best of our way towards the Line, till in the Lat. of 24° S., where we fell in with the mainland of South America. All this course of the land, both of Chili and Peru, is vastly high; therefore we kept twelve or fourteen leagues off from shore, being unwilling to be seen by the Spaniards dwelling there. The land (especially beyond this, from 24° S. Lat. to 17°, and from 14° to 10°) is of a most prodigious height. It lies generally in ridges parallel to the shore, and three or four ridges one within another, each surpassing other in height; and those that are farthest within land are much higher than the others. They always appear blue when seen at sea: sometimes they are obscured with clouds, but not so often as the high lands in other parts of the world; for here are seldom or never any rains on these hills, any more than in the sea near it; neither are they subject to fogs. These are the highest mountains that ever I saw, far surpassing the Peak of Teneriffe, or Santa Marta, and I believe any mountains in the world. The excessive height of these mountains may possibly be the reason that there are no rivers of note that fall into these seas. Some small

rivers indeed there are, but very few of them, for in some places there is not one that comes out into the sea in 150 or 200 leagues; and where they are thickest, they are thirty, forty, or fifty leagues asunder, and too little and shallow to be navigable. Besides, some of these do not constantly run, but are dry at certain seasons of the year, being rather torrents or land-floods caused by their rains at certain seasons far within land than perennial streams.

We kept still along in sight of this coast, but at a good distance from it, encountering nothing of note, till in the Lat. of 9° 40′ S., on the 3d of May, we descried a sail to the northward of us, plying to windward. We chased her, and Captain Eaton being ahead soon took her. She came from Guayaquil about a month before, laden with timber, and was bound to Lima. Three days before we took her she came from Santa, whither she had gone for water, and where they had news of our being in these seas by an express from Valdivia; for, as we afterwards heard, Captain Swan had been at Valdivia to seek a trade there, and he having met Captain Eaton in the Straits of Magellan, the Spaniards of Valdivia were doubtless informed of us by him; suspecting him also to be one of us, though he was not. Upon this news, the Viceroy of Lima sent expresses to all the seaports, that they might provide themselves against our assaults. We immediately steered away for the Island of Lobos, which lies in Lat. 6° 24′ S., and is five leagues from the main: it is called Lobos de la Mar,[1] to distinguish it from another that is not far from it, and extremely like it, called Lobos de la Tierra, for it lies near the main. Lobos, or Lovos, is the Spanish name for a seal, of which there are great plenty about these and several other islands in these seas that go by this name. The 9th of May, we arrived at this Isle of Lobos de la Mar, and came to an anchor with our prize. This Lobos consists indeed of two little islands, each about a mile round, of an indifferent height, a small channel between, fit for boats only; and several rocks lying on the north side of the islands, a little way from shore. Within land they are both of them partly rocky and partly sandy, barren, without any fresh water, tree, shrub, grass, or herbs; or any land animals (for the seals and sea-lions come ashore here) but fowls, of which there are great multitudes; as boobies, but mostly penguins, which I have seen plentifully all over the South Seas, on the coast of Newfoundland, and off the Cape of Good Hope. They are a sea fowl, about as big as a duck, and such feet, but a sharp bill; feeding on fish. They do not fly, but flutter, having rather stumps like a young gosling's than wings; and these are instead of fins to them in the water. Their feathers are downy. Their flesh is but ordinary food; but their eggs are good meat. There is another sort of small black fowl, that make holes in the sand for their night habitations, whose flesh is good sweet meat: I never saw any of them but here, and at Juan Fernandez.

Here we scrubbed our ships, and being in readiness to sail, the prisoners were examined, to know if any of them could conduct us to some town where we might make some attempt; for they had before informed us that we were descried by the Spaniards, and by that we knew that they would send no riches by sea so long as we were here. Many towns were considered on, as Guayaquil, Sana, Truxillo, and others. At last Truxillo was pitched on as the most important, therefore the likeliest to make us a voyage if we could conquer it, which we did not much question, though we knew it to be a very populous city. But the greatest difficulty was in landing; for Huanchaco [to the north of Truxillo], which is the nearest seaport to it, but six miles off, is an ill place to land, since sometimes the very fishermen that live there are not able to go out in three or four days. However, the 17th of May, in the afternoon, our men were

[1] Or Lobos de Afuera.

mustered of both ships' companies, and their arms proved. We were in all 108 men fit for service, besides the sick; and the next day we intended to sail and take the wood prize with us. But the next day one of our men, being ashore betimes on the island, descried three sail bound to the northward; two of them without the island to the westward, the other between it and the continent. We soon got our anchors up and chased; and Captain Eaton, who drew the least draught of water, put through between the westernmost island and the rocks, and went after those two that were without the islands. We in Captain Cooke's ship went after the other, which stood in for the mainland; but we soon fetched her up; and, having taken her, stood in again with her to the island, for we saw that Captain Eaton wanted no help, having taken both those that he went after. He came in with one of his prizes; but the other was so far to leeward, and so deep, that he could not then get her in, but he hoped to get her in the next day; but being deeply laden, as designed to go down before the wind to Panama, she would not bear sail. The 19th, she turned all day, but got nothing nearer the island. Our Mosquito strikers, according to their custom, went out and struck six turtles; for here are indifferent plenty of them. These ships that we took the day before we came from Huanchaco were all three laden with flour, bound for Panama. Two of them were laden as deep as they could swim; the other was not above half laden, but was ordered by the Viceroy of Lima to sail with the other two, or else she should not sail till we were gone out of the seas; for he hoped they might escape us by setting out early. In the biggest ship was a letter to the President of Panama from the Viceroy of Lima, assuring him that there were enemies come into that sea; for which reason he had despatched these three ships with flour, that they might not want (for Panama is supplied from Peru), and desired him to be frugal of it, for he knew not when he should send more. In this ship were likewise seven or eight tons of marmalade of quinces, and a stately mule sent to the President, and a very large image of the Virgin Mary in wood, carved and painted, to adorn a new church at Panama, and sent from Lima by the Viceroy; for this great ship came from thence not long before. She brought also from Lima 800,000 pieces of eight, to carry with her to Panama; but while she lay at Huanchaco, taking in her lading of flour, the merchants, hearing of Captain Swan's being at Valdivia, ordered the money ashore again. These prisoners likewise informed us that the gentlemen, inhabitants of Truxillo, were building a fort at Huanchaco, close by the sea, purposely to hinder the designs of any that should attempt to land there. Upon this news we altered our former resolutions, and resolved to go with our three prizes to the Galapagos, which are a great many large islands, lying some under the Equator, others on each side of it.

The 19th, in the evening, we sailed from the Island of Lobos, with Captain Eaton in our company. We carried the three flour prizes with us, but our first prize, laden with timber, we left here at anchor. We steered away NW. by N., intending to run into the latitude of the Isles of Galapagos, and steer off W., because we did not know the certain distance, and therefore could not shape a direct course to them. When we came within 40′ of the Equator, we steered W., having the wind at S., a very moderate gentle gale. It was the 31st of May when we first had sight of the Islands Galapagos. Some of them appeared on our weatherbow, some on our lee bow, others right ahead. We at first sight trimmed our sails, and steered as nigh the wind as we could, striving to get to the southernmost of them; but our prizes being deep laden, their sails but small and thin, and a very small gale, they could not keep up with us. Therefore we likewise edged away again

a point from the wind, to keep near them; and, in the evening, the ship that I was in, and Captain Eaton, anchored on the east side of one of the easternmost islands, a mile from the shore, in sixteen fathoms water, clean, white, hard sand. The Galapagos Islands are a great number of uninhabited islands lying under and on both sides of the Equator. The easternmost of them are about 110 leagues from the main. The Spaniards who first discovered them, and in whose draughts alone they are laid down, report them to be a great number, stretching north-west from the Line as far as 5° N.; but we saw not above fourteen or fifteen. They are some of them seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad. They are of a good height, most of them flat and even on the top; four or five of the easternmost are rocky, barren, and hilly, producing neither tree, herb, nor grass, but a few dildo trees, except by the sea-side. The dildo tree is a green prickly shrub, that grows about ten or twelve feet high, without either leaf or fruit. It is as big as a man's leg from the root to the top, and it is full of sharp prickles, growing in thick rows from top to bottom. This shrub is fit for no use, not so much as to burn. Close by the sea there grow in some places bushes of Burton-wood, which is very good firing. This sort of wood grows in many places in the West Indies, especially in the Bay of Campeachy, and in the Sambaloes. I did never see any in these seas but here. There is water on these barren islands, in ponds and holes among the rocks. Some others of these islands are mostly plain and low, and the land more fertile; producing trees of divers sorts unknown to us. Some of the westernmost of these islands are nine or ten leagues long, and six or seven broad; the mould deep and black. These produce trees of great and tall bodies, especially mammee trees,[1] which grow here in great groves. In these large islands there are some pretty big rivers; and on many of the other lesser islands there are brooks of good water. The Spaniards, when they first discovered these islands, found multitudes of guanas, and land-turtle or tortoise, and named them the Galapagos Islands. I do believe there is no place in the world that is so plentifully stored with these animals. The guanas here are as fat and large as any that I ever saw; they are so tame, that a man may knock down twenty in an hour's time with a club. The land-turtle are so numerous, that 500 or 600 men might subsist on them alone for several months, without any other sort of provision; they are extraordinary large and fat, and so sweet, that no pullet eats more pleasantly. One of the largest of these creatures will weigh 150 or 200 lbs., and some of them are two feet or two feet six inches over the gallapee[2] or belly. I did never see any but at this place that will weigh above 30 lbs. I have heard that at the Isle of St Lawrence or Madagascar, and at the English Forest, an island near it, called also Don Mascarin,[3] and now possessed by the French, there are very large ones; but whether so big, fat, and sweet as these, I know not. There are three or four sorts of these creatures in the West Indies. One is called by the Spaniards "hecatee;" these live most in fresh-water ponds, and seldom come on land. They weigh about 10 or 15 lbs.; they have small legs and flat feet, and small

[1] The *Mammea Americana*, a genus with only one species; it bears a fruit sweet in taste and aromatic in odour.

[2] The callipee is the gelatinous substance, of a light yellowish colour, which forms part of the lower shield of the turtle; callipash is the similar substance, of a dull greenish hue, which belongs to the upper shield.

[3] The general name for the group of islands in the Indian Ocean that comprises Mauritius and Reunion, is the Mascarenhas Islands, so called from the name of their Portuguese discoverer, in 1545.

long necks. Another sort is called terrapin ;[1] these are a great deal less than the hecatee ; the shell on their backs is all carved naturally, finely wrought and well clouded ; the backs of these are rounder than those before mentioned ; they are otherwise much of the same form : these delight to live in wet swampy places, or on the land near such places. Both these sorts are very good meat. They are in great plenty on the Isle of Pines near Cuba . there the Spanish hunters, when they meet them in the woods, bring them home to their huts, and mark them by notching their shells, then let them go ; this they do to have them at hand, for they never ramble far from thence. When these hunters return to Cuba, after about a month or six weeks' stay, they carry with them 300 or 400, or more, of these creatures to sell ; for they are very good meat, and every man knows his own by their marks. These tortoises in the Galapagos are more like the hecatee, except that, as I said before, they are much bigger, and they have very long small necks and little heads. There are some green snakes on these islands, but no other land animal that I did ever see. There are great plenty of turtle doves, so tame, that a man may kill five or six dozen in a forenoon with a stick. They are somewhat less than a pigeon, and are very good meat, and commonly fat.

There are good wide channels between these islands, fit for ships to pass, and in some places shoal water, where there grows plenty of turtle-grass ; therefore these islands are plentifully stored with sea-turtle, of that sort which is called the green turtle. There are four sorts of sea-turtle—viz., the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The trunk turtle is commonly bigger than the others, their backs are higher and rounder, and their flesh rank and not wholesome. The loggerhead is so called because it has a great head, much bigger than the other sorts ; their flesh is likewise very rank and seldom eaten but in case of necessity ; they feed on moss that grows about rocks. The hawksbill turtle is the least kind ; they are so called because their mouths are long and small, somewhat resembling the bill of a hawk. Hawksbill turtle are in many places of the West Indies. They have islands and places peculiar to themselves, where they lay their eggs, and seldom come among any other turtle. These, and all other turtle, lay eggs in the sand ; in N. Latitude, their time of laying is in May, June, July ; in S. Latitude, about Christmas ; some begin sooner, some later ; they lay three times in a season, and at each time eighty or ninety eggs. Their eggs are as a big as a hen's egg, and very round, covered only with a white tough skin. There are some bays on the north side of Jamaica, where these hawksbills resort to lay. In the Bay of Honduras are islands which they likewise make their breeding-places, and many places along all the coast on the main of the West Indies, from Trinidad to La Vera Cruz, in the Bay of Nova Hispania. When a sea-turtle turns out of the sea to lay, she is at least an hour before she returns again ; for she is to go above high-water mark, and if it be low-water when she comes ashore, she must rest once or twice, being heavy, before she comes to the place where she lays. When she has found a place for her purpose, she makes a great hole with her fins in the sand, wherein she lays her eggs, then covers them two feet deep with the same sand which she threw out of the hole, and so returns ; sometimes they come up the night before they intend to lay, and take a view of the place ; and so, having made a tour or semicircular march, they return to the sea again, and they never fail to come ashore the next night to lay near that place. All sorts of turtle use the same methods in laying. I knew a man

[1] Otherwise "terrapene," the box-*tortoise.*

in Jamaica that made £8 sterling of the shell of these hawksbill turtle which he got in one season, and in one small bay not half a mile long. The manner of taking them is to watch the bay by walking from one part to the other all night; making no noise, nor keeping any sort of light. When the turtle come ashore, the man that watches for them turns them on their backs, then hauls them above high-water mark, and leaves them till the morning. A large green turtle, with her weight and struggling, will puzzle two men to turn her. The hawksbill turtle are not only found in the West Indies, but on the coast of Guinea, and in the East Indies; I never saw any in the South Seas.

The green turtle are so called because their shell is greener than any other. It is very thin and clear, and better clouded than the hawksbill; but it is used only for inlays, being extraordinary thin. These turtles are generally larger than the hawksbill; one will weigh 200 or 300 lbs.; their backs are flatter than the hawksbill, their heads round and small. Green turtle are the sweetest of all the kinds; but there are degrees of them, both in respect to their flesh and their bigness. I have observed that at Blanco, in the West Indies, the green turtle (which is the only kind there) are larger than any others in the North Seas; there they commonly will weigh 280 or 300 lbs. Their fat is yellow and the lean white, and their flesh extraordinary sweet. At Boca del Toro, west of Porto Bello, they are not so large, their flesh not so white, nor the fat so yellow. Those in the Bays of Honduras and Campeachy are somewhat smaller still; their fat is green, and the lean of a darker colour than those at Boca del Toro. I heard of a monstrous green turtle once taken at Port Royal, in the Bay of Campeachy, that was four feet deep from the back to the belly, and the belly six feet broad. Captain Rocky's son, of about nine or ten years of age, went in it, as in a boat, on board his father's ship about a quarter of a mile from the shore; the leaves[1] of fat afforded eight gallons of oil. The turtle that live among the keys or small islands on the south side of Cuba are a mixed sort, some bigger, some less; and so their flesh is of a mixed colour, some green, some dark, some yellowish. With these, Port Royal, in Jamaica, is kept constantly supplied by sloops that come hither with nets to take them. They carry them alive to Jamaica, where the turtles have wires made with stakes in the sea to preserve them alive; and the market is every day plentifully stored with turtle, it being the common food there, chiefly for the ordinary sort of people.

There is another sort of green turtle in the South Seas, which are but small, yet pretty sweet; these lie westward, on the coast of Mexico. One thing is very strange and remarkable in these creatures; that, at the breeding time, they leave for two or three months their common haunts where they feed most of the year, and resort to other places, only to lay their eggs. And it is not thought that they eat anything during this season; so that both he's and she's grow very lean, but the he's to that degree that none will eat them. The most remarkable places that I did ever hear of for their breeding is at an island, in the West Indies, called Cayman, and the Isle of Ascencion, in the Western Ocean; and when the breeding time is past there is none remaining. Doubtless they swim some hundreds of leagues to come to those two places. For it has been often observed that at Cayman, at the breeding time, there are found all those sorts of turtle before described. The South Keys of Cuba are above forty leagues from thence, which is the nearest place that these creatures can come from; and it is most certain that there could not live so many there as come here in one season. Those that go to lay at Ascencion must needs travel much

[1] Layers.

farther, for there is no land nearer it than 300 leagues. And it is certain that these creatures live always near the shore. In the South Sea, likewise, the Galapagos is the place where they live the biggest part of the year; yet they go from thence at their season over to the main to lay their eggs; which is 100 leagues, the nearest place. Although multitudes of these turtles go from their common places of feeding and abode to those laying places, yet they do not all go. And at the time when the turtle resort to these places to lay their eggs, they are accompanied with abundance of fish, especially sharks; the places which the turtle then leave being at that time destitute of fish, which follow the turtle. When the she's go thus to their places to lay, the males accompany them, and never leave them till their return. Both male and female are fat [in] the beginning of the season; but, before they return, the males, as I said, are so lean, that they are not fit to eat, but the females are good to the very last, yet not so fat as at beginning of the season. It is reported of these creatures, that they are nine days engendering, and in the water, the male on the female's back. It is observable that the male, while engendering, do not easily forsake their female; for I have gone and taken hold of the male when engendering, and a very bad striker may strike them then; for the male is not shy at all, but the female, seeing a boat when they rise to blow, would make her escape, but that the male grasps her with his two fore fins and holds her fast. When they are thus coupled, it is best to strike the female first, then you are sure of the male also. These creatures are thought to live to a great age; and, it is observed by the Jamaica turtlers, that they are many years before they come to their full growth.

The air of these islands is temperate enough, considering the clime. There is constantly a fresh sea breeze all day, and cooling refreshing winds in *the night; therefore* the heat is not so violent here as in most places near the Equator. The time of the year for the rains is in November, December, and January. Then there is oftentimes excessive dark tempestuous weather mixed with much thunder and lightning. Sometimes before and after these months there are moderate refreshing showers; but in May, June, July, and August, the weather is always very fair. We stayed at one of these islands, which lies under the Equator, but one night; because our prizes could not get into an anchor. We refreshed ourselves very well, both with land and sea turtle: and the next day we sailed from thence. The next island of the Galapagos that we came to is but two leagues from this: it is rocky and barren like this; it is about five or six leagues long, and four broad. We anchored in the afternoon, at the north side of the island, a quarter of a mile from the shore, in sixteen fathoms water. It is steep all round this island, and no anchoring, only at this place. As soon as we came to an anchor, we made a tent ashore for Captain Cooke who was sick. Here we found the sea-turtle lying ashore on the sands; this is not customary in the West Indies. We turned them on their backs that they might not get away. The next day more came up; when we found it to be their custom to lie in the sun: so we never took care to turn them afterwards, but sent ashore the cook every morning, who killed as many as served for the day. This custom we observed all the time we lay here, feeding sometimes on land-turtle, sometimes on sea-turtle, there being plenty of either sort. Captain Davis came hither again a second time; and then he went to other islands on the west side of these. There he found such plenty of land-turtle, that he and his men ate nothing else for three months that he stayed there. They were so fat, that he saved sixty jars of oil out of those that he spent. This oil served instead of butter to eat with doughboys and dumplings in his return out of these seas. He found very con-

venient places to careen, and good channels between the islands; and very good anchoring in many places. There he found also plenty of brooks of good fresh water, and firewood enough; there being plenty of trees fit for many uses. Captain Harris, one that we shall speak of hereafter, came hither likewise, and found some islands that had plenty of mammee trees, and pretty large rivers. The sea about these islands is plentifully stored with fish, such as are at Juan Fernandez. They are both large and fat, and as plentiful here as at Juan Fernandez; here are particularly abundance of sharks. These Isles of the Galapagos have plenty of salt. We stayed here but twelve days: in which time we put ashore 5000 packs of flour, for a reserve, if we should have occasion of any before we left these seas. Here one of our Indian prisoners informed us that he was born at Realejo, and that he would engage to carry us thither. He being examined of the strength and riches of it, satisfied the company so well. that they were resolved to go thither.

Having thus concluded, the 12th of June, we sailed from hence, designing to touch at the Island of Cocos, as well to put ashore some flour there, as to see the island, because it was in our way to Realejo. [But] despairing as the winds were, to find the Island of Cocos, we steered over to the main. The Island of Cocos is so named by the Spaniards, because there are abundance of cocoa-nut trees growing on it. They are not only in one or two places, but grow in great groves all round the island, by the sea. This is an uninhabited island; it is seven or eight leagues round, and pretty high in the middle, where it is destitute of trees, but looks very green and pleasant, with an herb called by the Spaniards "gramadel." It is low land by the sea-side. We had very fair weather and small winds in this voyage from the Galapagos, and at the beginning of July we fell in with Cape Blanco, on the main of Mexico. This is so called from two white rocks lying off it. When we are off at sea, right against the cape, they appear as part of the cape; but being near the shore, either to the eastward or westward of the cape, they appear like two ships under sail at first view, but coming nearer they are like two high towers, they being small, high, and steep on all sides, and they are about half-a-mile from the cape. This cape is in Lat. 9° 56′. It is about the height of Beachy Head in England, on the coast of Sussex. It is a full point, with steep rocks to the sea. The top of it is flat and even for about a mile; then it gradually falls away on each side with a gentle descent. It appears very pleasant, being covered with great lofty trees. From the cape on the NW. side, the land runs in NE. for about four leagues, making a small bay called by the Spaniards Caldera. From the bottom of this bay it is but fourteen or fifteen leagues to the Lake of Nicaragua, on the North Sea coast: the way between is somewhat mountainous, but mostly savannah. Captain Cooke, who was taken sick at Juan Fernandez, continued so till we came within two or three leagues of Cape Blanco, and then died of a sudden, though he seemed that morning to be as likely to live as he had been some weeks before; but it is usual with sick men coming from the sea, where they have nothing but the sea air, to die off as soon as ever they come within view of the land. About four hours after, we all came to an anchor (namely, the ship that I was in, Captain Eaton, and the great meal prize), a league within the cape, right against [a] brook of fresh water, in fourteen fathoms, clean hard sand. Presently after we came to an anchor, Captain Cooke was carried ashore to be buried; twelve men carried their arms to guard those that were ordered to dig the grave; for although we saw no appearance of inhabitants, yet we did not know but the country might be thickly inhabited. And before Captain Cooke was interred, three Spanish Indians came to the place where our men were digging the grave, and demanded what they were,

and whence they came? To whom our men answered, they came from Lima and were bound to Realejo, but that the captain of one of the ships, dying at sea, obliged them to come into this place to give him Christian burial. The three Spanish Indians, who were very shy at first, began to be more bold, and drawing nearer, asked many silly questions, and our men did not stick to soothe them up with as many falsehoods, purposely to draw them into their clutches. Our men often laughed at their temerity, and asked them if they never saw any Spaniards before? They told them, that they themselves were Spaniards, and that they lived among Spaniards, and that although they were born there, yet they had never seen three ships there before. Our men told them, that neither now might they have seen so many, if it had not been on an urgent occasion. At length they drilled[1] them by discourse so near, that our men laid hold on all three at once; but before Captain Cooke was buried, one of them made his escape; the other two were brought off aboard our ship. Captain Eaton immediately came aboard, and examined them; they confessed they came purposely to view our ship, and if possible to inform themselves what we were; for the President of Panama not long before sent a letter of advice to Nicoya, informing the magistrates thereof that some enemies were come into these seas, and that therefore it behoved them to be careful of themselves. Nicoya is a small Mulatta town about twelve or thirteen leagues east from hence, standing on the banks of a river of that name. It is a place very fit for building ships, therefore most of the inhabitants are carpenters, who are commonly employed in building new or repairing old ships. It was here that Captain Sharpe, just after I left him, in the year 1681, got carpenters to fix his ship before he returned for England; and for that reason it behoved the Spaniards to be careful, according to the Governor of Panama's advice, lest any men at other times wanting such necessaries as that place afforded might again be supplied there. These Spanish Indians told us likewise that they were sent to the place where they were taken, in order to view our ships, as fearing these were those mentioned by the President of Panama. It being demanded of them to give an account of the estate and riches of the country, they said, that the inhabitants were mostly husbandmen, who were employed either in planting and manuring of corn, or chiefly about cattle; they having large savannahs, which were well stored with bulls, cows, and horses: that by the sea-side in some places there grew some red wood useful in dyeing; of this they said there was little profit made, because they were forced to send it to the Lake of Nicaragua, which runs into the North Seas: that they sent thither also great quantities of bull and cow hides, and brought thence in exchange European commodities: as hats, linen, and woollen, wherewith they clothed themselves; that the flesh of the cattle turned to no other profit than sustenance for their families; as for butter and cheese, they made but little in those parts.

After they had given this relation, they told us, that if we wanted provision, there was a beef estantion,[2] or farm of bulls or cows, about three miles off, where we might kill what we pleased. This was welcome news, for we had no sort of flesh since we left the Galapagos; therefore twenty-four of us immediately entered into two boats, taking one of these Spanish Indians with us for a pilot, and went ashore about a league from the ship. There we hauled up our boats dry, and marched all away, following our guide, who soon brought us to some houses, and a large pen for cattle. This pen stood in a large savannah, about two miles from our boats; there were a great many fat bulls and

[1] Enticed.

[2] Spanish, "Estancia," a mansion or farm, or place of store.

cows feeding in the savannahs. Some of us would have killed three or four to carry on board; but others opposed it, and said it was better to stay all night, and in the morning drive the cattle into the pen, and then kill twenty or thirty, or as many as we pleased. I was minded to return aboard, and endeavoured to persuade them all to go with me, but some would not; therefore I returned with twelve, which was half, and left the other twelve behind. At this place I saw three or four tons of the red wood, which I take to be that sort of wood called in Jamaica bloodwood or Nicaragua wood. We who returned aboard met no one to oppose us, and the next day we expected our consorts that we left ashore, but none came; therefore at four o'clock in the afternoon ten men went in our canoe to see what was become of them. When they came to the bay where we landed to go to the estantion, they found our men all on a small rock, half a mile from the shore, standing in the water up to their waists. These men had slept ashore in the house, and turned out betimes in the morning to pen the cattle: two or three went one way, and as many another way, to get the cattle to the pen; and others stood at the pen to drive them in. When they were thus scattered, about forty or fifty armed Spaniards came in among them. Our men immediately called to each other, and drew together in a body before the Spaniards could attack them, and marched to their boat, which was hauled up dry on the sand; but when they came to the sandy bay they found their boat all in flames. This was a very unpleasing sight, for they knew not how to get aboard, unless they marched by land to the place where Captain Cooke was buried, which was near a league. The greatest part of the way was thick woods, where the Spaniards might easily lay in ambush for them, at which they are very expert. On the other side, the Spaniards now thought them secure; and therefore came to them and asked them if they would be pleased to walk to their plantations, with many other such flouts; but our men answered never a word. It was about half ebb when one of our men took notice of a rock a good distance from the shore, just appearing above water; he showed it to his consorts and told them it would be a good castle for them if they could get thither. They all wished themselves there; for the Spaniards, who lay as yet at a good distance from them behind the bushes, as secure of their prey, began to whistle now and then a shot among them. Having therefore well considered the place, together with the danger they were in, they proposed to send one of the tallest men to try if the sea between them and the rock were fordable. This counsel they presently put in execution, and found it according to their desire. So they all marched over to the rock, where they remained till the canoe came to them; which was about seven hours. It was the latter part of the ebb when they first went over, and then the rock was dry; but when the tide of flood returned again the rock was covered, and the water still flowing; so that if our canoe had stayed but one hour longer they might have been in as great danger of their lives from the sea as before from the Spaniards; for the tide rises here about eight feet. The Spaniards remained on the shore, expecting to see them destroyed, but never came from behind the bushes where they first planted themselves; they having not above three or four hand-guns, the rest of them being armed with lances. The Spaniards in these parts are very expert in heaving or darting the lance, with which, upon occasion, they will do great feats, especially in ambuscades; and by their good will they care not for fighting otherwise, but content themselves with standing aloof, threatening and calling names, at which they are as expert as at the other; so that if their tongues be quiet, we always take it for granted they have laid some ambush. Before

night our canoe came aboard, and brought our men all safe.

The day before we went from hence, Mr Edward Davis, the company's Quarter-master, was made Captain by consent of all the company; for it was his place by succession. The 20th day of July we sailed from this Bay of Caldera, with Captain Eaton, and our prize which we brought from the Galapagos, in company, directing course for Realejo. The wind was at N., which, although but an ordinary wind, yet carried us in three days abreast of our intended port. Realejo is the most remarkable land on all this coast; for there is a high-peaked burning mountain, called by the Spaniards Volcano Viejo, or the Old Volcano. The volcano may be easily known, because there is not any other so high a mountain near it, neither is there any that appears in the like form all along the coast; besides it smokes all the day, and in the night it sometimes sends forth flames of fire. This mountain may be seen twenty leagues. Being within three leagues of the harbour, the entrance into it may be seen. There is a small flat low island which makes the harbour. This harbour is capable of receiving 200 sail of ships. The best riding is near the main, where there is seven or eight fathoms water; clean hard sand. Realejo town is two leagues from hence, and there are two creeks that run towards it; the westernmost comes near the back-side of the town, the other runs up to the town; but neither ships nor barks can go so far. These creeks are very narrow, and the land on each side drowned, and full of red mangrove-trees. About a mile and a half below the town, on the banks of the east creek, the Spaniards had cast up a strong breastwork; it was likewise reported they had another on the west creek, both so advantageously placed that ten men might with ease keep 200 men from landing.

We were now in sight of the volcano, being, by estimation, seven or eight leagues from the shore; and the mountain bearing NE., we took in our topsails, and hauled up our courses, intending to go with our canoes into the harbour in the night. In the evening we had a very hard tornado out of the NE., with much thunder, lightning, and rain. The violence of the wind did not last long, yet it was 11 o'clock at night before we got out our canoes, and then it was quite calm. We rowed in directly for the shore, and thought to have reached it before day; but it was 9 o'clock in the morning before we got into the harbour. When we came within a league of the Island of Realejo, that makes the harbour, we saw a house on it; and coming nearer we saw two or three men, who stood and looked on us till we came within half-a-mile of the island, then they went into their canoe, which lay on the inside of the island, and rowed towards the main; but we overtook them before they got over, and brought them back again to the island. There was a horseman right against us on the main when we took the canoe, who immediately rode away towards the town as fast as he could. The rest of our canoes rode heavily, and did not come to the island till 12 o'clock; therefore we were forced to stay for them. Before they came, we examined the prisoners, who told us that they were set there to watch, for the Governor of Realejo received a letter about a month before, wherein he was advised of some enemies come into the sea, and therefore admonished to be careful; that immediately thereupon the Governor had caused a house to be built on this island, and ordered four men to be continually there to watch night and day; and if they saw any ship coming thither, they were to give notice of it. They said they did not expect to see boats or canoes, but looked out for a ship. At first they took us in our advanced canoe to be some men that had been cast away and lost our ship; till, seeing three or four canoes more, they began to suspect what we were. They told us likewise, that the horseman we saw did come to them every morning, and that in less than

an hour's time he could be at the town. When Captain Eaton and his canoes came ashore, we told them what had happened. It was now three hours since the horseman rode away, and we could not expect to get to the town in less than two hours; in which time the Governor, having notice of our coming, might be provided to receive us at his breastworks; therefore we thought it best to defer this design till another time. Here we stayed till 4 o'clock in the afternoon; then our ships being come within a league of the shore, we all went on board, and steered for the Gulf of Amapalla, intending there to careen our ships.

The 26th of July, Captain Eaton came aboard our ship to consult with Captain Davis how to get some Indians to assist us in careening. It was concluded, that when we came near the Gulf, Captain Davis should take two canoes, well manned, and go before, and Captain Eaton should stay aboard. According to this agreement, Captain Davis went away for the Gulf the next day. The Gulf of Amapalla[1] is a great arm of the sea, running eight or ten leagues into the country. It is bounded on the S. side of its entrance with Point Casivina, and on the NW. side with St Michael's Mount. Both these places are very remarkable. Point Casivina is in Lat. 12° 40′ N. It is a high round point, which at sea appears like an island, because the land within it is very low. St Michael's Mount is a very high peaked hill, not very steep: the land at the foot of it on the SE. side is low and even for at least a mile. From this low land the Gulf of Amapalla enters on that side. Between this low land and Point Casivina are two considerable high islands; the southernmost is called Mangera, the other is called Amapalla; and they are two miles asunder.[2] . . . There are a great many more islands in this Bay, but none inhabited as these. There is one pretty large island, belonging to a nunnery, as the Indians told us; this was stocked with bulls and cows. Three or four Indians lived there to look after the cattle, for the sake of which we often frequented this island while we lay in the bay. They are all low islands, except Amapalla and Mangera. There are two channels to come into this gulf; one between Point Casivina and Mangera, the other between Mangera and Amapalla; the latter is the best.

It was into this gulf that Captain Davis was gone with the two canoes, to endeavour for a prisoner, to gain intelligence, if possible, before our ships came in. He came the first night to Mangera, but for want of a pilot did not know where to look for the town. In the morning he found a great many canoes hauled up on the bay; and from that bay found a path which led him and his company to the town. The Indians saw our ships in the evening coming towards the island, and being before informed of enemies in the sea, they kept scouts out all night for fear; who seeing Captain Davis coming, ran into the town, and alarmed all the people. When Captain Davis came thither, they all ran into the woods. The Friar happened to be there at this time; who, being unable to ramble

[1] Marked in the modern maps as the Gulf of Fonseca. The southern headland is Cape Cosiguina, called Casivina by Dampier; the northern, which he called St Michael's Mount, is Cape Candadillo.

[2] Mangera is described as a high round island, about two leagues in compass, and appearing from the sea like a tall grove. There is mention made of one town, about the middle of the island. Amapalla is much larger than Mangera, with two towns on it. The Indians of both places cultivate maize, a few plantains, and the hog plum. The towns were governed from St Michael's, to which they paid tribute in maize. There was but one friar or padre living amongst them, who exacted a tenth from the natives, and who was the only white man on the island.

into the woods, fell into Captain Davis's hands; there were two Indian boys with him who were likewise taken. Captain Davis went only to get a prisoner, therefore was well satisfied with the Friar, and immediately came down to the sea-side. He went from thence to the Island of Amapalla, carrying the Friar and the two Indian boys with him. These were his pilots to conduct him to the landing-place, where they arrived about noon. They made no stay here, but left three or four men to look after the canoes, and Captain Davis, with the rest, marched to the town, taking the Friar with them. The town, as is before noted, is about a mile from the landing-place, standing in a plain on the top of a hill, having a very steep ascent to go to it. All the Indians stood on the top of the hill, waiting Captain Davis's coming. The Secretary, mentioned before, had no great kindness for the Spaniards. It was he that persuaded the Indians to wait Captain Davis's coming; for they were all running into the woods; but he told them, that if any of the Spaniards' enemies came thither, it was not to hurt them, but the Spaniards, whose slaves they were; and that their poverty would protect them. This man, with the Cacique, stood more forward than the rest, at the bank of the hill, when Captain Davis with his company appeared beneath. They called out therefore in Spanish, demanding of our men what they were, and whence they came? To whom Captain Davis and his men replied, they were Biscayers, and were sent thither by the King of Spain to clear those seas from enemies; that their ships were coming into the gulf to careen, and that they came thither before the ships to seek a convenient place for it, as also to desire the Indians' assistance. The Secretary, who, as I said before, was the only man that could speak Spanish, told them that they were welcome, for he had a great respect for any Old Spain men, especially for the Biscayers, of *whom he* had heard a very honourable report; therefore he desired them to come up to their town. Captain Davis and his men immediately ascended the hill, the Friar going before; and they were received with a great deal of affection by the Indians. The Cacique and Secretary embraced Captain Davis; and the other Indians received his men with the like ceremony.

These salutations being ended, they all marched towards the church, for that is the place of all public meetings, and all plays and pastimes are acted there also; therefore in the churches belonging to Indian towns they have all sorts of vizards and strange antic dresses both for men and women, and abundance of musical hautboys and strumstrums. The strumstrum is made somewhat like a cittern; most of those that the Indians use are made of a large gourd, cut in the midst, and a thin board laid over the hollow, which is fastened to the sides. This serves for the belly, over which the strings are placed. The nights before any holidays, or the nights ensuing, are the times when they all meet to make merry. Their mirth consists in singing, dancing, and sporting in those antic habits, and using as many antic gestures. If the moon shine they use but few torches; if not, the church is full of light. They meet at these times all sorts of both sexes. All the Indians that I have been acquainted with who are under the Spaniards seem to be more melancholy than other Indians that are free; and at these public meetings, when they are in the greatest of their jollity, their mirth seems to be rather forced than real. Their songs are very melancholy and doleful, so is their music; but whether it be natural to the Indians to be thus melancholy, or the effect of their slavery, I am not certain. But I have always been prone to believe that they are then only condoling their misfortunes, the loss of their country and liberties, which, although those that are now living do not know nor remember what it was to be free, yet there seems to be a deep

impression in their thoughts of the slavery which the Spaniards have brought them under, increased probably by some traditions of their ancient freedom. Captain Davis intended, when they were all in the church, to shut the doors and then make a bargain with them, letting them know what he was, and so draw them afterwards by fair means to our assistance, the Friar being with him, who had also promised to engage them to it. But before they were all in the church, one of Captain Davis's men pushed one of the Indians, to hasten him into the church. The Indian immedintely ran away, and all the rest, taking the alarm, sprang out of the church like deer; it was hard to say which was first; and Captain Davis, who knew nothing of what happened, was left in the church only with the Friar. When they were all fled, Captain Davis's men fired, and killed the Secretary; and thus our hopes perished by the indiscretion of one foolish fellow.

In the afternoon the ships came into the gulf between Point Casivina and Mangera, and anchored near the Island of Amapalla, on the E. side, in ten fathoms water, clean hard sand. In the evening Captain Davis and his company came aboard, and brought the Friar with them, who told Captain Davis, that if the Secretary had not been killed he could have sent him a letter by one of the Indians that was taken at Mangera, and persuaded him to come to us; but now the only way was to send one of those Indians to seek the Cacique, and [he] himself would instruct him what to say, and did not question but the Cacique would come on his word. The next day we sent ashore one of the Indians, who before night returned with the Cacique and six other Indians, who remained with us all the time that we stayed here. These Indians did us good service, especially in piloting us to an island, where we killed beef whenever we wanted; and for this their service we satisfied them to their hearts' content. It was at this Island of Amapalla that a party of Englishmen and Frenchmen came afterwards and stayed a great while, and at last landed on the main, and marched overland to the Cape River, which disembogues into the North Seas near Cape Gracias a Dios, and is therefore called the Cape River.[1] Near the head of this river they made bark-logs (which I shall describe in the next Chapter), and so went into the North Seas. This was the way that Captain Sharpe had proposed to go if he had been put to it, for this way was partly known to Privateers by the discovery that was made into the country about thirty years since by a party of Englishmen that went up that river in canoes, about as far as the place where these Frenchmen made their bark-logs; there they landed and marched to a town called Segovia in the country. They were near a month getting up the river, for there are many cataracts where they were often forced to leave the river and haul their canoes ashore over the land till they were past the cataracts, and then launch their canoes again into the river. I have discoursed [with] several men that were in that expedition, and if I mistake not, Captain Sharpe was one of them. But to return to our voyage in hand; when both our ships were clean, and our water filled, Captain Davis and Captain Eaton broke off consortships. Captain Eaton took aboard of his ships 400 packs of flour, and sailed out of the gulf the 2d of September.

CHAPTER VI.

The 3d of September 1684, we sent the Friar ashore, and left the Indians in possession of the prize which we brought in hither, though she was still half-laden with flour; and we sailed out with the land-wind, passing between Amapalla and Mangera. When we were a league out,

[1] Variously called in modern maps the Vanquez, or Yanks, or Tints, or Segovia, or Coco River.

we saw a canoe coming with sail and oars after us, therefore we shortened sail and stayed for her. She was a canoe sent by the Governor of St Michael's town to our Captain, desiring him not to carry away the Friar. The messenger being told that the Friar was set ashore again at Amapalla, he returned with joy, and we made sail again, having the wind at WNW. We steered towards the coast of Peru. We had tornadoes every day till we made Cape San Francisco, which from June to November are very common on these coasts; and we had with the tornadoes very much thunder, lightning, and rain. When the tornadoes were over, the wind, which while they lasted was most from the SE., came about again to the W., and never failed us till we were in sight of Cape San Francisco. This cape is in Lat. 1° N.; it is a high bluff or full point of land, clothed with tall great trees. The land in the country within this cape is very high, and the mountains commonly appear very black. When we came in with this cape we overtook Captain Eaton plying under the shore; he in his passage from Amapalla, while he was on that coast, met with such terrible tornadoes of thunder and lightning that, as he and all his men related, they had never met with the like in any place. They were very much affrighted by them, the air smelling very much of sulphur, and they apprehending themselves [to be] in great danger of being burnt by the lightning. He touched at the island of Cocos, and put ashore 200 packs of flour there, and loaded his boat with cocoa-nuts, and took in fresh water. In the evening we separated again from Captain Eaton, for he stood off to sea, and we plied up under the shore, making our best advantage both of sea and land winds.

The 20th of September we came to the Island of Plata, and anchored in sixteen fathoms. We had very good weather from the time that we fell in with Cape San Francisco, and were now fallen in again with the same places from whence I begin the account of this voyage in the First Chapter, having now compassed in the whole continent of South America. The Island of Plata, as some report, was so named by the Spaniards after Sir Francis Drake took the Cacafuego,[1] a ship chiefly laden with plate, which they say he brought hither and divided it here with his men. It is about four miles long and a mile and a half broad, and of a good height. It is bounded with high steep cliffs clear round, only at one place on the east side. The top of it is flat and even, the soil sandy and dry; the trees it produces are but small-bodied, low, and grow thin; and there are only three or four sorts of trees, all unknown to us. I observed they were much overgrown with long moss. There is good grass, especially in the beginning of the year. There is no water on this island, but at one place on the east side close by the sea; there it drills[2] slowly down from the rocks, where it may be received into vessels. There were plenty of goats, but they are now all destroyed. There is no other sort of land animal that I did ever see; there are plenty of boobies and man-of-war birds. At this island are plenty of those small sea-turtle spoken of in my last Chapter.

The 21st, Captain Eaton came to an anchor by us; he was very willing to have consorted with us again, but Captain Davis's men were so unreasonable that they would not allow Captain Eaton's men an equal share with them in what they got; therefore Captain Eaton stayed there but one night, and the next day sailed from hence, steering away to the southward. We stayed no longer than the day ensuing, and then we sailed toward Point Santa Elena, intending there to land some men purposely to get prisoners for intelligence.

Point Santa Elena bears S. from

[1] The capture of this rich prize is narrated in Drake's Voyage. See page 70.

[2] Penetrates, trickles. Bishop Taylor uses the word "drill" to signify a small water-course.

the Island of Plata. It lies in Lat. 2° 15′ S. The point is pretty high, flat, and even at top; overgrown with many great thistles but no sort of tree; at a distance it appears like an island because the land within it is very low. This point strikes out west into the sea, making a pretty large bay on the north side. . . . When we were abreast of this point we sent away our canoes in the night to take the Indian village. They landed in the morning betimes close by the town, and took some prisoners. They took likewise a small bark which the Indians had set on fire, but our men quenched it, and took the Indian that did it, who being asked wherefore he set the bark on fire, said, that there was an order from the Viceroy lately set out commanding all seamen to burn their vessels if attacked by us, and betake themselves to their boats. There was another bark in a small cove a mile from the village; thither our men went, thinking to take her, but the seamen that were aboard set her in flames and fled. In the evening, our men came aboard, and brought the small bark with them, the fire of which they had quenched; and then we returned again towards Plata, where we arrived the 26th of September.

In the evening we sent out some men in our bark lately taken and canoes, to an Indian village called Manta, two or three leagues to the W. of Cape San Lorenzo, hoping there to get other prisoners, for we could not learn from those we took at Point Santa Elena the reason why the Viceroy should give such orders to burn the ships. They had a fresh sea breeze till 12 o'clock at night, and then it proved calm, wherefore they rowed away with their canoes as near to the town as they thought convenient, and lay still till day. Manta is a small Indian village on the main, distant from the Island of Plata seven or eight leagues. It stands so advantageously to be seen, being built on a small ascent, that it makes a very fair prospect to the sea, yet but a few poor scattering Indian houses. There is a very fine church, adorned with a great deal of carved work. It was formerly a habitation of Spaniards, but they are all removed from hence now. The land about it is dry and sandy, bearing only a few shrubby trees. These Indians plant no manner of grain or root, but are supplied from other places, and commonly keep a stock of provision to relieve ships that want, for this is the first settlement that ships can touch at which come from Panama bound to Lima, or any other port in Peru. The land, being dry and sandy, is not fit to produce crops of maize, which is the reason they plant none. There is a spring of good water between the village and the sea. On the back of the town, a pretty way up in the country, there is a very high mountain, towering up like a sugar-loaf, called Monte Christo. It is a very good sea mark, for there is none like it on all the coast. The body of this mountain bears due S. from Manta.[1] From Manta to Cape San Lorenzo the land is plain and even, of an indifferent height.

As soon as ever the day appeared, our men landed, and marched towards the village, which was about a mile and a half from their landing-place. Some of the Indians who were stirring saw them coming, and alarmed their neighbours; so that all that were able got away. They took only two old women, who both said, that it was reported that a great many enemies were come overland through the country of Darien into the South Seas, and that they were at present in canoes and periagoes; and that the Viceroy upon this news, had set out the fore-mentioned order for burning their own ships. Our men found no sort of provision here; the Viceroy having likewise sent orders to all seaports to keep no provision, but just to supply themselves. These

[1] It has been conjectured that Chimberazo is here meant, but that mountain lies east by south, and not south, from Manta, and probably Dampier refers to some smaller eminence nearer the coast.

women also said, that the Manta Indians were sent over to the Island of Plata to destroy all the goats there, which they performed about a month ago. With this news our men returned again, and arrived at Plata the next day. We lay still at the Island of Plata, being not resolved what to do, till the 2d of October; and then Captain Swan, in the Cygnet of London, arrived there. He was fitted out by very eminent merchants of that city, on a design only to trade with the Spaniards or Indians, having a very considerable cargo well sorted for these parts of the world; but meeting with divers disappointments, and being out of hopes to obtain a trade in these seas, his men forced him to entertain a company of Privateers which he met with near Nicoya, a town whither he was going to seek a trade; and these Privateers were bound thither in boats to get a ship. These were the men that we had heard of at Manta; they came overland, under the command of Captain Peter Harris, nephew to that Captain Harris who was killed before Panama. Captain Swan was still commander of his own ship, and Captain Harris commanded a small bark under Captain Swan. There was much joy on all sides when they arrived; and immediately hereupon, Captain Davis and Captain Swan consorted, wishing for Captain Eaton again. Our little bark, which was taken at Santa Elena, was immediately sent out to cruise while the ships were fitting; for Captain Swan's ship, being full of goods, was not fit to entertain his new guests, till the goods were disposed of; therefore he, by the consent of the supercargoes, got up all his goods on deck, and sold to any one that would buy, upon trust. The rest was thrown overboard into the sea, except fine goods, as silks, muslins, stockings, &c., and except the iron, whereof he had a good quantity, both wrought and in bars; this was saved for ballast. The third day after our bark was sent to cruise, she brought in a prize of 400 tons, laden with timber; they took her in the bay of Guayaquil; she came from the town of that name, and was bound to Lima. The commander of this prize said, that it was generally reported and believed at Guayaquil, that the Viceroy was fitting out ten sail of frigates to drive us out of the Seas. This news made our unsettled crew wish that they had been persuaded to accept of Captain Eaton's company on reasonable terms. Captain Davis and Captain Swan had some discourse concerning Captain Eaton; they at last concluded to send our small bark towards the coast of Lima, as far as the Island of Lobos, to seek Captain Eaton. This being approved by all hands, she was cleaned the next day, and sent away, manned with twenty men, ten of Captain Davis's, and ten of Swan's men; and Captain Swan wrote a letter directed to Captain Eaton, desiring his company; and the Isle of Plata was appointed for the general rendezvous. When this bark was gone, we turned another bark which we had into a fireship, having six or seven carpenters, who soon fixed her; and while the carpenters were at work about the fireship, we scrubbed and cleaned our men-of-war, as well as time and place would permit. The 19th of October we finished our business, and the 20th we sailed towards the Island of Lobos, where our bark was ordered to stay for us, or meet us again at Plata. We had but little wind, therefore it was the 23d before we passed by Point Santa Elena. The 25th we crossed over the Bay of Guayaquil. The 30th we doubled Cape Blanco. This cape is in Lat. 3° 45′. It is counted the worst cape in all the South Seas to double, passing to the southward. This cape is of an indifferent height. It is fenced with white rocks to the sea; for which reason, I believe, it has this name.[1] The land in the country seems to be full of high, steep, rugged, and barren rocks.

The 2d of November we got as high as Payta. We lay about six leagues

[1] Cabo Blanco—White Cape.

off shore all the day, that the Spaniards might not see us; and in the evening sent our canoes ashore to take it, manned with 110 men. Payta is a small Spanish seaport town, in Lat. 5° 15′ S. It is built on the sand, close by the sea, in a nook, elbow, or small bay, under a pretty high hill. There are not above seventy-five or eighty houses, and two churches. The houses are but low and ill-built. The building in this country of Peru is much alike on all the sea-coast. The walls are built of bricks made with earth and straw kneaded together; they are about three feet long, two feet broad, and a foot and a half thick; they never burn them, but lay them a long time in the sun to dry before they are used in building. In some places they have no roofs, only poles laid across from the side walls, and covered with mats; and then those walls are carried up to a considerable height. But where they build roofs upon their houses, the walls are not made so high, as I said before. The houses in general all over this kingdom are but meanly built: one chief reason, with the common people especially, is the want of materials to build withal; for, however it be more within land, yet here is neither stone nor timber to build with, nor any materials but such brick as I have described; and even the stone which they have in some places is so brittle that you may rub it into sand with your fingers. Another reason why they build so meanly is, because it never rains; therefore they only endeavour to fence themselves from the sun. Yet their walls, which are built but with an ordinary sort of brick in comparison with what is made in other parts of the world, continue a long time as firm as when first made, having never any winds nor rains to rot, moulder, or shake them. However, the richer sort have timber, which they make use of in building; but it is brought from other places. This dry country commences to the northward, from about Cape Blanco to Coquimbo, in about 30° S., having no rain that I could ever observe or hear of, nor any green thing growing in the mountains, neither yet in the valleys, except where here and there watered with a few small rivers dispersed up and down. So that the northernmost parts of this tract of land are supplied with timber from Guayaquil, Galleo, Tumaco, and other places that are watered with rains, where there is plenty of all sorts of timber. In the south parts as about Huasco and Coquimbo, they fetch their timber from the Island of Chiloe, or other places thereabouts. The walls of churches and rich men's houses are whitened with lime both within and without; and the doors and posts are very large, and adorned with carved work, and the beams also in the churches; the insides of the houses are hung round with rich embroidered or painted cloths. They have likewise abundance of fine pictures, which add no small ornament to their houses. These, I suppose, they have from Old Spain. But the houses of Payta are none of them so richly furnished. The churches were large, and fairly carved. At one end of the town there was a small fort, close by the sea, but no great guns in it. This fort, only with muskets, will command all the bay, so as to hinder any boats from landing. There is another fort on the top of the hill, just over the town, which commands both it and the lower fort. There is neither wood nor water to be had here. They fetch their water from an Indian town called Colan, about two leagues NNE. from Payta; for at Colan there is a small river of fresh water which runs out into the sea, from whence ships that touch at Payta are supplied with water and other refreshments, as fowls, hogs, plantains, yams, and maize: Payta being destitute of all these things, only as they fetch them from Colan as they have occasion.

The Indians of Colan are all fishermen. They go out to sea and fish on bark-logs.[1] Bark-logs are made of

[1] This title has been supposed to

many round logs of wood, in the manner of a raft, and very different, according to the use that they are designed for, or the humour of the people that make them, or the matter that they are made of. If they are made for fishing, then they are only three or four logs of light wood, of seven or eight feet long, placed by the side of each other, pinned fast together with wooden pins, and bound hard with withes. The logs are so placed that the middlemost are longer than those by the sides, especially at the head or fore part, which grows narrower gradually into an angle or point, better to cut through the water. Others are made to carry goods. The bottom of these is made of twenty or thirty great trees, of about twenty, thirty, or forty feet long, fastened as the other, side to side, and so shaped. On the top of these they place another shorter row of trees across them, pinned fast to each other, and then pinned to the undermost row. This double row of planks makes the bottom of the float. . . . They always go before the wind, being unable to ply against it, and therefore are fit only for these seas where the wind is always in a manner the same, not varying above a point or two all the way from Lima till such time as they come into the Bay of Panama; and even there they meet with no great sea, but sometimes northerly winds; and then they lower their sails, and drive before it, waiting a change. All their care then is only to keep off from shore, for they are so made that they cannot sink at sea. These rafts carry sixty or seventy tons of goods and upwards. Their cargo is chiefly wine, oil, flour, sugar, Quito cloth, soap, goat-skins dressed, &c. The float is managed usually by three or four men, who, being unable to return with it against the trade-wind, when they come to Panama dispose of the goods and bottom together, getting a passage back again for themselves in some ship or boat bound to the port they came from; and there they make a new bark-log for their next cargo. The smaller sort of bark-logs, described before, which lie flat on the water, and are used for fishing or carrying water to ships or the like (half a ton or a ton at a time), are more governable than the other, though they have masts and sails too. With these they go out at night by the help of the land-wind, which is seldom wanting on this coast, and return back in the daytime with the sea-wind. This sort of floats are used in many places both in the East and West Indies. On the coast of Coromandel in the East Indies they call them Catamarans. These are but one log, or two sometimes, of a sort of light wood, and are made without sail or rudder, and so small that they carry but one man, whose legs and breech are always in the water; and he manages his log with a paddle, appearing at a distance like a man sitting on a fish's back.

November the 3d, at 6 o'clock in the morning, our men landed about four miles to the south of the town, and took some prisoners that were sent thither to watch for fear of us; and these prisoners said, that the Governor of Piura came with 100 armed men to Payta the night before, purposely to oppose our landing there if we should attempt it. Our men marched directly to the fort on the hill, and took it without the loss of one man. Hereupon the Governor of Piura with all his men, and the inhabitants of the town, ran away as fast as they could. Then our men entered the town, and found it emptied both of money and goods; there was not so much as a meal of victuals left for them. The prisoners told us a ship had been here a little before and burnt a great ship in the road, but did not land their men; and that here they put ashore all their prisoners and pilots. We knew this must be Captain Eaton's ship

be a mistranslation of "barcolongo" (see Note 1, p. 135). But the description which follows shows plainly enough that the word means just what it says—that is, barks of log or log-barks.

which had done this; and by these circumstances we supposed he was gone to the East Indies, it being always designed by him. The prisoners told us also, that since Captain Eaton was here, a small bark had been off the harbour and taken a pair of bark-logs a-fishing, and made the fishermen bring aboard twenty or thirty jars of fresh water. This we supposed was our bark that was sent to Lobos to seek Captain Eaton. In the evening we came in with our ships, and anchored before the town in ten fathoms water, near a mile from the shore. Here we stayed till the 6th day, in hopes to get a ransom for the town. Our Captains demanded 300 packs of flour, 3000 lbs. of sugar, twenty-five jars of wine, and 1000 jars of water to be brought off to us; but we got nothing of it. Therefore Captain Swan ordered the town to be fired, which was presently done. Then all our men came aboard, and Captain Swan ordered the bark which Captain Harris commanded, to be burnt, because she did not sail well.

At night, when the land-wind came off, we sailed from hence towards Lobos. The 10th, in the evening we saw a sail, bearing NW. by N., as far as we could well discern her on our deck. We immediately chased, separating ourselves, the better to meet her in the night, but we missed her. Therefore the next morning we again trimmed sharp, and made the best of our way to Lobos de la Mar. The 14th, we had sight of the Island of Lobos de Tierra: it bore E. from us; we stood in towards it, and betwixt 7 and 8 o'clock in the night came to an anchor at the NE. end of the island, in fourteen fathoms water. This island at sea is of an indifferent height, and appears like Lobos de la Mar. About a quarter of a mile from the north end there is a great hollow rock, and a good channel between, where there is seven fathoms water. The 15th, we went ashore, and found abundance of penguins and boobies, and seals in great quantities. We sent aboard of all these to be dressed, for we had not tasted any flesh in a great while before; therefore some of us did eat very heartily. Captain Swan, to encourage his men to eat this coarse flesh, would commend it for extraordinary good food, comparing the seal to roasting pig, the boobies to hens, and the penguins to ducks. This he did to train them to live contentedly on coarse meat, not knowing but we might be forced to make use of such food before we departed out of these seas; for it is generally seen among Privateers that nothing emboldens them sooner to mutiny than want, which we could not well suffer in a place where there are such quantities of these animals to be had, if men could be persuaded to be contented with them.

[Dampier now sailed from *Lobos de Tierra* to *Lobos de la Mar* on the 19th. On the 21st he sent out his Mosquito strikers for turtle, which they brought in, in great abundance. On the evening of the 26th, a suspicious-looking bark was observed about three leagues NNW. from the island. The next morning she stood off to sea, which they allowed her to do without giving chase. On the 28th day the ships' bottoms were scrubbed. On the morning of the 29th they were steering for the Bay of Guayaquil. In the vicinity, the cat-fish are said to be abundant. It is so called from its great wide mouth and the strings pointing out from each side of it like cats' whiskers.]

From the Island Santa Clara to Punta Arenas is seven leagues ENE. This Punta Arenas, or Sandy Point, is the westernmost point of the Island of Puna. Here all ships bound into the River of Guayaquil anchor, and must wait for a pilot, the entrance being very dangerous for strangers. The Island of Puna is a pretty large flat low island, stretching E. and W., about twelve or fourteen leagues long, and about four or five leagues wide. The tide runs very strong all about this island, but so many different ways, by reason of the branches, creeks, and rivers that run into the sea near it, that it casts up many dan-

gerous shoals on all sides of it. There is in the island only one Indian town, on the south side of it, close by the sea, and seven leagues from Point Arenas, which town is also called Puna. The Indians of this town are all seamen, and are the only pilots in these seas, especially for this river. Their chief employment, when they are not at sea, is fishing. These men are obliged by the Spaniards to keep good watch for ships that anchor at Point Arenas. The place where they keep this watch is at a point of land on the Island of Puna that starts out into the sea, from whence they can see all ships that anchor at Point Arenas. The Indians come thither in the morning, and return at night on horseback. From this watching point to Point Arenas it is four leagues, all drowned mangrove-land: and midway between these two points is another small point, where these Indians are obliged to keep another watch, when they fear an enemy. The sentinel goes thither in a canoe in the morning, and returns at night; for there is no coming thither by land through that mangrove marshy ground.[1] . . . There are in the town of Puna about twenty houses, and a small church. The houses stand all on posts, ten or twelve feet high, with ladders on the outside to go up into them. I did never see the like building anywhere but among the Malayans in the East Indies. They are thatched with palmetto leaves, and their chambers well boarded, in which last they exceed the Malayans.

From Puna to Guayaquil is reckoned seven leagues. It is one league before you come to the River of Guayaquil's mouth, where it is above two miles wide; from thence upwards the river lies pretty straight, without any considerable turnings. Both sides of the river are low swampy land, overgrown with red mangroves, so that there is no landing. Four miles before you come to the town of Guayaquil, there is a low island standing in the river; this island divides the river into two parts, making two very fair channels for ships to pass up and down. The SW. channel is the widest; the other is as deep, but narrower and narrower yet, by reason of many trees and bushes which spread over the river both from the main and from the island; and there are also several great stumps of trees standing upright in the water on either side. The island is above a mile long. From the upper part of the island to the town of Guayaquil is almost a league, and near as much from one side of the river to the other. In that spacious place, ships of the greatest burthen may ride afloat; but the best place for ships is nearest to that part of the land where the town stands; and this place is seldom without ships. Guayaquil stands facing the island, close by the river, partly on the side, and partly at the foot of a gentle hill declining towards the river, by which the lower part of it is often overflown. There are two forts, one standing in the low ground, the other on the hill. This town makes a very fine prospect, it being beautified with several churches and other good buildings. Here lives a Governor, who, as I have been informed, has his patent from the King of Spain. Guayaquil may be reckoned one of the chief seaports in the South Seas: the commodities which are exported from hence are cacao, hides, tallow, sarsaparilla, and other drugs, and woollen cloth, commonly called cloth of Quito. The cacao grows on both sides of the river above the town. It is a small nut, like the Campeachy nut, I think the smallest of the two. They produce as much cacao here as serves all the kingdom of Peru; and much of it is sent to Acapulco, and from thence to the Philippine Islands. Sarsaparilla grows in the water by the sides of the river, as I have been informed. The Quito cloth comes from a rich town in

[1] The middle of the island is described as good pasture land, with ridges of woodland, abounding in palmettoes. The Indians cultivated part of these ridges with maize, yams, and potatoes.

the country within land, called Quito.[1] There is a great deal made, both serges and broadcloth. This cloth is not very fine, but is worn by the common sort of people throughout the whole kingdom of Peru. This and all other commodities which come from Quito are shipped off at Guayaquil for other parts; and all imported goods for the city of Quito pass by Guayaquil: by which it may appear that Guayaquil is a place of no mean trade. Quito, as I have been informed, is a very populous city, seated in the heart of the country. It is inhabited partly by Spaniards; but the major part of its inhabitants are Indians under the Spanish Government. It is environed with mountains of a vast height, from whose bowels many great rivers have their rise. These mountains abound in gold, which by violent rains is washed with the sand into the adjacent brooks; where the Indians resort in troops, washing away the sand, and putting up the gold-dust in their calabashes or gourd-shells. Quito is the place in all the kingdom of Peru[2] that abounds most with this rich metal, as I have been often informed. The country is subject to great rains, and very thick fogs, especially the valleys. For that reason it is very unwholesome and sickly. The chief distempers are fevers, violent headache, pains in the bowels and fluxes. I know no place where gold is found but what is very unhealthy. Guayaquil is not so sickly as Quito and other towns farther within land; yet in comparison with the towns that are on the coast of *Mare Pacificum*, south of Cape Blanco, it is very sickly.

It was to this town of Guayaquil that we were bound; therefore we left our ships off Cape Blanco, and ran into the Bay of Guayaquil with our bark and canoes, steering in for the Island of Santa Clara, where we arrived the next day after we left our ships; and from thence we sent away two canoes the next evening to Point Arenas. At this point there are abundance of oysters, and other shell-fish, as cockles and mussels; therefore the Indians of Puna often come hither to get these fish. Our canoes got over before day, and absconded[3] in a creek, to wait for the coming of the Puna Indians. The next morning some of them, according to their custom, came thither on bark-logs, at the latter part of the ebb, and were all taken by our men. The next day, by their advice, the two watchmen of the Indian town of Puna were taken by our men, and all its inhabitants, not one escaping. The next ebb they took a small bark laden with Quito cloth. She came from Guayaquil that tide, and was bound to Lima; they having advice that we were gone off the coast, by the bark which I said we saw while we lay at the Island of Lobos. The master of this cloth-bark informed our men that there were three barks coming from Guayaquil laden with Negroes; he said they would come from thence the next tide. The same tide of ebb that they took the cloth-bark, they sent a canoe to our bark, where the biggest part of the men were, to hasten them away with speed to the Indian town. The bark was now riding at Point Arenas; and the next flood she came with all the men, and the rest of the canoes, to Puna. The tide of flood being now far spent, we lay at this town till the last of the ebb, and then rowed away, leaving five men aboard our bark, who were ordered to lie still till 8 o'clock the next morning, and not to fire at any boat or bark; but after that time they might fire at any object: for it was supposed that before that time we should be masters of Guayaquil. We had not rowed above two miles, before we met and

[1] "Coarse cottons," says M'Culloch, "and woollen cloths, baizes, flannels, ponchos, and stockings are made in Quito."

[2] Quito was annexed to the empire of Peru not long before the Spanish conquest; it is now the capital of the Republic of Ecuador.

[3] Concealed themselves.

took one of the three barks laden with Negroes; the master of her said, that the other two would come from Guayaquil the next tide of ebb. We cut her mainmast down, and left her at anchor. It was now strong flood, and therefore we rowed with all speed towards the town, in hopes to get thither before the flood was down; but we found it farther than we did expect it to be; or else our canoes, being very full of men, did not row so fast as we would have them. The day broke when we were two leagues from the town, and then we had not above an hour's flood more; therefore our Captain desired the Indian pilot to direct us to some creek where we might abscond all day, which was immediately done, and one canoe was sent towards Puna to our bark, to order them not to move nor fire till the next day. But she came too late to countermand the first orders: for the two barks before mentioned, laden with Negroes, came from the town the last quarter of the evening tide, and lay in the river, close by the shore on one side, and we rowed up on the other side and missed them; neither did they see nor hear us. As soon as the flood was spent, the two barks weighed and went down with the ebb towards Puna. Our bark, seeing them coming directly towards them, and both full of men, supposed that we by some accident had been destroyed, and that the two barks were manned with Spanish soldiers, sent to take our ships; and therefore they fired three guns at them a league before they came near. The two Spanish barks immediately came to an anchor, and the masters got into their boats and rowed for the shore; but our canoe that was sent from us took them both. The firing of these three guns made a great disorder among our advanced men, for most of them did believe they were heard at Guayaquil, and that therefore it could be no profit to lie still in the creek, but either row away to the town, or back again to our ships. It was now quarter ebb; therefore we *could not move* upwards, if we had been disposed so to do. At length Captain Davis said he would immediately land in the creek where they lay, and march directly to the town, if but forty men would accompany him; and without saying more words, he landed among the mangroves in the marshes. Those that were so minded followed him, to the number of forty or fifty. Captain Swan lay still with the rest of the party in the creek, for they thought it impossible to do any good that way.

Captain Davis and his men were absent about four hours, and then returned all wet and quite tired, and could not find any passage out into the firm land. He had been so far, that he almost despaired of getting back again; for a man cannot pass through those red mangroves but with very much labour. When Captain Davis was returned, we concluded to be going towards the town the beginning of the next flood; and if we found that the town was alarmed, we purposed to return again without attempting anything there. As soon as it was flood we rowed away, and passed by the island through the NE. channel, which is the narrowest. There are so many stumps in the river, that it is very dangerous passing in the night (and that is the time we always take for such attempts); for the river runs very swift, and one of our canoes stuck on a stump, and had certainly overset if she had not been immediately rescued by others. When we were come almost to the end of the island, there was a musket fired at us out of the bushes on the main. We then had the town open before us, and presently saw lighted torches or candles all the town over, whereas before the gun was fired there was but one light: therefore we now concluded we were discovered. Yet many of our men said that it was a holiday the next day, as it was indeed, and that therefore the Spaniards were making fireworks, which they often do in the night against such times. We rowed therefore a little farther, and found firm land; and Captain Davis pitched his canoe ashore and

landed with his men. Captain Swan and most of his men did not think it convenient to attempt anything, seeing the town was alarmed; but at last, being upbraided with cowardice, Captain Swan and his men landed also. The place where we landed was about two miles from the town. It was all overgrown with woods, so thick that we could not march through in the night; and therefore we sat down waiting for the light of the day. We had two Indian pilots with us; one that had been with us a month, who, having received some abuses from a gentleman of Guayaquil, to be revenged, offered his service to us, and we found him very faithful; the other was taken by us not above two or three days before, and he seemed to be as willing as the other to assist us. This latter was led by one of Captain Davis's men, who showed himself very forward to go to the town, and upbraided others with faint-heartedness. Yet this man, as he afterwards confessed, notwithstanding his courage, privately cut the string that the guide was made fast with, and let him go to the town by himself, not caring to follow him; but when he thought the guide was got far enough from us, he cried out that the pilot was gone, and that somebody had cut the cord that tied him. This put every man into a moving posture to seek the Indian, but all in vain; and our consternation was great, being in the dark and among woods; so the design was wholly dashed, for not a man after that had the heart to speak of going farther. Here we stayed till day, and then rowed out into the middle of the river, where we had a fair view of the town; which, as I said before, makes a very pleasant prospect. We lay still about half an hour, being a mile, or something better, from the town. They did not fire one gun at us, nor we at them. Thus our design on Guayaquil failed; yet Captain Townley and Captain François Gronet took it a little while after this. When we had taken a full view of the town, we rowed over the river, where we went ashore to a beef estantion or farm, and killed a cow, which we dressed and ate. We stayed there till the evening tide of ebb, and then rowed down the river, and the 9th December in the morning arrived at Puna. In our way thither we went aboard the three barks laden with Negroes, that lay at anchor in the river, and carried the barks away with us. There were 1000 Negroes in the three barks, all lusty young men and women. When we came to Puna, we sent a canoe to Point Arenas, to see if the ships were come thither. The 12th day she returned again, with tidings that they were both there at anchor. Therefore in the afternoon we all went aboard of our ships, and carried the cloth-bark with us, and about forty of the stoutest Negro men, leaving their three barks with the rest; and out of these also Captain Davis and Captain Swan chose about fourteen or fifteen a-piece, and turned the rest ashore.

There was never a greater opportunity put into the hands of men to enrich themselves than we had, to have gone with these Negroes, and settled ourselves at Santa Maria on the Isthmus of Darien, and employed them in getting gold out of the mines there, which might have been done with ease; for about six months before this, Captain Harris, who was now with us, coming overland from the North Seas with his body of Privateers, had routed the Spaniards away from the town and gold mines of Santa Maria, so that they had never attempted to settle there again since. Add to this, that the Indian neighbourhood, who were mortal enemies to the Spaniards, and had been flushed by their successes against them through the assistance of the Privateers for several years, were our fast friends, and ready to receive and assist us. We had, as I have said, 1000 Negroes to work for us; we had 200 tons of flour that lay at the Galapagos; there was the River of Santa Maria, where we could careen and fit our ships, and might fortify the mouth so, that if all the strength the Spaniards have in Peru had come

against us we could have kept them out. If they lay with guard-ships of strength to keep us in, yet we had a great country to live in, and a great nation of Indians that were our friends. Besides, which was the principal thing, we had the North Seas to befriend us; from whence we could export ourselves or effects, or import goods or men to our assistance; for in a short time we should have had assistance from all parts of the West Indies, many thousands of Privateers from Jamaica and the French islands especially would have flocked over to us, and long before this time we might have been masters not only of those mines (the richest gold mines ever yet found in America), but of all the coast as high as Quito; and much more than I say might then probably have been done.

But these may seem to the reader but golden dreams. To leave them, therefore; the 13th day we sailed from Point Arenas towards Plata, to seek our bark that was sent to the Island of Lobos in search of Captain Eaton. We were two ships in company, and two barks; and the 16th day we arrived at Plata, but found no bark there, nor any letter. The next day we went over to the main to fill water, and in our passage met our bark; she had been a second time at the Island of Lobos, and, not finding us, was coming to Plata again. They had been in some want of provision since they left us, and therefore they had been at Santa Elena and taken it; where they got as much maize as served them three or four days; and that, with some fish and turtle which they struck, lasted them till they came to the Island of Lobos de Tierra. They got boobies' and penguins' eggs, of which they laid in a store; and went from thence to Lobos de la Mar, where they replenished their stock of eggs, and salted up a few young seal, for fear they should want; and being thus victualled, they returned again towards Plata. When our water was filled we went over again to the Island of Plata. There we parted the cloths that were taken in the cloth-bark into two lots or shares; Captain Davis and his men had one part, and Captain Swan and his men had the other part. The bark which the cloth was in, Captain Swan kept for a tender. At this time there were at Plata a great many large turtle, which I judge came from the Galapagos; for I had never seen any here before, though I had been here several times: this was their coupling-time, which is much sooner in the year here than in the West Indies properly so called. Our strikers brought aboard every day more than we could eat. Captain Swan had no striker, and therefore had no turtle but what was sent him from Captain Davis; and all his flour too he had from Captain Davis: but since our disappointment at Guayaquil, Captain Davis's men murmured against Captain Swan, and did not willingly give him any provision, because he was not so forward to go thither as Captain Davis. However, at last these differences were made up, and we concluded to go into the Bay of Panama, to a town called La Velia; but because we had not canoes enough to land our men, we were resolved to search some rivers where the Spaniards have no commerce, there to get Indian canoes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE 23d of December 1684, we sailed from the Island of Plata towards the Bay of Panama; the wind at SSE., a fine brisk gale, and fair weather. The next morning we passed by Cape Pasado. This cape is in Lat. 0° 28′ S. of the Equator. It runs out into the sea with a high round point, which seems to be divided in the midst. It is bald against the sea,[1] but within land, and on both sides, it is full of short trees. The land in the country is very high and mountainous, and it appears to be very woody. Between Cape Pasado and Cape San Francisco, the land by the

[1] Bare on the side facing the sea.

sea is full of small points, making as many little sandy bays between them, and is of an indifferent height, covered with trees of divers sorts.[1] . . .

It was to the River Santiago that we were bound to seek for canoes; therefore the 26th, supposing ourselves to be abreast of it, we went from our ships with four canoes. The 27th in the morning we entered at half flood into the smaller branch of that river, and rowed up six leagues before we met any inhabitants. There we found two small huts thatched with palmetto leaves. The Indians, seeing us rowing towards their houses, got their wives and little ones, with their household-stuff, into their canoes, and paddled away faster than we could row; for we were forced to keep in the middle of the river because of our oars, but they with their paddles kept close under the banks, and so had not the strength of the stream against them as we had. These huts were close by the river on the east side of it, just against the end of the island. We saw a great many other houses a league from us on the other side of the river; but the main stream into which we were now come, seemed to be so swift, that we were afraid to put over for fear we should not be able to get back again. We found only a hog, some fowls, and plantains in the huts; we killed the hog and the fowls, which were dressed presently. Their hogs they got, as I suppose, from the Spaniards by some accident, or from some neighbouring Indians who converse[2] with the Spaniards; for this that we took was of their European kind, which the Spaniards have introduced into America very plentifully, especially into the Islands of Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Cuba above all, this last being very largely stored with them, where they feed in the woods in the daytime, and at night come in at the sounding of a conch shell, and are put up in their crawls[3] or pens. And yet some turn wild, which, nevertheless, are often decoyed in by the others; which being all marked, whenever they[4] see an unmarked hog in the pen, they know it is a wild one, and shoot him presently. These crawls I have not seen on the continent, where the Spaniards keep them tame at home. Among the wild Indians, or in their woods, are no hogs, but peccary and warree, a sort I have mentioned before. After we had refreshed ourselves, we returned towards the mouth of the river. It was the evening when we came from thence, and we got to the river's mouth the next morning before day. Our ships when we left them were ordered to go to Gallo, where they were to stay for us. Gallo is a small uninhabited island, lying in between 2° and 3° N. Lat. It lies in a wide bay about three leagues from the mouth of the River Tumaco, and four leagues and a half from a small Indian village called Tumaco. The Island of Gallo is of an indifferent height; it is clothed with very good timber trees, and is therefore often visited by barks from Guayaquil and other places; for most of the timber carried from Guayaquil and Lima is first fetched from Gallo. Tumaco is a large river that takes its name from the Indian village so called. It is reported to spring from the rich mountains about Quito. It is thickly inhabited with Indians, and there are some Spaniards that live there, who traffic with the Indians for gold. The village Tumaco is but small, and is seated not far from the mouth of the river. It is a place to entertain the

[1] Passing Cape San Francisco, they came to the River Santiago (now supposed to be the River Mira, which, rising N. of Quito, enters the sea S. of the Bay of Tumaco), where it was their intention to search for canoes. The land near the river's mouth is of a deep black mould, producing both the cotton and the cabbage trees in great abundance. The particular description of these trees is now omitted.

[2] Have intercourse.

[3] "Crawl," a corruption of the Spanish "corral," is a pen or enclosure of hurdles for fish or turtle.

[4] The Spaniards.

Spanish merchants that come to Gallo to load timber, or to traffic with the Indians for gold. From the branch of the River Santiago, where we now lay, to Tumaco is about five leagues; the land low, and full of creeks, so that canoes may pass within land through those creeks, and from thence into Tumaco River.

[On the 28th they left the River Santiago, and coming to Tumaco town about 12 o'clock at night, they took all the inhabitants of the village, including a Spanish knight called Don Diego de Pinas, who had come in a ship from Lima to lade timber. On the 1st of January 1685, they went from Tumaco towards Gallo. On the way they had news of a Spanish Armada, which they determined to try and intercept among the King's Islands. On the 8th they took a ship laden with about ninety tons of flour.]

We jogged on after this with a gentle gale towards Gorgona, an island lying about twenty-five leagues from the Island of Gallo. The 9th we anchored at Gorgona, on the west side of the island, in thirty-eight fathoms, clean ground, not two cables' length from the shore. Gorgona is an uninhabited island, in Lat. about 3° N. It is a pretty high island, and very remarkable by reason of two saddles, or risings and fallings, on the top. It is about two leagues long, and a league broad, and it is four leagues from the main. At the west end is another small island. The soil or mould of it is black and deep in the low ground, but on the side of the high land it is a kind of a red clay. This island is very well clothed with large trees of several sorts, that are flourishing and green all the year. It is very well watered with small brooks that issue from the high land. Here are a great many little black monkeys, some Indian conies, and a few snakes, which are all the land animals that I know there. Here are pearl oysters in great plenty; they grow to the loose rocks in four, five, or six fathoms water, by beards or *little small roots*, as a mussel. These oysters are commonly flatter and thinner than other oysters, otherwise much alike in shape. The fish is not sweet, nor very wholesome; it is as slimy as a shell snail. They taste very copperish, if eaten raw, and are best boiled. The Indians, who gather them for the Spaniards, hang the meat of them on strings, like Jews'-ears,[1] and dry them before they eat them. The pearl is found at the head of the oyster, lying between the meat and the shell. Some will have twenty or thirty small seed pearls, some none at all, and some will have one or two pretty large ones. The inside of the shell is more glorious than the pearl itself. I did never see any in the South Seas but here. It is reported there are some at the south end of California. In the West Indies, the Rancho Reys or Rancherias, spoken of in Chapter III.,[2] is the place where they are found most plentifully. It is said there are some at the Island of Margarita, near St Augustine, a town in the Gulf of Florida, &c. In the East Indies, the Island of Ainam,[3] near the south end of China, is said to have plenty of these oysters, more productive of large round pearls than those in other places. They are found also in other parts of the East Indies, and on the Persian coast.

At this Island of Gorgona we rummaged our prize, and found a few boxes of marmalade, and three or four jars of brandy, which were equally shared between Captain Davis, Captain Swan, and their men. Here we filled all our water, and Captain Swan furnished himself with flour; afterwards we turned ashore a great many prisoners, but kept the chief to put them ashore in a better place. The 13th we sailed from hence toward the King's Islands. We were now six sail—two men-of-war, two tenders, a fireship, and the prize. The 16th we passed by Cape Corrientes. This cape is in Lat. 5° 10′ [N.]; it is high

[1] A tough, thin, rumpled fungus, like a flat and variously-hollowed cup.

[2] See page 143.

[3] Hai-man, in the Gulf of Tonquin.

bluff land, with three or four small hillocks on the top. It appears at a distance like an island. The day after we passed by the cape, we saw a small white island, which we chased, supposing it had been a sail, till, coming near, we found our error. The 21st we saw Point Garachina. This point is in Lat. 7° 20′ N.;[1] it is pretty high land, rocky, and destitute of trees, yet within land it is woody. It is fenced with rocks against the sea. Within the point by the sea, at low water, you may find store of oysters and mussels. The King's Islands, or Pearl Keys, are about twelve leagues distant from this point. Between Point Garachina and them there is a small, low, flat, barren island called Galera, at which Captain Harris was sharing with his men the gold he took in his pillaging Santa Maria, which I spoke of a little before, when on a sudden five Spanish barks, fitted out on purpose at Panama, came upon him; but he fought them so stoutly with one small bark he had and some few canoes, boarding their admiral particularly, that they were all glad to leave him. By this island we anchored, and sent our boats to the King's Islands for a good careening place.

The King's Islands are a great many low, woody islands lying NW. by N. and SE. by S. They are about seven leagues from the main, and fourteen leagues in length, and from Panama about twelve leagues. Why they are called the King's Islands I know not; they are sometimes, and mostly in maps, called the Pearl Islands.[2] I cannot imagine wherefore they are called so, for I did never see one pearl oyster about them, nor any pearl oyster shells; but on the other oysters I have made many a meal there. The northernmost island of all this range is called Pacheca or Pacheque; this is but a small island, distant from Panama eleven or twelve leagues. The southernmost of them is called St Paul's. Some of these islands are planted with plantains and bananas, and there are fields of rice on others of them. The gentlemen of Panama, to whom they belong, keep Negroes there to plant, weed, and husband the plantations. Many of them, especially the largest, are wholly untilled, yet very good fat land, full of large trees. These unplanted islands shelter many runaway Negroes, who abscond[3] in the woods all day, and in the night boldly pillage the plantain walks. Betwixt these islands and the main is a channel of seven or eight leagues wide; there is good depth of water, and good anchoring all the way. The islands border thick on each other, yet they make many small, narrow, deep channels fit only for boats to pass between most of them. At the SE. end, about a league from St Paul's Island, there is a good place for ships to careen or haul ashore. It is surrounded with the land, and has a good deep channel on the north side to go in at. The tide rises here about ten feet perpendicular. We brought our ships into this place on the 25th, but were forced to tarry for a spring-tide before we could have water enough to clean them; therefore we first cleaned our barks, that they might cruise before Panama while we lay there. The 27th, our barks being clean, we sent them out with twenty men in each. The fourth day after, they returned with a prize laden with maize or Indian corn, salt beef, and fowls. She came from Lavelia, and was bound to Panama. Lavelia is a town we once designed to attempt; it is pretty large, and stands on the banks of a river on the north side of the Bay of Panama, six or seven leagues from the sea. Nata is another such town, standing in a plain near another branch of the same river. In these towns, and some

[1] It is really in 8° 10′ N.

[2] The Isola del Rey, or King's Island, is an island of considerable size in the Bay of Panama; and the Pearl Keys are an archipelago of small islets between King's Island and the coast to the north-west.

[3] Hide.

others on the same coast, they breed hogs, fowls, bulls, and cows, and plant maize, purposely for the support of Panama, which is supplied with provision mostly from other towns and the neighbouring islands.[1]

The 14th of February 1685, we made an end of cleaning our ship, filled all our water, and stocked ourselves with firewood. The 15th, we went out from among the islands, and anchored in the channel between them and the main, in twenty-five fathoms water, soft oozy ground. The Plate Fleet was not yet arrived; therefore we intended to cruise before the city of Panama, which is from this place about twenty-five leagues. The next day we sailed towards Panama, passing in the channel between the King's Islands and the main. When we came abreast of Old Panama we anchored, and sent our canoe ashore with our prisoner Don Diego de Pinas, with a letter to the Governor, to treat about an exchange for our man they had spirited away, as I said, and another Captain Harris left in the River of Santa Maria the year before, coming overland. Don Diego was desirous to go on the errand in the name and with the consent of the rest of our Spanish prisoners; but by some accident he was killed before he got ashore, as we heard afterwards.

Old Panama was formerly a famous place; but it was taken by Sir Henry Morgan about the year 1673,[2] and at that time great part of it was burned to ashes, and it was never re-edified since. New Panama is a very fair city, standing close by the sea, about four miles from the ruins of the old town. It gives name to a large bay, which is famous for a great many navigable rivers, some whereof are very rich in gold; it is also very pleasantly sprinkled with islands that are not only profitable to their owners, but very delightful to the passengers and seamen that sail by them. It is encompassed on the back side with a pleasant country, which is full of small hills and valleys, beautified with many groves and spots of trees, that appear in the savannahs like so many little islands. This city is encompassed with a high stone wall; the houses are said to be of brick; their roofs appear higher than the top of the city wall. It is beautified with a great many fair churches and religious houses, besides the President's house, and other eminent buildings; which altogether make one of the finest objects that I did ever see, in America especially. There are a great many guns on the walls, most of which look toward the land. They had none at all against the sea when I first entered those seas with Captain Sawkins, Captain Coxon, Captain Sharpe, and others; for till then they did not fear any enemy by sea: but since then they have planted guns clear round. This is a flourishing city, by reason it is a thoroughfare for all imported or exported goods and treasure to and from all parts of Peru and Chili, whereof their storehouses are never empty. The road also is seldom or never without ships. Besides, once in three years, when the Spanish Armada comes to Porto Bello, then the Plate Fleet also from Lima comes hither with the King's treasure, and abundance of merchant ships full of goods and plate. At that time the city is full of merchants and gentlemen; the seamen are busy in landing the treasure and goods, and the carriers or caravanmasters employed in carrying it overland on mules, in vast droves every day, to Porto Bello, and bringing back European goods from thence. Though the city be then so full, yet during this heat of business there is no hiring of an ordinary slave under a piece of eight a-day; houses

[1] The island where they here careened their ships is described as being environed with rocks, on which they gathered abundance of oysters, clams, mussels, and limpets.

[2] Really at the end of January 1671, when Morgan and his men committed atrocities that made the capture of Panama conspicuous even among the brutal records of the *Buccaneers*.

also, chambers, beds, and victuals, are then extraordinary dear.

Now I am on the subject, I think it will not be amiss to give the reader an account of the progress of the Armada from Old Spain which comes thus every three years into the Indies. Its first arrival is at Carthagena, from whence, as I have been told, an express is immediately sent overland to Lima, through the Southern Continent, and another by sea to Porto Bello, with two packets of letters, one for the Viceroy of Lima, the other for the Viceroy of Mexico. I know not which way that of Mexico goes after its arrival at Porto Bello, whether by land or sea; but I believe by sea to La Vera Cruz. That for Lima is sent by land to Panama, and from thence by sea to Lima. Upon mention of these packets I shall digress yet a little further, and acquaint my reader, that before my first going over into the South Seas with Captain Sharpe (and indeed before any Privateers, at least since Drake and Oxenham, had gone that way which we afterwards went, except La Sound, a French Captain, who by Captain Wright's instructions had ventured as far as Chepo Town with a body of men, but was driven back again), I being then on board Captain Coxon, in company with three or four more Privateers, about four leagues to the east of Porto Bello, we took the packets bound thither from Carthagena. We opened a great quantity of the merchants' letters, and found the contents of many of them to be very surprising; the merchants of several parts of Old Spain thereby informing their correspondents of Panama and elsewhere of a certain prophecy that went about Spain that year, the tenor of which was, that there would be English Privateers that year in the West Indies, who would make such great discoveries as to open a door into the South Seas which they supposed was fastest shut; and the letters were accordingly full of cautions to their friends to be very watchful and careful of their coasts. This door they spoke of we all concluded must be the passage overland through the country of the Indians of Darien, who were a little before this become our friends, and had lately fallen out with the Spaniards, breaking off the intercourse which for some time they had with them: and upon calling also to mind the frequent invitations we had from those Indians a little before this time, to pass through their country and fall upon the Spaniards in the South Seas, we from thenceforward began to entertain such thoughts in earnest, and soon came to a resolution to make those attempts which we afterwards did with Captains Sharpe, Coxon, &c. So that the taking of these letters gave the first life to those bold undertakings: and we took the advantage of the fears the Spaniards were in from that prophecy, or probable conjecture, or whatever it were; for we sealed up most of the letters again, and sent them ashore to Porto Bello.

The occasion of this our late friendship with those Indians was thus: About fifteen years before this time, Captain Wright being cruising near that coast, and going in among the Sambaloes Isles to strike fish and turtle, took there a young Indian lad as he was paddling about in a canoe. He brought him aboard his ship, and gave him the name of John Gret, clothing him, and intending to breed him among the English. But his Mosquito strikers, taking a fancy to the boy, begged him of Captain Wright, and took him with them at their return into their own country, where they taught him their art; and he married a wife among them, and learnt their language, as he had done some broken English while he was with Captain Wright, which he improved among the Mosquitoes, who, corresponding so much with us, do all of them smatter English after a sort; but his own language he had almost forgot. Thus he lived among them for many years; till, about six or eight months before our taking these letters, Captain Wright being again among the Sambaloes, took thence another Indian boy about ten or twelve years old, the son of a man

of some account among those Indians; and wanting a striker, he went away to the Mosquito country, where he took in John Gret, who was now very expert at it. John Gret was much pleased to see a lad there of his own country, and it came into his mind to persuade Captain Wright upon this occasion to endeavour a friendship with those Indians; a thing our Privateers had long coveted, but never durst attempt, having such dreadful apprehensions of their numbers and fierceness. But John Gret offered the Captain that he would go ashore and negotiate the matter; who accordingly sent him in his canoe till he was near the shore, which of a sudden was covered with Indians, standing ready with their bows and arrows. John Gret, who had only a clout about his middle, as the fashion of the Indians is, leapt then out of the boat and swam, the boat retiring a little way back; and the Indians ashore, seeing him in that habit, and hearing him call to them in their own tongue (which he had recovered by conversing with the boy lately taken, suffered him quietly to land, and gathered all about to hear how it was with him. He told them particularly, that he was one of their countrymen, and how he had been taken many years ago by the English, who had used him very kindly; that they were mistaken in being so much afraid of that nation, who were not enemies to them, but to the Spaniards. To confirm this, he told them how well the English treated another young lad of theirs they had lately taken, such an one's son; for this he had learnt of the youth; and his father was one of the company that was got together on the shore. He persuaded them, therefore, to make a league with these friendly people, by whose help they might be able to quell the Spaniards; assuring, also, the father of the boy, that if he would but go with him to the ship, which they saw at anchor at an island there (it was Golden Island, the easternmost of the Sambaloes, a place where there is good striking for turtle), he should have his son restored to him, and they might all expect a very kind reception. Upon these assurances, twenty or thirty of them went off presently, in two or three canoes laden with plantains, bananas, fowls, &c.; and, Captain Wright having treated them on board, went ashore with them, and was entertained by them, and presents were made on each side. Captain Wright gave the boy to his father in a very handsome English dress, which he had caused to be made purposely for him; and an agreement was immediately struck up between the English and these Indians, who invited the English through their country into the South Seas. Pursuant to this agreement, the English, when they came upon any such design, or for traffic with them, were to give a certain signal which they pitched upon, whereby they might be known. But it happened that Mr La Sound, the French Captain spoken of a little before, being then one of Captain Wright's men, learnt this signal, and staying ashore at Petit Goave, upon Captain Wright's going thither soon after, who had his commission from thence, he gave the other French there such an account of the agreement before mentioned, and the easiness of entering the South Seas thereupon, that he got at the head of about 120 of them, who made that unsuccessful attempt upon Chepo, as I said; making use of the signal they had learnt for passing the Indians' country, who at that time could not distinguish so well between the several nations of the Europeans as they can since. From such small beginnings arose those great stirs that have been since made all over the South Seas,—viz., from the letters we took, and from the friendship contracted with these Indians by means of John Gret. Yet this friendship had like to have been stifled in its infancy; for, within a few months after, an English trading sloop came on this coast from Jamaica, and John Gret, who by this time had advanced himself to be a grandee among these

Indians, together with five or six more of that quality, went off to the sloop in their long gowns, as the custom is for such to wear among them. Being received aboard, they expected to find everything friendly, and John Gret talked to them in English; but these Englishmen, having no knowledge at all of what had happened, endeavoured to make them slaves, as is commonly done; for upon carrying them to Jamaica they could have sold them for £10 or £12 a-piece. But John Gret and the rest perceiving this, leapt all overboard, and were by the others killed every one of them in the water. The Indians on shore never came to the knowledge of it; if they had, it would have endangered our correspondence. Several times after, upon our conversing with them, they inquired of us what was become of their countrymen; but we told them we knew not, as, indeed, it was a great while after that we heard this story; so they concluded the Spaniards had met with them, and killed or taken them.

But to return to the account of the progress of the Armada, which we left at Carthagena. After an appointed stay there of about sixty days, as I take it, it goes thence to Porto Bello, where it lies thirty days and no longer. Therefore the Viceroy of Lima, on notice of the Armada's arrival at Carthagena, immediately sends away the King's treasure to Panama, where it is landed, and lies ready to be sent to Porto Bello upon the first news of the Armada's arrival there. This is the reason partly of their sending expresses so early to Lima, that upon the Armada's first coming to Porto Bello, the treasure and goods may lie ready at Panama to be sent away upon the mules; and it requires some time for the Lima fleet to unlade, because the ships ride not at Panama, but at Perica, which are three small islands two leagues from thence. The King's treasure is said to amount commonly to about 24,000,000 pieces of eight; besides abundance of merchants' money. All this treasure is carried on mules, and there are large stables at both places to lodge them. Sometimes the merchants, to steal the custom, pack up money among goods, and send it to Venta de Cruces, on the River Chagres; from thence down the river, and afterwards by sea to Porto Bello: in which passage I have known a whole fleet of periagoes and canoes taken. The merchants who are not ready to sail by the thirtieth day after the Armada's arrival are in danger to be left behind; for the ships all weigh the thirtieth day precisely, and go to the harbour's mouth. Yet sometimes, on great importunity, the Admiral may stay a week longer; for it is impossible that all the merchants should get ready, for want of men. When the Armada departs from Porto Bello it returns again to Carthagena, by which time all the King's revenue which comes out of the country is got ready there. Here also meets them again a great ship, called the Patache,[1] one of the Spanish galleons, which, before their first arrival at Carthagena, goes from the rest of the Armada, on purpose to gather the tribute of the coast, touching at the Margaritas and other places in her way thence to Carthagena, as Punta de Guayra, Maracaibo, Rio la Hacha, and Santa Marta, and at all these places takes in treasure for the King. After the set stay at Carthagena, the Armada goes away to the Havana, in the Isle of Cuba, to meet there the Flota, which is a small number of ships that go to La Vera Cruz, and there take in the effects of the city and country of Mexico, and what is brought thither in the ship which comes thither every year from the Philippine Islands; and having joined the rest at the Havana, the whole Armada sets sail for Spain through the Gulf of Florida. The ships in the South Seas lie a great

[1] A patache (French, from Italian, "patascia") is a vessel, generally small, used in the conveyance of men, stores, or orders from ship to ship or place to place; a kind of messenger or auxiliary ship.

deal longer at Panama before they return to Lima. The merchants and gentlemen which come from Lima stay as little time as they can at Porto Bello, which is at the best but a sickly place, and at this time is very full of men from all parts. But Panama, as it is not overcharged with men so unreasonably as the other, though very full, enjoys a good air, lying open to the sea-wind, which rises commonly about 10 or 11 o'clock in the morning, and continues till 8 or 9 o'clock at night; then the land-wind comes, and blows till 8 or 9 in the morning. There are no woods nor marshes near Panama, but a brave, dry, champaign land, not subject to fogs nor mists. The wet season begins in the latter end of May and continues till November. The rains are not so excessive about Panama itself as on either side of the bay; yet in the months of June, July, and August they are severe enough. Gentlemen that come from Peru to Panama, especially in these months, cut their hair close to preserve them from fevers; for the place is sickly to them, because they come out of a country which never has any rains or fogs, but enjoys a constant serenity; but I am apt to believe this city is healthy enough to any other people. Thus much for Panama.

The 20th, we went and anchored within a league of the Islands of Perica, which are only three little barren rocky islands, in expectation of the President of Panama's answer to the letter I said we sent him by Don Diego, treating about exchange of prisoners; this being the day on which he had given us his parole to return with an answer. The 21st, we took another bark laden with hogs, fowl, salt beef, and molasses; she came from Lavelia and was going to Panama. In the afternoon we sent another letter ashore by a young Mosteso (a mixed breed of Indians and Europeans), directed to the President; and three or four copies of it to be dispersed abroad among the common people. This letter, which was full of threats, together with the young man's managing the business, wrought so powerfully among the common people, that the city was in an uproar. The President immediately sent a gentleman aboard, who demanded the flour prize that we took off Gallo, and all the prisoners, for the ransom of our two men; but our captains told him they would exchange man for man. The gentleman said he had not orders for that, but if we would stay till the next day he would bring the Governor's answer. The next day he brought aboard our two men, and had about forty prisoners in exchange. [On the 24th, they ran over to the Island of Taboga, about six leagues south from Panama. Its principal products are said to be the plantain, the banana, and the cocoa-nut. A small town, with a church at one end, is described as standing by the sea, the whole having been much destroyed by Privateers.] . . .

While we lay at Taboga we had like to have had a scurvy trick played us by a pretended merchant from Panama, who came as by stealth to traffic with us privately; a thing common enough with the Spanish merchants, both in the North and South Seas, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the Governors; who yet sometimes connive at it, and will even trade with the Privateers themselves. Our merchant was by agreement to bring out his bark laden with goods in the night, and we to go and anchor at the south of Perica. Out he came, with a fireship instead of a bark, and approached very near, hailing us with the watchword we had agreed upon. We, suspecting the worst, called to them to come to an anchor, and upon their not doing so, fired at them; when immediately their men going out into the canoes set fire to their ship, which blew up and burnt close by us; so that we were forced to cut our cables in all haste and scamper away as well as we could. The Spaniard was not altogether so politic in appointing to meet us at Perica, for there we had sea-room; whereas had he come thus

upon us at Taboga, the land-wind bearing hard upon us as it did, we must either have been burnt by the fireship, or, upon loosing our cables, have been driven ashore. But I suppose they chose Perica rather for the scene of their enterprise, partly because they might there best skulk among the islands, and partly because, if their exploit failed, they could thence escape best from our canoes to Panama, but two leagues off. During this exploit, Captain Swan, whose ship was less than ours, and so not so much aimed at by the Spaniards, lay about a mile off, with a canoe at the buoy of his anchor, as fearing some treachery from our pretended merchant; and a little before the bark blew up, he saw a small float on the water, and, as it appeared, a man on it, making towards his ship; but the man dived, and disappeared of a sudden, as thinking probably that he was discovered. This was supposed to be one coming with some combustible matter to have stuck about the rudder. For such a trick Captain Sharpe was served at Coquimbo, and his ship had like to have been burnt by it, if by mere accident it had not been discovered. I was then aboard Captain Sharpe's ship. Captain Swan, seeing the blaze by us, cut his cables as we did; his bark did the like; so we kept under sail all the night, being more scared than hurt. The bark that was on fire drove burning towards Taboga; but after the first blast she did not burn clear, only made a smother; for she was not well made, though Captain Bond had the framing and management of it.

This Captain Bond was he of whom I made mention in my Fourth Chapter.[1] He, after his being at the Isles of Cape Verd, stood away for the South Seas, at the instigation of one Richard Morton, who had been with Captain Sharpe in the South Seas. In his way he met with Captain Eaton, and they two consorted a day or two; at last Morton went aboard of Captain Eaton, and persuaded him to lose Captain Bond in the night, which Captain Eaton did; Morton continuing aboard of Captain Eaton, as finding his the better ship. Captain Bond thus losing both his consort Eaton, and Morton his pilot, and his ship being but an ordinary sailer, despaired of getting into the South Seas; and he had played such tricks among the Caribbee Isles, as I have been informed, that he did not dare to appear at any of the English Islands. Therefore he persuaded his men to go to the Spaniards, and they consented to do anything that he should propose; so he presently steered away into the West Indies, and the first place where he came to an anchor was at Porto Bello. He presently declared to the Governor that there were English ships coming into the South Seas, and that if they questioned it, he offered to be kept a prisoner till time should discover the truth of what he said; but they believed him, and sent him away to Panama, where he was in great esteem. This several prisoners told us. The Spaniards of Panama could not have fitted out their fireship without this Captain Bond's assistance: for it is strange to say how grossly ignorant the Spaniards in the West Indies, but especially in the South Seas, are of sea affairs. They build indeed good ships; but this is a small matter, for any ship of a good bottom will serve for these seas on the south coast. They rig their ships but untowardly, have no guns but in three or four of the King's ships; and are as meanly furnished with warlike provisions, and as much at a loss for the making any fireships or other less usual machines. Nay, they have not the sense to have their guns run within the sides upon their discharge, but have platforms without for the men to stand on to charge them; so that when we come near we can fetch them down with small shot out of our boats. A main reason of this is, that the native Spaniards are too proud to be seamen, but use the Indians for all those offices; one Spaniard, it may be, going in the ship to command it,

[1] See page 153.

and himself of little more knowledge than those poor ignorant creatures; nor can they gain much experience, seldom going far off to sea, but coasting along the shores.

But to proceed. In the morning when it was light we came again to an anchor close by our buoys, and strove to get our anchors again; but our buoy-ropes, being rotten, broke. While we were puzzling about our anchors, we saw a great many canoes full of men pass between Taboga and the other island. This put us into a new consternation; we lay still some time, till we saw that they came directly towards us, then we weighed and stood towards them; and when we came within hail, we found that they were English and French Privateers come out of the North Seas through the Isthmus of Darien. They were 280 men, in twenty-eight canoes; 200 of them French, the rest English. They were commanded by Captain Gronet and Captain Lequie. We presently came to an anchor again, and all the canoes came aboard. These men told us that there were 180 Englishmen more, under the command of Captain Townley, in the country of Darien, making canoes (as these men had been) to bring them into these seas. All the Englishmen that came over in this party were immediately entertained by Captain Davis and Captain Swan in their own ships; and the Frenchmen were ordered to have our flour prize to carry them, and Captain Gronet, being the eldest commander, was to command them there; and thus they were all disposed of to their hearts' content. Captain Gronet, to retaliate this kindness, offered Captain Davis and Captain Swan each of them a new commission from the Governor of Petit Goave. It has been usual for many years past for the Governor of Petit Goave to send blank commissions to sea by many of his captains, with orders to dispose of them to whom they saw convenient; those of Petit Goave by this means making themselves the sanctuary and asylum of all people of desperate fortunes, and increasing their own wealth and the strength and reputation of their party thereby. Captain Davis accepted of one, having before only an old commission which fell to him by inheritance at the decease of Captain Cooke, who took it from Captain Tristian, together with his bark, as is before mentioned.[1] But Captain Swan refused it, saying he had an order from the Duke of York neither to give offence to the Spaniards nor to receive any affront from them; and that he had been injured by them at Valdivia, where they had killed some of his men, and wounded several more; so that he thought he had a lawful commission of his own to right himself. I never read any of these French commissions while I was in these seas, nor did I then know the import of them; but I have learned since that the tenor of them is, to give a liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt. The occasion of this is, that the Island of Hispaniola, where the garrison of Petit Goave is, belongs partly to the French and partly to the Spaniards, and in time of peace these commissions are given as a warrant to those of each side to protect them from the adverse party; but in effect the French do not restrain them to Hispaniola, but make them a pretence for a general ravage in any part of America, by sea or land.

Having thus disposed of our associates, we intended to sail towards the Gulf of San Miguel, to seek Captain Townley, who by this time we thought might be entering into these seas. Accordingly the 2d of March 1685, we sailed from hence towards the Gulf of San Miguel. This gulf lies near thirty leagues from Panama towards the SE. The way thither from Panama is to pass between the King's Islands and the main. It is a place where many great rivers, having finished their courses, are swallowed up in the sea. It is bounded on the S. by Point Garachina, which lies in N. Lat. 6° 40′, and on the N.

[1] At the opening of Chapter IV., page 151.

by Cape San Lorenzo. . . . The chief rivers which run into this gulf are Santa Maria, Sambu, and Congo. The River Congo (which is the river I would have persuaded our men to have gone up as their nearest way in our journey overland, mentioned Chapter I.) comes directly out of the country, and swallows up many small streams that fall into it from both sides; and at last loses itself on the N. side of the gulf, a league within Cape San Lorenzo. It is not very wide, but deep, and navigable some leagues within land. There are sands without it, but a channel for ships. It is not made use of by the Spaniards, because of the neighbourhood of Santa Maria River; where they have most business on account of the mines. The River of Sambu seems to be a great river, for there is a great tide at its mouth; but I can say nothing more of it, having never been in it. This river falls into the sea on the south side of the gulf, near Point Garachina. Between the mouths of these two rivers on either side the gulf runs in towards the land somewhat narrower, and makes five or six small islands, which are clothed with great trees, green and flourishing all the year, and good channels between the islands. Beyond which, farther in still, the shore on each side closes so near, with two points of low mangrove land, as to make a narrow or strait scarce half-a-mile wide. This serves as a mouth or entrance to the inner part of the gulf, which is a deep bay two or three leagues over every way; and about the east end thereof are the mouths of several rivers. The River of Santa Maria is the largest of all the rivers of this gulf; it is navigable eight or nine leagues up, for so high the tide flows. Beyond that place the river is divided into many branches, which are only fit for canoes. [They now sailed towards the Gulf of San Miguel in search of Captain Townley. Near the mouth of the River of Santa Maria which falls into the gulf, the Spaniards, twenty years before, made their first discovery of the gold there, and built the town of Santa Maria. These mines were still being worked by the Spaniards and native Indians, when visited by Dampier. Another town known by its Indian name of Nisperal, also stood at the mouth of the river, described as being more airy and habitable than Santa Maria itself. On the 2d of March they anchored at Pacheque; on leaving and sailing out towards the gulf they met Captain Townley, who had taken two barks bound for Panama, and laden with wine, brandy, and sugar, &c.] The 10th, we took a small bark that came from Guayaquil; she had nothing in her but ballast. The 12th there came an Indian canoe out of the River of Santa Maria, and told us that there were 300 English and French men more coming overland from the North Seas. The 15th we met a bark with five or six Englishmen in her, that belonged to Captain Knight, who had been in the South Seas five or six months and was now on the Mexican coast. There he had spied this bark; but not being able to come up with her in his ship, he detached these five or six men in a canoe, who took her, but when they had done could not recover their own ship again, losing company with her in the night; and therefore they came into the Bay of Panama, intending to go overland back into the North Seas, but that they luckily met with us: for the Isthmus of Darien was now become a common road for Privateers to pass between the North and South Seas at their pleasure. This bark of Captain Knight's had in her forty or fifty jars of brandy: she was now commanded by Mr Henry More; but Captain Swan, intending to promote Captain Harris, caused Mr More to be turned out, alleging that it was very likely these men were run away from their commander. Mr More willingly resigned her, and went aboard of Captain Swan, and became one of his men.

It was now the latter end of the dry season here; and the water at

the King's or Pearl Islands, of which there was plenty when we first came hither, was now dried away. Therefore we were forced to go to Point Garachina, thinking to water our ships there. Captain Harris, being now commander of the new bark, was sent into the River of Santa Maria, to see for those men that the Indians told us of, whilst the rest of the ships sailed towards Point Garachina; where we arrived the 21st day, and anchored two miles from the point, and found a strong tide running out of the River Sambu. The next day we ran within the point, and anchored in four fathoms at low water. The Indians that inhabit in the River Sambu came to us in canoes, and brought plantains and bananas. They could not speak nor understand Spanish; therefore I believe they have no commerce with the Spaniards. We found no fresh water here neither; so we went from hence to Puerto Pinas, which is seven leagues S. by W. from hence. Puerto Pinas lies in Lat 7° N. It is so called because there are many pine trees growing there. The land is pretty high, rising gently as it runs into the country. This country near the sea is all covered with pretty high woods; the land that bounds the harbour is low in the middle, but high and rocky at both sides. The 25th we arrived at this harbour of pines, but did not go in with our ships, finding it but an ordinary place to lie at. We sent in our boats to search it, and they found a stream of good water running into the sea: but there were such great swelling surges came into the harbour, that we could not conveniently fill our water there. The 26th day we returned to Point Garachina again. In our way we took a small vessel laden with cacao: she came from Guayaquil. The 29th we arrived at Point Garachina. There we found Captain Harris, who had been in the River of Santa Maria; but he did not meet the men that he went for; yet he was informed again by the Indians that they were making canoes in one of the branches of the River of Santa Maria. Here we shared our cacao lately taken. Because we could not fill our water here, we designed to go to Taboga again, where we were sure to be supplied. Accordingly, on the 30th we set sail, being now nine ships in company; and had a small wind at SSE. The 3d of April in the evening we anchored by Perica, and the next morning went to Taboga, where we found our four canoes. Here we filled our water and cut firewood; and from hence we sent four canoes over to the main, with one of the Indians lately taken, to guide them to a sugar-work; for, now we had cacao, we wanted sugar to make chocolate. But the chief of their business was to get coppers; for each ship having now so many men, our pots would not boil victuals fast enough, though we kept them boiling all the day. About two or three days after, they returned aboard with three coppers.

While we lay here, Captain Davis's bark went to the Island of Otoque. This is another inhabited island in the Bay of Panama, not so big as Taboga, yet there are good plantain walks on it, and some Negroes to look after them. These Negroes rear fowls and hogs for their masters, who live at Panama; as at the King's Islands. It was for some fowls or hogs that our men went thither; but by accident they met also with an express that was sent to Panama with an account that the Lima fleet was at sea. Most of the letters were thrown overboard and lost, yet we found some that said positively that the fleet was coming with all the strength that they could make in the kingdom of Peru; yet were ordered not to fight us, except they were forced to it (though afterwards they choose to fight us, having first landed their treasure at Lavelia); and that the pilots of Lima had been in consultation what course to steer to miss us. [Dampier here inserts translations of two of the captured letters reporting the resolutions taken by the committee of pilots, and laying down the course to be steered by the fleet.] The 10th we sailed from Taboga towards the King's Islands again, because our pilots told us that the

King's ships did always come this way. The 11th we anchored at the place where we careened. Here we found Captain Harris, who had gone a second time into the River of Santa Maria, and fetched the body of men that last came overland, as the Indians told us, but they fell short of the number they told us of. The 19th we sent 250 men in fifteen canoes to the River Chepo to take the town of Chepo. The 21st, all our ships but Captain Harris, who stayed to clean his ship, followed after. The 22d we arrived at the Island of Chepillo, the pleasantest island in the Bay of Panama. It is but seven leagues from the city of Panama, and a league from the main. This island is about two miles long, and almost so broad; it is low on the north side, and rises by a small ascent towards the south side. The soil is yellow, a kind of clay. The high side is stony; the low land is planted with all sorts of delicate fruits, viz., sappodillas, Avocado pears, mammees, mammee-sapotas, star apples, &c. The middle of the island is planted with plantain trees, which are not very large, but the fruit extraordinary sweet.[1]

The River Chepo is very deep, and about a quarter of a mile broad; but the mouth of it is choked up with sands, so that no ships can enter, but barks may. There is a small Spanish town of the same name within six leagues of the sea; it stands on the left hand going from the sea. The land about it is champaign, with many small hills clothed with woods, but the biggest part of the country is savannah. On the south side of the river it is all woodland for many leagues together. It was to this town that our 250 men were sent. The 24th they returned out of the river, having taken the town without any opposition, but they found nothing in it. By the way going thither they took a canoe, but most of the men escaped ashore upon one of the King's Islands; she was sent out well appointed with armed men to watch our motions. The 25th, Captain Harris came to us, having cleaned his ship. The 26th we went again toward Taboga; our fleet now, upon Captain Harris joining us again, consisted of ten sail. We arrived at Taboga the 28th; there our prisoners were examined concerning the strength of Panama; for now we thought ourselves strong enough for such an enterprise, being near 1000 men. Out of these, on occasion, we could have landed 900; but our prisoners gave us small encouragement to it, for they assured us that all the strength of the country was there, and that many men were come from Porto Bello besides its own inhabitants, who of themselves were more in number than we. These reasons, together with the strength of the place, which has a high wall, deterred us from attempting it. While we lay here at Taboga, some of our men burned the town on the island. [From the 4th of May till the 27th, they were cruising among the King's Islands waiting for the Spanish fleet from Lima.] The 28th we had a very wet morning, for the rains were come in, as they do usually in May or June sooner or later; so that May is here a very uncertain month. However about 11 o'clock it cleared up, and we saw the Spanish fleet about three leagues WNW. from the Island of Pacheque, standing close on a wind to the E.; but they could not fetch the island by a league. We were riding a league SE. from the island, between it and the main; only Captain Gronet was about a mile to the northward of us near the island. He weighed so soon as they came in sight, and stood over for the main, and we lay still, expecting when he would tack and come to us; but he took care to keep himself out of harm's way.

Captains Swan and Townley came aboard of Captain Davis to order how to engage the enemy, who we saw came purposely to fight us, they being in all fourteen sail, besides periagoes rowing with twelve and fourteen oars

[1] The particular description of these fruits is now omitted.

a-piece. Six sail of them were ships of good force: first the Admiral, 48 guns, 450 men; the Vice-Admiral, 40 guns, 400 men; the Rear-Admiral, 36 guns, 360 men; a ship of 24 guns, 300 men; one of 18 guns, 250 men; and one of 8 guns, 200 men; two great fireships, six ships only with small arms, having 800 men on board them all; beside two or three hundred men in periagoes. This account of their strength we had afterwards from Captain Knight, who, being to the windward on the coast of Peru, took prisoners, of whom he had this information, being what they brought from Lima. Besides these men, they had also some hundreds of Old Spain men that came from Porto Bello, and met them at Lavelia, from whence they now came; and their strength of men from Lima was 3000 men, being all the strength they could make in that kingdom, and for greater security they had first landed their treasure at Lavelia. Our fleet consisted of ten sail: first Captain Davis, 36 guns, 156 men, mostly English; Captain Swan, 16 guns, 140 men, all English. These were the only ships of force that we had, the rest having none but small arms. Captain Townley had 110 men, all English; Captain Gronet, 308 men, all French; Captain Harris, 100 men, mostly English; Captain Branley, 36 men, some English, some French; Davis's tender, 8 men; Swan's tender, 8 men; Townley's bark, 80 men; and a small bark of thirty tons made a fireship, with a canoe's crew in her. We had in all 960 men. But Captain Gronet came not to us till all was over, yet we were not discouraged at it, but resolved to fight them; for being to windward of the enemy, we had it at our choice whether we would fight or not. It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon when we weighed, and being all under sail we bore down right afore the wind on our enemies, who kept close on a wind to come to us; but night came on without anything besides the exchanging of a few shot on *each side.* When it grew dark, the *Spanish Admiral* put out a light as a signal for his fleet to come to an anchor. We saw the light in the Admiral's top, which continued about half-an-hour, and then it was taken down. In a short time after, we saw the light again; and being to windward, we kept under sail, supposing the light had been in the Admiral's top; but, as it proved, this was only a stratagem of theirs, for this light was put out the second time at one of their barks' topmast-head, and then she went to the leeward, which deceived us, for we thought still the light was in the Admiral's top, and by that means thought ourselves to windward of them. In the morning, therefore, contrary to our expectation, we found they had got the weather-guage of us, and were coming upon us with full sail; so we ran for it, and after a running fight all day, and having taken a turn almost round the Bay of Panama, we came to an anchor again at the Isle of Pacheque, in the very same place from whence we set out in the morning. Thus ended this day's work, and with it all that we had been projecting for five or six months, when, instead of making ourselves masters of the Spanish fleet and treasure, we were glad to escape them, and owed that too, in a great measure, to their want of courage to pursue their advantage.

The 30th day, in the morning, when we looked out, we saw the Spanish fleet all together, three leagues to leeward of us, at anchor. It was but little wind till 10 o'clock, and then sprang up a small breeze at S., and the Spanish fleet went away to Panama. What loss they had I know not; we lost but one man; and having held a consult,[1] we resolved to go to the Keys of Quibo or Cabaya, to seek Captain Harris, who was forced away from us in the fight; that being the place appointed for our rendezvous upon any such accident. As for Gronet, he said his men would not suffer him to join us in the fight; but we were not satisfied with that excuse; so we suffered him to go with

[1] Council, or consultation.

us to the Isles of Quibo, and there cashiered our cowardly companion. Some were for taking from him the ship which we had given him; but at last he was suffered to keep it with his men, and we sent them away in it to some other place.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCORDING to the resolutions we had taken, we set out, June the 1st, 1685, passing between Point Garachina and the King's Islands. The 3d we passed by the Island of Chuche, the last remainder of the isles in the Bay of Panama. In our passage to Quibo, Captain Branley lost his mainmast, therefore he and all his men left his bark, and came aboard Captain Davis's ship. Captain Swan also sprung his maintopmast, and got up another; but while he was doing it, and we were making the best of our way, we lost sight of him, and were now on the north side of the bay; for this way all ships must pass from Panama, whether bound towards the coast of Mexico or Peru. The 10th we passed by Morro de Puercos, or the Mountain of Hogs, why so called I know not; it is a high round hill on the coast of Lavelia. This side of the Bay of Panama runs out westerly to the Islands of Quibo; there are on this coast many rivers and creeks, but none so large as those on the south side of the bay. It is a coast that is partly mountainous, partly lowland, and very thick of woods bordering on the sea; but a few leagues within land it consists mostly of savannahs, which are stocked with bulls and cows. The rivers on this side are not wholly destitute of gold, though not so rich as the rivers on the other side of the bay. The coast is but thinly inhabited; for except the rivers that lead up to the towns of Nata and Lavelia I know of no other settlement between Panama and Puebla Nueva. The Spaniards may travel by land from Panama through all the kingdom of Mexico, as being full of savannahs; but towards the coast of Peru they cannot pass farther than the River Chepo, the land there being so full of thick woods, and watered with so many great rivers, besides less rivers and creeks, that the Indians themselves who inhabit there cannot travel far without much trouble.

We met with very wet weather in our voyage to Quibo, and with SSW. and sometimes SW. winds, which retarded our course. It was the 15th of June when we arrived at Quibo, and found there Captain Harris whom we sought. The Island of Quibo or Cabaya is in Lat. 7° 14′ N. of the Equator; it is about six or seven leagues long, and three or four broad. The land is low, except only near the NE. end; it is all over plentifully stored with great tall flourishing trees of many sorts, and there is good water on the E. and NE. sides of the island. Here are some deer, and plenty of pretty large black monkeys, whose flesh is sweet and wholesome; besides a few guanas and some snakes. I know no other sort of land animal on the island. There are many other islands, lying some on the SW. side, others on the N. and NE. sides, of this island; as the Island of Quicara, which is a pretty large island SW. of Quibo, and on the north of it is a small island called Rancheria, on which are plenty of Palma-Maria trees. The Palma-Maria is a tall, straight-bodied tree, with a small head, but very unlike the palm tree, notwithstanding the name. It is greatly esteemed for making masts, being very tough, as well as of a good length; for the grain of the wood runs not straight along it, but twisting gradually about it. These trees grow in many places of the West Indies, and are frequently used both by the English and Spaniards there for that use. The Islands of Canales and Cantarras are small islands lying on the NE. of Rancheria. These have all channels to pass between, and good anchoring about them, and they are as well stored with trees and water as Quibo. Captain Swan gave to several of these

islands the names of those English merchants and gentlemen who were owners of his ship. [On June 16th, Captain Swan came to anchor by them, when they held a consultation as to how they might advance their fortunes, as the sea was promising them little. The result was a decision to take the town of Puebla Nueva, which they accordingly did with 150 men. On the 5th of July Captain Knight came to them, having captured two bark-logs laden with flour. After this, each ship's company began the making of canoes.]

Captain Davis made two very large canoes: one was thirty-six feet long, and five or six feet wide; the other thirty-two feet long, and near as wide as the other. In a month's time we finished our business, and were ready to sail. Here Captain Harris went to lay his ship aground to clean her, but she being old and rotten, fell in pieces; and therefore he and all his men went aboard of Captain Davis and Captain Swan. While we lay here we struck turtle every day, for they were now very plentiful; but from August to March there are not many. The 18th of July, John Rose, a Frenchman, and fourteen men more belonging to Captain Gronet, having made a new canoe, came in her to Captain Davis, and desired to serve under him; and Captain Davis accepted of them because they had a canoe of their own. The 20th of July we sailed from Quibo, bending our course for Realejo, which is the port for Leon, the city that we now designed to attempt. We were now 640 men, in eight sail of ships, commanded by Captain Davis, Captain Swan, Captain Townley, and Captain Knight; with a fireship, and three tenders, which last had not a constant crew. We passed out between the River Quibo and Rancheria, leaving Quibo and Quicaro on our larboard side, and Rancheria, with the rest of the islands, and the main, on the starboard side. The wind at first was at SSW. We coasted along shore, passing by the Gulf of Nicoya, the Gulf of Dulce, and the Island Cano. All this coast is low land, overgrown with thick woods; and there are but few inhabitants near the shore. The 8th of August, being in Lat. 11° 20′ by observation, we saw a high hill in the country, towering up like a sugar loaf, which bore NE. by N. We supposed it to be Volcano Viejo by the smoke which ascended from its top; therefore we steered in N., and made it plainer, and then knew it to be that volcano, which is the sea-mark for the harbour for Realejo. When we had brought this mountain to bear NE., we got out all our canoes, and provided to embark into them the next day.

The 9th in the morning, being about eight leagues from the shore, we left our ships under the charge of a few men, and 520 of us went away in thirty-one canoes, rowing towards the harbour of Realejo. We had fair weather and little wind till 2 o'clock in the afternoon; then we had a tornado from the shore, with much thunder, lightning, and rain, and such a gust of wind that we were all like to be foundered. In this extremity we put right afore the wind, every canoe's crew making what shift they could to avoid the threatening danger. The small canoes, being most light and buoyant, mounted nimbly over the surges; but the great heavy canoes lay like logs in the seas, ready to be swallowed by every foaming billow. Some of our canoes were half full of water, yet kept two men constantly heaving it out. The fierceness of the wind continued about half-an-hour, and abated by degrees; and as the wind died away, so the fury of the sea abated; for in all hot countries, as I have observed, the sea is soon raised by the wind, and as soon down again when the wind is gone: and therefore it is a proverb among the seamen, "Up wind, up sea: down wind, down sea." At 7 o'clock in the evening it was quite calm, and the sea as smooth as a millpond. Then we tugged to get into the shore, but finding we could not do it before day, we rowed

off again, to keep ourselves out of sight. By the time it was day, we were five leagues from the land, which we thought was far enough off shore. Here we intended to lie till the evening; but at 3 o'clock in the afternoon we had another tornado more fierce than that which we had the day before. This put us in greater peril of our lives, but did not last so long. As soon as the violence of the tornado was over, we rowed in for the shore, and entered the harbour in the night. The creek which leads towards Leon lies on the SE. side of the harbour. Our pilot being very well acquainted here, carried us into the mouth of it, but could carry us no farther till day, because it is but a small creek, and there are other creeks like it. The next morning as soon as it was light, we rowed into the creek, which is very narrow; the land on both sides lying so low, that every tide it is overflown with the sea. This sort of land produces red mangrove trees, which are here so plentiful and thick that there is no passing through them. Beyond these mangroves, on the firm land close by the side of the river, the Spaniards have built a breastwork purposely to hinder an enemy from landing. When we came in sight of the breastwork we rowed as fast as we could to get ashore; the noise of our oars alarmed the Indians who were set to watch; and presently they ran away towards the city of Leon to give notice of our approach. We landed as soon as we could, and marched after them: 470 men were drawn out to march to the town, and I was left with fifty-nine men more to stay and guard the canoes till their return. [The city of Leon, twenty miles up the country, is here described as surrounded with long grassy savannahs, and clumps of high woods. It was thought at the time by some to be the pleasantest place in all America, and the paradise of the Indies. The wealth of the place consisted in the pastures, cattle, and plantations of sugar.]

Our men were now marching to Leon; they went from the canoes about 8 o'clock. Captain Townley with eighty of the briskest men marched before, Captain Swan with 100 men marched next, Captain Davis with 170 men marched next, and Captain Knight brought up the rear. Captain Townley, who was near two miles ahead of the rest, met about seventy horsemen four miles before he came to the city, but they never stood him. About 3 o'clock Captain Townley only with his eighty men entered the town, and was briskly charged in a broad street by 170 or 200 Spanish horsemen; but two or three of their leaders being knocked down, the rest fled. Their foot consisted of about 500 men, which were drawn up in the Parade; for the Spaniards in these parts make a large square in every town, though the town itself be small. This square is called the Parade; commonly the church makes one side of it, and the gentlemen's houses with their galleries about them another. But the foot also, seeing their horse retire, left an empty city to Captain Townley, beginning to save themselves by flight. Captain Swan came in about 4 o'clock, Captain Davis with his men about five, and Captain Knight, with as many men as he could encourage to march, came in about six, but he left many men tired on the road; these, as is usual, came dropping in one or two at a time, as they were able. The next morning the Spaniards killed one of our tired men. He was a stout old grey-headed man, aged about eighty-four, who had served under Oliver in the time of the Irish Rebellion; after which he was at Jamaica, and had followed privateering ever since. He would not accept of the offer our men made him to tarry ashore, but said he would venture as far as the best of them; and when surrounded by the Spaniards he refused to take quarter, but discharged his gun amongst them, keeping a pistol still charged; so they shot him dead at a distance. His name was Swan. He was a very merry, hearty old man, and always used to declare

he would never take quarter. But they took Mr Smith, who was tired also; he was a merchant belonging to Captain Swan; and being carried before the Governor of Leon, was known by a Mulatto woman that waited on him. Mr Smith had lived many years in the Canaries, and could speak and write very good Spanish; and it was there this Mulatto woman remembered him. He, being examined how many men we were, said 1000 at the city and 500 at the canoes; which made well for us at the canoes, who straggling about every day might easily have been destroyed. But this so daunted the Governor, that he did never offer to molest our men, although he had with him above 1000 men, as Mr Smith guessed. He sent in a flag of truce about noon, pretending[1] to ransom the town rather than let it be burnt; but our captains demanded 300,000 pieces of eight for its ransom, and as much provision as would victual 1000 men four months, and Mr Smith to be ransomed for some of their prisoners; but the Spaniards did not intend to ransom the town, but only capitulated day after day to prolong time till they had got more men. Our captains therefore, considering the distance that they were from the canoes, resolved to be marching down. The 14th, in the morning, they ordered the city to be set on fire, which was presently done, and then they came away; but they took more time in coming down than in going up. The 15th, in the morning, the Spaniards sent in Mr Smith, and had a gentlewoman in exchange. Then our captains sent a letter to the Governor, to acquaint him that they intended next to visit Realejo, and desired to meet him there; they also released a gentleman on his promise of paying 150 beeves for his ransom, and to deliver them to us at Realejo; and the same day our men came to their canoes, where having stayed all night, the next morning we all entered our canoes, and came to the harbour of Realejo, and in the afternoon our ships came thither to an anchor.

The creek that leads to Realejo lies from the NW. part of the harbour, and runs in northerly. It is about two leagues from the island in the harbour's mouth to the town; two-thirds of the way it is broad, then you enter a narrow deep creek bordered on both sides with red mangrove trees, whose limbs reach almost from one side to the other. A mile from the mouth of the creek it turns away west. There the Spaniards have made a very strong breastwork, fronting towards the mouth of the creek, in which were placed 100 soldiers to hinder us from landing; and twenty yards below that breastwork there was a chain of great trees placed across the creek, so that ten men could have kept off 500 or 1000. When we came in sight of the breastwork we fired but two guns, and they all ran away; and we were afterwards near half-an-hour cutting the boom or chain. Here we landed, and marched to the town of Riolexo or Realejo,[2] which is about a mile from hence. This town stands on a plain by a small river. It is a pretty large town, with three churches and an hospital that hath a fine garden belonging to it, besides many large fair houses; they all stand at a good distance one from another, with yards about them. This is a very sickly place, and I believe hath need enough of an hospital, for it is seated so nigh the creeks and swamps that it is never free from a noisome smell. The land about it is a strong yellow clay, yet where the town stands it seems to be sand. Here are several sorts of

[1] *Professing* his desire.

[2] The chief trade of Realejo was in pitch, tar, and cordage, with the produce of their sugar-works and estantions or beef-farms. They stayed from the 17th to the 24th helping themselves to the produce of the country; when on leaving, some of the more mischievous of the crew set on fire the town, which they left burning.

fruits, as guavas,[1] pine-apples, melons, and prickly pears.[2] . . .

The 25th, Captain Davis and Captain Swan broke off consortships, for Captain Davis was minded to return again on the coast of Peru, but Captain Swan desired to go farther to the westward. I had till this time been with Captain Davis, but now left him and went aboard of Captain Swan. It was not from any dislike to my old Captain, but to get some knowledge of the northern parts of this continent of Mexico; and I knew that Captain Swan determined to coast it as far north as he thought convenient, and then pass over for the East Indies, which was a way very agreeable to my inclination. Captain Townley, with his two barks, was resolved to keep us company; but Captain Knight and Captain Harris followed Captain Davis. The 27th, in the morning, Captain Davis, with his ships, went out of the harbour, having a fresh land-wind. They were in company, Captain Davis's ship, with Captain Harris in her, Captain Davis's bark and fireship, and Captain Knight in his own ship, in all four sail. Captain Swan took his last farewell of him by firing fifteen guns, and he fired eleven in return of the civility. [While lying here, they were visited by a malignant fever, of which several of the men died. On the 3d September, all their prisoners and pilots were turned ashore, they being unacquainted with the coast farther westward. The same day they steered westward, meeting with a severe storm in the passage.]

We had kept at a good distance off shore, and saw no land till the 14th day; but then being in Lat. 12° 50′, the volcano of Guatemala appeared in sight. This is a very high mountain with two peaks or heads appearing like two sugar-loaves. It often belches forth flames of fire and smoke from between the two heads, and this, as the Spaniards do report, happens chiefly in tempestuous weather. It is called so from the city of Guatemala, which stands near the foot of it, about eight leagues from the South Sea,[3] and by report, forty or fifty leagues from the Gulf of Amatique in the Bay of Honduras in the North Seas. This city is famous for many rich commodities that are produced thereabouts, some almost peculiar to this country and yearly sent into Europe, especially four rich dyes—indigo, otta or anatta, silvester, and cóchineal.

Indigo is made of an herb which grows a foot and a half or two feet high, full of small branches, and the branches full of leaves resembling the leaves which grow on flax, but more thick and substantial. They cut this herb or shrub and cast it into a large cistern made in the ground for that purpose, which is half full of water. The indigo stalk or herb remains in the water till all the leaves, and I think the skin, the rind or bark, rot off and in a manner dissolve; but if any of the leaves should stick fast, they force them off by much labour, tossing and tumbling the mass in the water till all the pulpy substance is dissolved. Then the shrub, or woody part, is taken out, and the water, which is like ink, being disturbed no more, settles, and the indigo falls to the bottom of the cistern like mud. When it is thus settled they draw off the water, and take the mud and lay it in the sun to dry, which there becomes hard as you see it brought

[1] The guava grows on a hard scrubbed shrub, is a fruit much like a pear, with a thin rind, and full of small seeds. It is one of the few West Indian fruits which may be eaten while still green.

[2] The prickly pear, according to Dampier, thrives best in barren sandy ground near the sea, the fruit being "as big as a large plum, small near the leaf, and big towards the top, where it opens like a medlar."

[3] The new city of Guatemala stands to the south-east of the old city about twenty-five miles, and only some sixteen miles from the sea. The old city was destroyed by an earthquake in 1776, but has been rebuilt.

home. Otta, or anatta,[1] is a red sort of dye. It is made of a red flower that grows on shrubs seven or eight feet high. It is thrown into a cistern of water as the indigo is, but with this difference, that there is no stalk, nor so much as the head of the flower, but only the flower itself pulled off from the head as you peel rose-leaves from the bud. This remains in the water till it rots, and by much jumbling it dissolves to a liquid substance like the indigo; and being settled, and the water drawn off, the red mud is made up into rolls or cakes and laid in the sun to dry.

Indigo is produced all over the West Indies, on most of the Caribbee Islands, as well as the main; yet no part of the main yields such great quantities, both of indigo and otta, as this country about Guatemala. I know not what quantities either of indigo or otta are made at Cuba or Hispaniola; but the place most used[2] by our Jamaica sloops for these things is the Island of Porto Rica, where our Jamaica traders did use to buy indigo for three reals and otta for four reals the pound, which is but 2s. 3d. of our money; and yet at the same time otta was worth in Jamaica 5s. the pound, and indigo 3s. 6d. the pound; and even this also paid in goods, by which means alone they got 50 or 60 per cent. Our traders had not then found the way of trading with the Spaniards in the Bay of Honduras; but Captain Coxon went thither (as I take it) at the beginning of the year 1679, under pretence to cut logwood, and went into the Gulf of Matique, which is in the bottom of that bay. There he landed with his canoes, and took a whole storehouse full of indigo and otta in chests, piled up in several parcels, and marked with different marks, ready to be shipped off aboard two ships that then lay in the road purposely to take it in; but these ships could not come at him, it being shoal water. He opened some of the chests of indigo, and, supposing the other chests to be all of the same species, ordered his men to carry them away. They immediately set to work, and took the nearest at hand; and having carried out one heap of chests, they seized on another great pile of a different mark from the rest, intending to carry them away next. But a Spanish gentleman, their prisoner, knowing that there was a great deal more than they could carry away, desired them to take only such as belonged to the merchants, whose marks he undertook to show them, and to spare such as had the same mark with those in that great pile they were then entering upon; because, he said, those chests belonged to the ship captains, who following the seas as themselves did, he hoped they would for that reason rather spare their goods than the merchants'. They consented to his request; but upon their opening their chests (which was not before they came to Jamaica, where by connivance they were permitted to sell them) they found that the Don had been too sharp for them; the few chests which they had taken of the same mark with the great pile proving to be otta, of greater value by far than the other; whereas they might as well have loaded the whole ship with otta as with indigo. The cochineal is an insect bred in a sort of fruit much like the prickly pear. The tree or shrub that bears it is like the prickly-pear tree, about five feet high, and so prickly, only the leaves are not quite so big, but the fruit is bigger.[3] . . .

[1] Otherwise called arnotto or annotto; it is obtained from the seeds of the tree *Bixa orellana*, and used, besides dyeing, for colouring cheese, butter, and liquors.

[2] *Frequented.*

[3] The gathering of the cochineal insect and the red grain called silvester by the Indians, is here minutely described. The cochineal is bred in the fruit of a shrub like a prickly-pear tree, from which it is dislodged, and on being exposed to the heat of the sun falls down dead, and is caught

When we first saw the mountain of Guatemala, we were by judgment twenty-five leagues' distance from it. As we came nearer the land it appeared higher and plainer, yet we saw no fire, but a little smoke proceeding from it. The land by the sea was of a good height, yet but low in comparison with that in the country. The sea for about eight or ten leagues from the shore was full of floating trees, or drift-wood, as it is called (of which I have seen a great deal, but nowhere so much as here), and pumice-stones floating, which probably are thrown out of the burning mountains, and washed down to the shore by the rains, which are very violent and frequent in this country; and on the side of Honduras it is excessively wet. The 24th, we were in Lat. 14° 30′ N., and the weather more settled. Then Captain Townley took with him 106 men in nine canoes, and went away to the westward, where he intended to land and rummage in the country for some refreshment for our sick men; we having at this time near half our men sick, and many were dead since we left Realejo. We in the ships lay still, with our topsails furled and our courses or lower sails hauled up, this day and the next, that Captain Townley might get the start of us. The 26th we made sail again, coasting to the westward, having the wind at N., and fair weather. We ran along by a tract of very high land, which came from the eastward more within land than we could see; after we fell in with it, it bare us company for about ten leagues, and ended with a pretty gentle descent towards the west. The 2d of October, Captain Townley came aboard; he had coasted along shore in his canoes, seeking for an entrance, but found none. At last, being out of hopes to find any bay, creek, or river into which he might safely enter, he put ashore on a sandy bay, but overset all his canoes; he had one man drowned, and several lost their arms, and some of them that had not waxed up their cartridge or cartouche boxes wet all their powder. Captain Townley with much ado got ashore, and dragged the canoes up dry on the bay; then every man searched his cartouche-box, and drew the wet powder out of his gun, and provided to march into the country; but finding it full of great creeks, which they could not ford, they were forced to return again to their canoes. In the night they made good fires to keep themselves warm; the next morning 200 Spaniards and Indians fell on them, but were immediately repulsed, and made greater speed back than they had done forward. Captain Townley followed them, but not far, for fear of his canoes. These men came from Tehuantepec, a town that Captain Townley went chiefly to seek, because the Spanish books made mention of a large river there, but whether it was run away at this time, or rather Captain Townley and his men were short-sighted, I know not; but they could not find it. Upon his return, we presently made sail, coasting still westward. We saw no opening nor sign of any place to land at, so we sailed about twenty leagues farther, and came to a small high island called Tangola, where there is good anchoring. The island is indifferently well furnished with wood and water, and lies about a league from the shore. The main against the island is pretty high champaign savannah land by the sea; but two or three leagues within land it is higher and very woody. We coasted a league farther and came to Huatulco. This port is in Lat. 15° 30′; it is one of the best in all this kingdom of Mexico. Near a mile from the mouth of the harbour, on the east side, there is a little island close by the shore; and on the west side of

in a cloth spread on the ground to receive them. These when dried yield the much-esteemed scarlet dye. The silvester is the seed of the cochineal fruit, which readily falls out of the fruit, on being shaken when ripe. The dye it yields is very similar to the cochineal, but not quite so valuable.

the mouth of the harbour there is a great hollow rock, which by the continual working of the sea in and out makes a great noise which may be heard a great way. Every surge that comes in forces the water out of a little hole on its top, as out of a pipe, from whence it flies out just like the blowing of a whale; to which the Spaniards also liken it. They call this rock and spout the *Buffadore*;[1] upon what account I know not. Even in the calmest seasons the sea beats in there, making the water spout out at the hole; so that this is always a good mark to find the harbour by. The harbour is about three miles deep, and one mile broad; it runs in NW.; and at the bottom of the harbour there is a fine brook of fresh water running into the sea. Here formerly stood a small Spanish town, or village, which was taken by Sir Francis Drake;[2] but now there is nothing remaining of it besides a little chapel standing among the trees about 200 paces from the sea. The land appears in small short ridges parallel to the shore, and to each other; the innermost still gradually higher than that nearer the shore; and they are all clothed with very high flourishing trees, that it is extraordinary pleasant and delightful to behold at a distance. I have nowhere seen anything like it.

At this place, Captain Swan, who had been very sick, came ashore, and all the sick men with him, and the surgeon to tend them. Captain Townley again took a company of men with him, and went into the country to seek for houses or inhabitants. He marched away to the eastward, and came to the River Capalita, which is a swift river, yet deep near the mouth, and is about a league from Huatulco. There two of his men swam over the river, and took three Indians that were placed there as sentinels to watch for our coming. These could none of them speak Spanish; yet our men by signs made them understand that they desired to know if there was any town or village near; who, by the signs which they made, gave our men to understand that they could guide them to a settlement; but there was no understanding by them whether it was a Spanish or Indian settlement, nor how far it was thither. They brought these Indians aboard with them; and the next day, which was the 6th of October, Captain Townley, with 140 men (of whom I was one) went ashore again, taking one of these Indians with us for a guide to conduct us to this settlement. Our men that stayed aboard filled our water, and cut wood, and mended our sails; and our Mosquito men struck three or four turtle every day. They were a small sort of turtle, and not very sweet, yet very well esteemed by us all, because we had eaten no flesh a great while. The 8th we returned out of the country, having been about fourteen miles directly within land before we came to any settlement. There we found a small Indian village, and in it a great quantity of vinelloes drying in the sun. The vinello is a little cod full of small black seeds; it is four or five inches long, about the bigness of the stem of a tobacco leaf, and when dried much resembling it; so that our Privateers at first have often thrown them away when they took any, wondering why the Spaniards should lay up tobacco stems. This cod grows on a small vine, which climbs about and supports itself by the neighbouring trees; it first bears a yellow flower, from whence the cod afterwards proceeds. It is first green, but when ripe it turns yellow; then the Indians, whose manufacture it is, and who sell it cheap to the Spaniards, gather it and lay it in the sun, which makes it soft; then it changes to a chestnut colour. Then they frequently press it between their fingers, which makes it flat. If the Indians

[1] The Roarer, or Snorter; from the Spanish "bufar," signifying to puff and blow with anger, to snort.

[2] It was here that he parted with Nuno da Silva, the Portuguese pilot, captured at the Cape Verd Islands. *See Note 2, page 72.*

do anything to them besides, I know not; but I have seen the Spaniards sleek them with oil. These vines grow plentifully at Boca del Toro, where I have gathered and tried to cure them, but could not, which makes me think that the Indians have some secret, that I know not of, to cure them. I have often asked the Spaniards how they were cured, but I never could meet with any could tell me. One Mr Cree, also, a very curious person, who spoke Spanish well, and had been a Privateer all his life, and seven years a prisoner among the Spaniards at Porto Bello and Carthagena, yet, upon all his inquiry, could not find any of them that understood it. Could we have learnt the art of it, several of us would have gone to Boca del Toro yearly, at the dry season, and cured them, and freighted our vessel. We there might have had turtle enough for food, and store of vinelloes. Mr Cree first showed me those at Boca del Toro. At or near a town, also, called Caihooca,[1] in the Bay of Campeachy, these cods are found. They are commonly sold for threepence a cod among the Spaniards in the West Indies, and are sold by the druggist, for they are much used among chocolate to perfume it. Some will use them among tobacco, for it gives a delicate scent. I never heard of any vinelloes but here in this country, about Caihooca, and at Boca del Toro. The Indians of this village could speak but little Spanish. They seemed to be a poor innocent people; and by them we understood that there are very few Spaniards in these parts; yet all the Indians hereabout are under them. The land from the sea to their houses is black earth, mixed with some stones and rocks; all the way full of very high trees.

The 10th we sent four canoes to the westward, who were ordered to lie for us at Port Angels; where we were in hopes that by some means or other they might get prisoners that might give us a better account of the country than at present we could have; and we followed them with our ships. All our men being now pretty well recovered of the fever, which had raged amongst us ever since we departed from Realejo.

[1] Such names as Tangola, Capalita River, and Caihooca, will be hard to find on modern maps. Dampier places the first, an island, between Tehuantepec and Point Sacrificios; the second he makes run into the sea a little to the eastward of the point; and the third he lays down, as nearly as may be, at Cape Morillos, not far from the bottom of the Bay of Campeachy.

CHAPTER IX.

It was the 12th of October 1685, when we set out of the harbour of Huatulco with our ships. We coasted along to the westward, keeping as near the shore as we could for the benefit of the land-winds, for the sea-winds were right against us; and we found a current setting to the eastward which kept us back, and obliged us to anchor at the Island of Sacrificios,[2] which is a small green island about half-a-mile long. It lies about a league to the W. of Huatulco, and about half-a-mile from the main. [On the 18th they sailed from Point or Island Sacrificios, keeping near the shore till they were abreast of Port Angels (Puerto de los Angelos), where they anchored.]

The 23d we landed about 100 men and marched thither, where we found plenty of fat bulls and cows feeding in the savannahs, and in the house good store of salt and maize, and some hogs, and cocks, and hens; but the owners or overseers were gone. We lay here two or three days, feasting on fresh provisions; but could not contrive to carry any quantity aboard, because the way was so long, and our men but weak, and a great

[2] Apparently off Point Sacrificios, which forms the western limit of the Gulf of Tehuantepec.

wide river to ford. Therefore we returned again from thence the 26th day, and brought every one a little beef or pork for the men that stayed aboard. The two nights that we stayed ashore at this place we heard great droves of jackals, as we supposed them to be, barking all night long not far from us. None of us saw these; but I do verily believe they were jackals, though I did never see those creatures in America, nor hear any but at this time. We could not think that there were less than thirty or forty in a company. We got aboard in the evening, but did not yet hear any news of our two canoes.

The 27th, in the morning, we sailed from hence, and in the evening we anchored in sixteen fathoms water by a small rocky island which lies about half-a-mile from the main and six leagues westward from Port Angels. The 28th, we sailed again with the land-wind; in the afternoon the sea breeze blew hard, and we sprung our maintopmast. This coast is full of hills and valleys, and a great sea falls in upon the shore. In the night we met with the other two of our canoes that went from us at Huatulco. They had been as far as Acapulco to seek Port Angels. Coming back from thence, they went into a river to get water, and were encountered by 150 Spaniards; yet they filled their water in spite of them, but had one man shot through the thigh. Afterwards they went into a lagoon, or lake of salt water, where they found much dried fish, and brought some aboard. We being now abreast of that place, sent in a canoe manned with twelve men for more fish. The mouth of this lagoon is not a pistol-shot wide, and on both sides are pretty high rocks, so conveniently placed by nature that many men may abscond behind; and within the rock the lagoon opens wide on both sides. The Spaniards being alarmed by our two canoes that had been two or three days before, came armed to this place to secure their fish; and seeing our canoe coming, they lay snug behind the rocks, *and suffered the canoe to* pass in, then they fired their volley and wounded five of our men. Our people were a little surprised at this sudden adventure, yet fired their guns and rowed farther into the lagoon, for they durst not adventure to come out again through the narrow entrance, which was near a quarter of a mile in length. Therefore they rowed into the middle of the lagoon, where they lay out of gun-shot, and looked about to see if there was not another passage to get out at broader than that by which they entered, but could see none. So they lay still two days and three nights in hopes that we should come to seek them, but we lay off at sea, about three leagues distant, waiting for their return, supposing by their long absence that they had made some greater discovery, and were gone farther than the fish range; because it is usual with Privateers, when they enter upon such designs, to search farther than they proposed if they meet any encouragement. But Captain Townley and his bark being near the shore heard some guns fired in the lagoon. So he manned his canoe and went towards the shore, and, beating the Spaniards away from the rocks, made a free passage for our men to come out of their pound, whereelse they must have been starved or knocked on the head by the Spaniards. They came aboard their ships again the 31st of October. From hence we made sail again, coasting to the westward. The 2d of November we passed by a rock called by the Spaniards the Algatross. The land hereabout is of an indifferent height and woody, and more within the country, mountainous. Here are seven or eight white cliffs by the sea, which are very remarkable, because there are none so white and so thick together on all the coast. They are five or six miles to the west of the Algatross Rock. Two leagues to the W. of these cliffs there is a pretty large river which forms a small island at its mouth. The channel on the east side is but shoal and sandy, but the west channel is deep enough for canoes to enter. On the banks of this channel the Spaniards

have made a breastwork to hinder an enemy from landing and filling water.

The 3d, we anchored abreast of this river, in fourteen fathoms water, about a mile and a half off shore. The next morning we manned our canoes, and went ashore to the breastwork with little resistance, although there were about 200 men to keep us off. They fired twenty or thirty guns at us, but seeing we were resolved to land, they quitted the place. One chief reason why the Spaniards are so frequently routed by us, although many times much our superiors in numbers, and in many places fortified with breastworks, is their want of small firearms; for they have but few on all the seacoasts, unless near their larger garrisons. Here we found a great deal of salt, brought hither as I judge to salt fish, which they take in the lagoons. The fish I observed here mostly were what we call snooks,[1] neither a sea-fish nor freshwater-fish, but very numerous in these salt lakes. This fish is about a foot long, and round, and as thick as the small of a man's leg, with a pretty long head; it has scales of a whitish colour, and is good meat. How the Spaniards take them I know not; for we never found any nets, hooks, or lines, neither yet any bark, boat, or canoe among them on all this coast; except the ship I shall mention at Acapulco. We marched two or three leagues into the country, and met with but one house, where we took a Mulatto prisoner, who informed us of a ship that was lately arrived at Acapulco; she came from Lima. Captain Townley wanting a good ship, thought now he had an opportunity of getting one, if he could persuade his men to venture with him into the harbour of Acapulco and fetch this Lima ship out. Therefore he immediately proposed it, and found not only all his own men willing to assist him, but many of Captain Swan's men also. Captain Swan opposed it, because, provision being scarce with us, he thought our time might be much better employed in first providing ourselves with food; and there was plenty of maize in the river where we now were, as we were informed by the same prisoner, who offered to conduct us to the place where it was. But neither the present necessity, nor Captain Swan's persuasion, availed anything, no, nor yet their own interest; for the great design we had then in hand was to lie and wait for a rich ship which comes to Acapulco every year richly laden from the Philippine Islands. But it was necessary we should be well stored with provisions, to enable us to cruise about and wait the time of her coming. However, Townley's party prevailing, we only filled our water here, and made ready to be gone. So the 5th, in the afternoon, we sailed again, coasting to the westward, towards Acapulco. The 7th, in the afternoon, being about twelve leagues from the shore, we saw the high land of Acapulco, which is very remarkable; for there is a round hill standing between other two hills, the westernmost of which is the biggest and highest, and has two hillocks like two paps on its top; the easternmost hill is higher and sharper than the middlemost. From the middle hill the land declines toward the sea, ending in a high round point. There is no land shaped like this on all the coast. In the evening Captain Townley went away from the ships with 140 men in twelve canoes, to try to get the Lima ship out of Acapulco harbour.

Acapulco is a pretty large town 17° N. of the Equator. It is the seaport for the city of Mexico on the west side of the continent; as La Vera Cruz, or San Juan D'Ulloa, in the Bay of Nova Hispania, is on the north side. This town is the only place of trade on all this coast; for there is little or no traffic by sea on all the north-west part of this vast kingdom, there being, as I have said, neither boats, barks, nor ships, that I could ever see, unless only what come hither from other parts, and some boats near the SE. end of California, as I guess by the intercourse between

[1] Or sea-pike; *Centropomus undecimalis*.

that and the main for pearl-fishing. The ships that trade hither are only three; two that constantly go once a-year between this and Manilla in Luzon, one of the Philippine Islands, and one ship more every year to and from Lima. This from Lima commonly arrives a little before Christmas; she brings them quicksilver, cacao, and pieces of eight. Here she stays till the Manilla ship arrives, and takes in a cargo of spices, silks, calicoes, muslins, and other East India commodities, for the use of Peru, and then returns to Lima. This is but a small vessel of twenty guns; but the two Manilla ships are each said to be above 1000 tons. These make their voyages alternately, so that one or other of them is always at Manilla. When either of them sets out from Acapulco, it is at the latter end of March or the beginning of April; she always touches to refresh at Guam, one of the Ladrone Islands, in about sixty days' space after she sets out. There she stays but two or three days, and then prosecutes her voyage to Manilla, where she commonly arrives some time in June. By that time the other is ready to sail from thence laden with East India Commodities. She stretches away to the north as far as 36°, or sometimes 40° N. Lat., before she gets a wind to stand over to the American shore. She falls in first with the coast of California, and then coasts along the shore to the south again, and never misses a wind to bring her away from thence quite to Acapulco. When she gets the length of Cape San Lucas, which is the southernmost point of California, she stretches over to Cape Corrientes, which is in about 20° N. Lat.; from thence she coasts along till she comes to Solagua,[1] and there she sets ashore passengers that are bound to the city of Mexico. From thence she makes her best way, coasting still along shore, till she arrives at Acapulco, which is commonly about Christmas, never more than eight or ten days before or after. Upon the return of this ship to Manilla, the other, which stays there till her arrival takes her turn back to Acapulco. Sir John Narborough therefore was imposed on by the Spaniards who told him that there were six sail or more that used this trade. The port of Acapulco is very commodious for the reception of ships, and so large, that some hundreds may safely ride there without damnifying[2] each other. The harbour runs in north about three miles; then growing very narrow it turns short about to the west, and runs about a mile farther, where it ends. The town stands on the NW. side, at the mouth of this narrow passage, close by the sea; and at the end of the town there is a platform with a great many guns. Opposite to the town, on the east side, stands a high strong castle, said to have forty guns of a very great bore. Ships commonly ride near the bottom of the harbour, under the command both of the castle and the platform. Captain Townley, who, as I said before, with 140 men, left our ships on a design to fetch the Lima ship out of the harbour, had not rowed above three or four leagues before the voyage was like to end with all their lives; for on a sudden they were encountered with a violent tornado from the shore, which had like to have foundered all the canoes: but they escaped that danger, and the second night got safe into Port Marques. Port Marques is a very good harbour a league to the east of Acapulco harbour. Here they stayed all the next day to dry themselves, their clothes, their arms and ammunition; and the next night they rowed softly into Acapulco harbour: and because they would not be heard, they hauled in their oars and paddled as softly as if they had been seeking manatee.

[1] Apparently the Bay of Manzanilla, which is directly west of Mexico, and answers to the position Dampier's map assigns to "Sallagua" or "Solagua." Dampier's subsequent account of the place agrees with the situation *and features of Manzanilla.*

[2] Incommoding or injuring.

They paddled close to the castle; then struck over to the town, and found the ship riding between the breastwork and the fort, within about 100 yards of each. When they had well viewed her, and considered the danger of the design, they thought it not possible to accomplish it; therefore they paddled softly back again till they were out of command of the forts, and then they went to land, and fell in among a company of Spanish soldiers (for the Spaniards, having seen them the day before, had set guards along the coasts), who immediately fired at them, but did them no damage, only made them retire farther from the shore. They lay afterwards at the mouth of the harbour till it was day, to take a view of the town and castle; and then returned aboard again, being tired, hungry, and sorry for their disappointment. [On the 13th, they made sail farther westward, where the coast is described as low, producing many trees, and the spreading palm in great plenty.]

The land in the country is full of small peaked barren hills, making as many little valleys, which appear flourishing and green. At the W. end of this bay is the hill of Petatlan.[1] We came to an anchor on the NW. side of the hill and went ashore, about 170 men of us, and marched into the country twelve or fourteen miles. There we came to a poor Indian village that did not afford us a meal of victuals. The people all fled, only a Mulatto woman and three or four small children, who were taken and brought aboard. She told us that a carrier (one who drives a caravan of mules) was going to Acapulco laden with flour and other goods, but stopped in the road for fear of us a little to the west of this village (for he had heard of our being on this coast), and she thought he still remained there: and therefore it was we kept the woman to be our guide to carry us to that place. At this place where we now lay, our Mosquito men struck some small turtle and many small Jew-fish.

We went from hence with our ships on the 13th, and steered westward about two leagues farther, to a place called Chequetan.[2] The 14th, in the morning we went with ninety-five men in six canoes to seek for the carrier, taking the Mulatto woman for our guide; but Captain Townley would not go with us. Before day we landed at a place called Istapa, a league to the west of Chequetan. The woman was well acquainted here, having been often at this place for mussels, as she told us, for here are great plenty of them; they seem in all respects like our English mussels. She carried us through the pathless wood by the side of a river for about a league; then we came into a savannah full of bulls and cows; and here the carrier before mentioned was lying at the estantion-house with his mules, not having dared to advance all this while, as not knowing where we lay; so his own fear made him, his mules, and all his goods become a prey to us. He had forty packs of flour, some chocolate, a great many small cheeses, and abundance of earthenware. The eatables we brought away, but the earthen vessels we had no occasion for, and therefore left them. The mules were about sixty; we brought our prize with them to the shore, and so turned them away. Here we also killed some cows, and brought [them] with us to our canoes. In the afternoon our ships came to an anchor half-a-mile from the place where we landed, and then we went aboard. Captain Townley, seeing our good success, went ashore with his men to kill some cows, for there were no inhabitants near to oppose us. The land is very woody, of a good fertile soil, watered with many small rivers, yet it hath but few inhabitants near the sea. Captain Townley killed eighteen beeves, and after he came aboard, our men, con-

[1] Morro de Petatlan.

[2] Probably Siguantanejo, a town of some importance corresponding in position to the indications in the text.

trary to Captain Swan's inclination, gave Captain Townley part of the flour which we took ashore. Afterwards we gave the woman some clothes for her and her children, and put her and two of them ashore; but one of them, a very pretty boy about seven or eight years old, Captain Swan kept. The woman cried and begged hard to have him; but Captain Swan would not, but promised to make much of him, and was as good as his word. He proved afterwards a very fine boy for wit, courage, and dexterity; I have often wondered at his expressions and actions.

The 21st, in the evening, we sailed hence with the land-wind, and coasted along to the westward. The land is high, and full of ragged hills; and west from these ragged hills the land makes many pleasant and fruitful valleys among the mountains. The 25th we were abreast of a very remarkable hill, which, towering above the rest of its fellows, is divided in the top, and makes two small parts. The Spaniards make mention of a town called Thelupan[1] near this hill, which we would have visited if we could have found the way to it. The 26th, Captain Swan and Captain Townley, with 200 men, of whom I was one, went in our canoes to seek for the city of Colima, a rich place by report, but how far within land I could never learn; for, as I said before, here is no trade by sea, and therefore we could never get guides to inform us or conduct us to any town but one or two on this coast; and there is never a town that lies open to the sea but Acapulco; and therefore our search was commonly fruitless, as now, for we rowed above twenty leagues along shore and found it a very bad coast to land; we saw no house nor sign of inhabitants, although we passed by a fine valley called the Valley of Maguella.[2] Only at two places, the one at our first setting out on this expedition, and the other at the end of it, we saw a horseman set, as we supposed, as a sentinel to watch us. At both places we landed with difficulty, and at each place we followed the tracks of the horse on the sandy bay, but where they entered the woods we lost the track; and although we diligently searched for it, yet we could find it no more, so we were perfectly at a loss to find out the houses or town they came from. The 28th, being tired and hopeless to find any town, we went aboard our ships, that were now come abreast of the place where we were; for always when we leave our ships, we either order a certain place of meeting, or else leave them a sign to know where we are by making one or more great smokes. After we came aboard we saw the Volcano of Colima. This is a very high mountain, in about 18° 36′ N., standing five or six leagues from the sea, in the midst of a pleasant valley. It appears with two sharp peaks, from each of which there always issue flames of fire or smoke. The valley in which this volcano stands is called the Valley of Colima, from the town itself, which stands there not far from the volcano. The town is said to be great and rich, the chief of all its neighbourhood; and the valley in which it is seated, by the relation which the Spaniards give of it, is the most pleasant and fruitful valley in all the kingdom of Mexico. This valley is about ten or twelve leagues wide by the sea, where it makes a small bay; but how far the vale runs into the country, I know not. The 29th, our captains went away from our ships with 200 men, intending at the first convenient place to land and search about for a

[1] The hills and town appear to correspond to the town of Texupan, and the twin eminences near it called Cabo de Tetas, or the Paps of Texupan, at the mouth of a river of the *same name*. Telupan is at some distance to the south-eastward.

[2] The valley through which the River Almeria that passes Colima enters the sea has near the coast a little town named Olola; not unlike in sound to the word in the text.

path; for the Spanish books made mention of two or three other towns hereabouts, especially one called Solagua, to the west of this bay. Our canoes rowed along as near the shore as they could; but the sea went so high that they could not land. About ten or eleven o'clock two horsemen came near the shore, and one of them took a bottle out of his pocket, and drank to our men; while he was drinking, one of our men snatched up his gun and let drive at him, and killed his horse; so his consort immediately set spurs to his horse and rode away, leaving the other to come after afoot. But he being booted made but slow haste; therefore two of our men stripped themselves and swam ashore to take him; but he had a macheat, or long knife, wherewith he kept them both from seizing him, they having nothing in their hands wherewith to defend themselves or offend him. The 30th, our men came all aboard again, for they could not find any place to land in.

The 1st of December we passed by the port of Solagua. This port is in Lat. 18° 52′. It is only a pretty deep bay, divided in the middle with a rocky point, which makes, as it were, two harbours. Here we saw a great new thatched house, and a great many Spaniards, both horse and foot, with drums beating and colours flying, in defiance of us as we thought. We took no notice of them till the next morning, and then we landed about 200 men to try their courage; but they presently withdrew. The foot never stayed to exchange one shot; but the horsemen stayed till two or three were knocked down, and then they drew off, our men pursuing them. At last two of our men took two horses that had lost their riders, and mounting them rode after the Spaniards full drive till they came among them, thinking to have taken a prisoner for intelligence, but had like to have been taken themselves; for four Spaniards surrounded them, after they had discharged their pistols, and unhorsed them; and if some of our best footmen had not come to their rescue, they must have yielded or have been killed. They were both cut in two or three places, but their wounds were not mortal. The four Spaniards got away before our men could hurt them, and mounting their horses speeded after their consorts, who were marched away into the country. Our men, finding a broad road leading into the country, followed it about four leagues in a dry stony country, full of short woods; but finding no signs of inhabitants they returned again. In their way back they took two Mulattoes who were not able to march as fast as their consorts, therefore they had skulked in the woods, and by that means thought to have escaped our men. These prisoners informed us that this great road did lead to a great city called Oarrha,[1] from whence many of those horsemen before spoken of came; that this city was distant from hence as far as a horse will go in four days, and that there is no place of consequence nearer; that the country is very poor and thinly inhabited. They said, also, that these men came to assist the Philippine ship, that was every day expected here, to put ashore passengers for Mexico.

We now intended to cruise off Cape Corrientes to wait for the Philippine ship; so the 6th of December we set sail, coasting to the westwards, towards Cape Corrientes. We had fair weather, and but little wind. Here I was taken sick of a fever and ague, that afterwards turned to a dropsy, which I laboured under a long time after; and many of our men died of this distemper, though our surgeons used their greatest skill to preserve their lives. The dropsy is a general distemper on this coast, and the natives say, that the best remedy they can find for it is the stone or cod of an alligator (of which they have four, one near each leg, within the flesh) pulverised and drunk in

[1] Guadalajara, about 160 miles inland.

water. This receipt we also found mentioned in an almanac made at Mexico; I would have tried it, but we found no alligators here, though there are several. There are many good harbours between Solagua and Cape Corrientes; but we passed by them all. As we drew near the Cape, the land by the sea appeared of an indifferent height, full of white cliffs; but in the country, the land is high and barren, and full of sharp peaked hills, unpleasant to the sight. To the west of this ragged land is a chain of mountains running parallel with the shore; they end on the west with a gentle descent, but on the east side they keep their height, ending with a high steep mountain which hath three small sharp peaked tops, somewhat resembling a crown, and therefore called by the Spaniards Coronada, the Crown land. The 11th we were fair in sight of Cape Corrientes; it bore N. by W., and the Crown land bore N. The cape is of an indifferent height, with steep rocks to the sea. It is flat and even on the top, clothed with woods; the land in the country is high and doubled. This cape lies in 20° 28′ N. Here we had resolved to cruise for the Philippine ship, because she always makes this cape in her voyage homeward. We were, as I have said, four ships in company: Captain Swan and his tender, Captain Townley and his tender. It was so ordered that Captain Swan should lie eight or ten leagues off shore, and the rest about a league distant from each other, between him and the cape, that so we might not miss the Philippine ship; but we wanted provision, and therefore we sent Captain Townley's bark, with fifty or sixty men to the west of the cape, to search about for some town or plantations where we might get provision of any sort; the rest of us in the meantime cruising in our stations. The 17th the bark came to us again, but had got nothing; for they could not get about the cape, because the wind on this coast is commonly between the NW. *and SW., which* makes it very difficult getting to the westward; but they left four canoes with forty-six men at the cape, who resolved to row to the westward. The 18th we sailed to the Keys of Chametly[1] to fill our water. These keys or islands of Chametly are about sixteen or eighteen leagues to the eastward of Cape Corrientes. They are small, low, and woody, environed with rocks; there are five of them, lying in the form of a half moon, not a mile from the shore; and between them and the main is very good riding, secure from any wind. The Spaniards report that here live fishermen to fish for the inhabitants of the city of Purificacion. This is said to be a large town, the best hereabouts; but it is fourteen leagues up in the country. The 20th we entered within these islands, passing in on the SE. side, and anchored between the islands and the main in five fathoms clean sand. Here we found good fresh water and wood, and caught plenty of rock-fish with hook and line, a sort of fish I described at the Isle of Juan Fernandez; but we saw no sign of inhabitants besides three or four old huts, therefore I believe that the Spanish or Indian fishermen come hither only at Lent, or some other such season, but that they do not live here constantly. The 21st, Captain Townley went away with about sixty men to take an Indian village seven or eight leagues from hence to the westward, more towards the cape; and the next day we went to cruise off the cape, where Captain Townley was to meet us.

The 24th, as we were cruising off the cape, the four canoes before mentioned, which Captain Townley's bark left at the Cape, came off to us. They, after the bark left them, passed to the west of the cape, and rowed into the valley of Valderas,[2] or perhaps Val d'Iris; for it signifies the

[1] The locality of these islands corresponds with that of the Puerto de Tamatlan, a small bay due west from the city of La Purificacion.

[2] The Bay of Banderas, to the

Valley of Flags. This valley lies in the bottom of a pretty deep bay, that runs in between Cape Corrientes on the SE., and the Point of Pontique[1] on the NW., which two places are about ten leagues asunder. The valley is about three leagues wide; there is a level sandy bay against the sea, and good smooth landing. In the midst of the bay is a fine river, whereinto boats may enter. When our canoes came to this pleasant valley, they landed thirty-seven men, and marched into the country seeking for some houses. They had not gone past three miles before they were attacked by 150 Spaniards, horse and foot. There was a small thin wood close by them, into which our men retreated to secure themselves from the fury of the horse; yet the Spaniards rode in among them and attacked them very furiously, till the Spanish captain and seventeen more tumbled dead off their horses; then the rest retreated, being many of them wounded. We lost four men, and had two desperately wounded. In this action the foot, who were armed with lances and swords, and were the greatest number, never made any attack; the horsemen had each a brace of pistols, and some short guns. If the foot had came in, they had certainly destroyed all our men. When the skirmish was over, our men placed the two wounded men on horses, and came to their canoes. There they killed one of the horses, and dressed it, being afraid to venture into the savannah to kill a bullock, of which there was store. When they had eaten and satisfied themselves, they returned aboard. The 25th, being Christmas, we cruised in pretty near the cape, and sent in three canoes with the strikers to get fish, being desirous to have a Christmas dinner. In the afternoon they returned aboard with three great Jew-fish, which feasted us all; and the next day we sent ashore our canoes again and got three or four more. Captain Townley, who went from us at Chametly, came aboard the 28th, and brought about forty bushels of maize. He had landed to the eastward of Cape Corrientes, and marched to an Indian village that is four or five leagues in the country. The Indians, seeing him coming, set two houses on fire that were full of maize and ran away. Yet he and his men got in other houses as much as they could bring down on their backs, which he brought aboard.

We cruised off the Cape till the 1st of January 1686, and then made towards the valley of Valderas to hunt for beef; and before night we anchored in the bottom of the bay in sixty fathoms water, a mile from the shore. Here we stayed hunting till the 7th, and Captain Swan and Captain Townley went ashore every morning with about 240 men, and marched to a small hill, where they remained with fifty or sixty men to watch the Spaniards, who appeared in great companies on other hills not far distant, but did never attempt anything against our men. Here we killed and salted above two months' meat, besides what we spent fresh; and might have killed as much more if we had been better stored with salt. Our hopes of meeting the Philippine ship were now over, for we did all conclude that while we were necessitated to hunt here for provisions she was past by to the eastwards, as indeed she was, as we did understand afterwards by prisoners. So this design failed through Captain Townley's eagerness after the Lima ship, which he attempted in Acapulco harbour, as I have related. For though we took a little flour hard by, yet the same guide which told us of that ship would have conducted us where we might have had store of beef and maize; but instead thereof, we lost both our time and the opportunity of providing ourselves, and so were forced to be victualling when we should have been cruising off Cape Corrientes in expectation of the Manilla ship. Hitherto

north of Cape Corrientes, seems to be here intended.

[1] Now called Point of Mita.

we had coasted along here with two different designs; the one was to get the Manilla ship, which would have enriched us beyond measure, and this Captain Townley was most for. Sir Thomas Cavendish formerly took the Manilla ship off Cape San Lucas in California (where we also would have waited for her had we been early enough stored with provisions to have met her there), and threw much rich goods overboard. The other design, which Captain Swan and our crew were most for, was to search along the coast for rich towns, and mines chiefly of gold and silver, which we were assured were in this country, and, we hoped, near the shore; not knowing (as we afterwards found) that it was in effect an inland country, its wealth remote from the South Sea coast, and having little or no commerce with it, its trade being driven eastward with Europe by La Vera Cruz. Yet we had still some expectation of mines, and so resolved to steer on farther northward. But Captain Townley, who had no other design in coming on this coast but to meet this ship, resolved to return again towards the coast of Peru. So here we parted, he to the eastward and we to the westward, intending to search as far to the westward as the Spaniards were settled.

It was the 7th of January in the morning when we sailed from this pleasant valley. Before night we passed by Point Pontique; it is high, round, rocky, and barren; at a distance it appears like an island. A league to the W. of this point are two small barren islands called the Islands of Pontique.[1] There are several high, sharp, white rocks that lie scattering about them; we passed between these rocky islands on the left and the main on the right, for there is no danger. The 14th we had sight of a small white rock which appears very much like a ship under sail. This rock is in Lat. 21° 15′; it is three leagues from the main. At night we anchored in six fathoms water, near a league from the main, in good oozy ground. We caught a great many cat-fish here, and at several places on this coast both before and after this. From this island the land runs more northerly, making a fair sandy bay; but the sea falls in with such violence on the shore that there is no landing. We came to an anchor every evening, and in the mornings we sailed off with the land-wind.

The 20th we anchored about three miles on the east side of the Islands of Chametly,[2] different from those of that name before mentioned; for these are six small islands in Lat. 23° 11′, a little to the south of the Tropic of Cancer and about three leagues from the main, where a salt lake has its outlet into the sea. These isles are of an indifferent height; some of them have a few shrubby bushes, the rest are bare of any sort of wood. There is a sort of fruit growing on these islands, called penguins, and it is all the fruit they have. The penguin fruit is of two sorts, the yellow and the red. The yellow penguin grows on a green stem as big as a man's arm above a foot high from the ground. The leaves of this stalk are half a foot long and an inch broad; the edges full of sharp prickles. The fruit grows at the head of the stalk in two or three great clusters, sixteen or twenty in a cluster. The fruit is as big as a pullet's egg, of a round form, and in colour yellow. It has a thick skin or rind, and the inside is full of small black seeds mixed among the fruit. The red penguin is of the bigness and colour of a small dry onion, and in shape much like a ninepin, for it grows not on a stalk or stem as the other, but one end on the ground, the other standing upright. There are some guanas on these islands, but no

[1] Two or three small islands, including Corvetena and Marieta, are marked in modern maps in a corresponding situation off Point Mita.

[2] Properly the Islands of Mazatlan, the name in the text being erroneously taken from a town called Chamatla, about forty miles south of Mazatlan.

other sort of land animal. The bays about the islands are sometimes visited by seal.

Captain Swan went away from hence with 100 men in our canoes to the northward to seek for the River Culiacan, possibly the same with the River of Piastla,[1] which some maps lay down in the province or region of Culiacan. This river lies in about 24° N. Lat. We were informed that there is a fair and rich Spanish town seated on the east side of it, with savannahs about it full of bulls and cows, and that the inhabitants of this town pass over in boats to the Island of California, where they fish for pearl. I have been told since by a Spaniard that said he had been at the Island California,[2] that there are great plenty of pearl oysters there, and that the native Indians of California near the pearl fishery are mortal enemies to the Spaniards. Our canoes were absent three or four days, and said they had been above thirty leagues but found no river; that the land by the sea was low and all sandy bay, but such a great sea that there was no landing. They met us in their return in Lat. 23° 30′, coasting along shore after them towards Culiacan, so we returned again to the eastward. This was the farthest that I was to the north on this coast. Six or seven leagues NNW. from the Isles of Chametly there is a small narrow entrance into a lake which runs about twelve leagues easterly, parallel with the shore, making many small low mangrove islands. The mouth of this lake is in Lat. about 23° 30′. It is called by the Spaniards Rio de Sal, for it is a salt lake. There is water enough for boats and canoes to enter, and smooth landing after you are in. On the west side of it there is a house and an estantion or farm of large cattle. Our men went into the lake and landed, and coming to the house, found seven or eight bushels of maize, but the cattle were driven away by the Spaniards; yet there our men took the owner of the estantion and brought him aboard. He said that the beeves were driven a great way into the country for fear we should kill them. While we lay here, Captain Swan went into this lake again, and landed 150 men on the NE. side, and marched into the country. About a mile from the landing-place, as they were entering a dry Salina or salt-pond, they fired at two Indians that crossed the way before them. One of them, being wounded in the thigh, fell down; and being examined, he told our men that there was an Indian town four or five leagues off, and that the way which they were going would bring them thither. While they were in discourse with the Indian, they were attacked by 100 Spanish horsemen, who came with a design to scare them back, but wanted both arms and hearts to do it. Our men passed on from thence, and in their way marched through a savannah of long dry grass. This the Spaniards set on fire, thinking to burn them; but that did not hinder our men from marching forward, though it did trouble them a little. They rambled for want of guides all this day and part of the next before they came to the town the Indian spoke of. There they found a company of Spaniards and Indians, who made head against them, but were driven out of the town after a short dispute. Here our Surgeon and one man more were wounded with arrows, but none of the rest were hurt. When they came into the town they found two or three Indians wounded, who told them that the name of the town was Mazatlan; that there were a few Spaniards living in it, and the rest were Indians; that

[1] The Culiacan and the Piastla are two distinct streams, the former being the more northerly.

[2] In the maps accompanying the second edition of Dampier's Voyage (London, 1697), from which the text is printed, California is more than once laid down as an island, though the author, near the end of the present Chapter, mentions some later Spanish maps in which it is made "to join to the main."

five leagues from this town there were two rich gold mines where the Spaniards of Compostella,[1] which is the chief town in these parts, kept many slaves and Indians at work for gold. Here our men lay that night, and the next morning packed up all the maize that they could find, and brought it on their backs to the canoes, and came aboard.

We lay here till the 2d of February, and then Captain Swan went away with about eighty men to the River Rosario,[2] where they landed and marched to an Indian town of the same name. They found it about nine miles from the sea; the way to it fair and even. This was a fine little town, of about sixty or seventy houses, with a fair church; and it was chiefly inhabited by Indians. They took prisoners there who told them that the River Rosario is rich in gold, and that the mines are not above two leagues from the town. Captain Swan did not think it convenient to go to the mines, but made haste aboard with the maize which he took there, to the quantity of about eighty or ninety bushels, which to us, in the scarcity we were in of provisions, was at that time more valuable than all the gold in the world; and had he gone to the mines the Spaniards would probably have destroyed the corn before his return. The 3d of February we went with our ships also towards the River Rosario, and anchored the next day against the river's mouth. The 7th, Captain Swan came aboard with the maize which he got. This was but a small quantity for so many men as we were, especially considering the place we were in, being strangers and having no pilots to direct or guide us into any river; and we being without all sort of provisions but what we were forced to get in this manner from the shore. The 8th, Captain Swan sent about forty men to seek for the River Olita, which is to the eastward of the River Rosario. The next day we followed after with the ships. In the afternoon our canoes came again to us, for they could not find the River Olita; therefore we designed next for the River Santiago, to the eastward still. The 11th, in the evening, we anchored against the mouth of the river, about two miles from the shore. It is one of the principal rivers on this coast. The mouth of this river is near half-a-mile broad, and very smooth entering. Within the mouth it is broader; for three or four rivers more meet there and issue all out together. The 11th, Captain Swan sent seventy men in four canoes into this river, to seek a town; for although we had no intelligence of any, yet, the country appearing very promising, we did not question but they would find inhabitants before they returned. They spent two days in rowing up and down the creeks and rivers; at last they came to a large field of maize, which was almost ripe: they immediately fell to gathering as fast as they could, and intended to lade the canoes; but seeing an Indian that was set to watch the corn, they quitted that troublesome and tedious work and seized him and brought him aboard, in hopes by his information to have some more easy and expeditious way of a supply by finding corn ready cut and dried. He being examined said that there was a town called Santa Pecaque[3] four leagues from the place where he was taken; and that if we designed to go thither he would undertake to be our guide. Captain Swan immediately ordered his men to make ready, and the same evening went away with eight canoes and 140 men, taking the Indian for their guide.

[1] Nueva Compostella, a city built by Nunez de Guzman, once the see of a bishop, now removed to Guadalaxara, along with the importance, if not the very existence, of the place.

[2] At no great distance east of Mazatlan; several miles up the river is the *town of Asilo de Rosario*.

[3] Marked on Dampier's map a little way up the left or south bank of the River Santiago, but not traceable in modern maps.

He rowed about five leagues up the river, and landed the next morning. The river at this place was not above pistol-shot wide, the banks pretty high on each side, and the land plain and even. He left twenty-three men to guard the canoes, and marched with the rest to the town. He set out from the canoes at 6 o'clock in the morning, and reached the town by ten. The way through which he passed was very plain, part of it woodland, part savannahs. The savannahs were full of horses, bulls, and cows. The Spaniards seeing him coming ran all away; so he entered the town without the least opposition. This town of Santa Pecaque stands on a plain in a savannah by the side of a wood, with many fruit trees about it. It is but a small town, but very regular, after the Spanish mode, with a parade in the midst. The houses fronting the parade had all balconies; there were two churches, one against the parade, the other at the end of the town. It is inhabited mostly by Spaniards. Their chief occupation is husbandry. There are also some carriers, who are employed by the merchants of Compostella to trade for them to and from the mines. Compostella is a rich town about twenty-one leagues from hence. It is the chief in all this part of the kingdom, and is reported to have seventy White families; which is a great matter in these parts, for it may be that such a town has no less than 500 families of copper-coloured people besides the Whites. The silver mines are about five or six leagues from Santa Pecaque; there, as we were told, the inhabitants of Compostella had some hundreds of slaves at work. The silver here and all over the kingdom of Mexico is said to be finer and richer in proportion than that of Potosi or Peru, though the ore be not so abundant; and the carriers of this town of Santa Pecaque carry the ore to Compostella, where it is refined. These carriers or sutlers also furnish the slaves at the mines with maize, whereof there was great plenty now in the town, designed for that use; there was also sugar, salt, and salt-fish.

Captain Swan's only business at Santa Pecaque was to get provision; therefore he ordered his men to divide themselves into two parts, and by turns carry down the provision to the canoes; one half remaining in the town to secure what they had taken, while the other half were going and coming. In the afternoon they caught some horses; and the next morning, being the 17th, fifty-seven men and some horses went laden with maize to the canoes. They found them, and the men left to guard them, in good order, though the Spaniards had given them a small diversion, and wounded one man; but our men of the canoes landed and drove them away. These that came loaded to the canoes left seven men more there, so that now there were thirty men to guard the canoes. At night the others returned; and the 18th, in the morning, that half which stayed the day before at the town took their turn of going, with every man his burthen, and twenty-four horses laden. Before they returned, Captain Swan and his other men at the town caught a prisoner, who said that there were near 1000 men of all colours, Spaniards and Indians, Negroes and Mulattoes, in arms at a place called Santiago, but three leagues off, the chief town on this river; that the Spaniards were armed with guns and pistols, and the copper-coloured with swords and lances. Captain Swan, fearing the ill consequence of separating his small company, was resolved the next day to march away with the whole party; and therefore he ordered his men to catch as many horses as they could, that they might carry the more provision with them. Accordingly, the next day, being the 19th of February 1686, Captain Swan called out his men betimes to be gone; but they refused to go, and said that they would not leave the town till all the provision was in the canoes; therefore he was forced to yield to them, and suffered half the

company to go as before. They had now fifty-four horses laden, which Captain Swan ordered to be tied one to another, and the men to go in two bodies, twenty-five before and as many behind; but the men would go at their own rate, every man leading his horse. The Spaniards observed their manner of marching, and laid an ambush about a mile from the town, which they managed with such success, that falling on our body of men who were guarding the corn to the canoes, they killed them every one. Captain Swan hearing the report of their guns, ordered his men who were then in the town with him to march out to their assistance; but some opposed him, despising their enemies; till two of the Spaniards' horses that had lost their riders came galloping into the town in a great fright, both bridled and saddled, with each a pair of holsters by their sides, and one had a carbine newly discharged; which was an apparent token that our men had been engaged, and that by men better armed than they imagined they should meet with. Therefore Captain Swan immediately marched out of the town, and his men all followed him; and when he came to the place where the engagement had been, he saw all his men that went out in the morning lying dead. They were stripped, and so cut and mangled that he scarce knew one man. Captain Swan had not more men then with him than those were who lay dead before him; yet the Spaniards never came to oppose him, but kept at a great distance; for it is probable the Spaniards had not cut off so many men of ours, but with the loss of a great many of their own. So he marched down to the canoes, and came aboard the ship with the maize that was already in the canoes. We had about fifty men killed.

This loss discouraged us from attempting anything more hereabouts. Therefore Captain Swan proposed to go to Cape San Lucas, on California, *to careen.* He had two reasons for *this: first, that he thought* he could lie there secure from the Spaniards; and next, that if he could get a commerce with the Indians there, he might make a discovery in the Lake of California, and by their assistance try for some of the plate of New Mexico. This Lake of California (for so the sea, channel, or strait, between that and the continent is called) is but little known to the Spaniards, by what I could ever learn; for their draughts do not agree about it. Some of them make California an island. Some of their draughts newly made make California to join to the main. I believe that the Spaniards do not care to have this lake discovered, for fear less other European nations should get knowledge of it, and by that means visit the mines of New Mexico. New Mexico, by report of several English prisoners there, and Spaniards I have met with, lies NW. from Old Mexico between 400 and 500 leagues, and the biggest part of the treasure which is found in this kingdom is in that province; but without doubt there are plenty of mines in other parts, as well as in this part of the kingdom where we now were, as in other places; and probably on the main bordering on the Lake of California, although not yet discovered by the Spaniards, who have mines enough, and therefore as yet have no reason to discover more. In my opinion, here might be very advantageous discoveries made by any that would attempt it, for the Spaniards have more than they can well manage. I know yet they would lie like the dog in the manger; although not able to eat themselves, yet they would endeavour to hinder others. But the voyage thither being so far, I take that to be one reason that has hindered the discoveries of these parts; yet it is possible that a man may find a nearer way hither than we came; I mean by the north-west. I know there have been divers attempts made about a north-west passage, and all unsuccessful; yet I am of opinion that such a passage may be found. All our countrymen that have gone

to discover the NW. passage, have endeavoured to pass to the westward, beginning their search along Davis's or Hudson's Bay. But if I were to go on this discovery, I would go first into the South Seas, bend my course from thence along by California, and that way seek a passage back into the West Seas. For as others have spent the summer in first searching on this more known side nearer home, and so before they got through, the time of the year obliged them to give over their search and provide for a long course back again, for fear of being left in the winter; on the contrary, I would search first on the less known coasts of the South Sea side, and then as the year passed away I should need no retreat, for I should come farther into my knowledge[1] if I succeeded in my attempt, and should be without that dread and fear which the others must have in passing from the known to the unknown; who, for aught I know, gave over their search just as they were on the point of accomplishing their desires. I would take the same method if I were to go to discover the north-east passage. I would winter about Japan, Corea, or the north-east part of China; and taking the spring and summer before me, I would make my first trial on the coast of Tartary; wherein, if I succeeded, I should come into some known parts, and have a great deal of time before me to reach Archangel or some other port. Captain Wood indeed says this north-east passage is not to be found for ice; but how often do we see that sometimes designs have been given over as impossible, and at another time and by other ways those very things have been accomplished? But enough of this.

The next day after that fatal skirmish near Santa Pecaque, Captain Swan ordered all our water to be filled, and to get ready to sail. The 21st we sailed from thence, directing our course towards California. We passed by three islands, called the [Three] Marias.[2] We beat till the 6th of February, but it was against a brisk wind, and proved labour in vain.

Finding, therefore, that we got nothing, but rather lost ground, being then in 21° 5′ N., we steered away more to the eastward again for the Islands Marias, and the 7th we came to an anchor at the east end of the middle island. The Marias are three uninhabited islands in Lat. 21° 40′; they are distant from Cape San Lucas on California forty leagues, bearing ESE., and from Cape Corrientes twenty leagues, bearing upon the same points of the compass with Cape San Lucas. They stretch NW. and SE. about fourteen leagues. There are two or three small high rocks near them; the westernmost of them is the biggest island of the three, and they are all three of an indifferent height. The soil is stony and dry; the land, in most places, is covered with a shrubby sort of wood, very thick and troublesome to pass through. In some places there is plenty of straight, large cedars. [These islands are described as uninhabitable, but guanas, racoons, turtle, tortoise, and seal were to be had in abundance. Captain Swan named the middle island Prince George's Island. Dampier was here sick of a dropsy, but having been buried half-an-hour in the hot sand to induce perspiration, he got well shortly afterwards.] . . .

We stayed here till the 20th; and then both vessels being clean, we sailed to the valley of Valderas to water. The 28th we anchored in the bottom of the bay of the valley of Valderas, right against the river, where we watered before;[3] but this river was brackish now in the dry season, and therefore we went two or three leagues nearer Cape Corrientes, and anchored by a small round island not half a-mile from the shore. Here our strikers struck nine or ten Jew-

[1] Into the regions of which I had knowledge.

[2] There are really four islands in the group; the fourth, lying farthest to the north-west, is called Santa Juanio.

[3] See Note 2, page 214.

fish: some we did eat, and the rest we salted; and the 29th we filled thirty-two tons of very good water.

Having thus provided ourselves, we had nothing more to do but to put in execution our intended expedition to the East Indies, in hopes of some better success there than we had met with on this little frequented coast. We came on it full of expectations; for besides the richness of the country, and the probability of finding some seaports worth visiting, we persuaded ourselves that there must needs be shipping and trade here, and that Acapulco and La Vera Cruz were to the kingdom of Mexico what Panama and Porto Bello are to that of Peru, viz., marts for carrying on a constant commerce between the South and North Seas, as indeed they are. But whereas we expected that this commerce should be managed by sea from the places along the west coast, we found ourselves mistaken; that of Mexico being almost wholly a land trade, and managed more by mules than by ships; so that instead of profit, we met with little on this coast besides fatigues, hardships, and losses, and so were the more easily induced to try what better fortune we might have in the East Indies. But, to do right to Captain Swan, he had no intention to be as a privateer in the East Indies; but, as he has often assured me with his own mouth, he resolved to take the first opportunity of returning to England; so that he feigned a compliance with some of his men who were bent upon going to cruise at Manilla, that he might have leisure to take some favourable opportunity of quitting the privateer trade.

CHAPTER X.

I HAVE given an account in the last Chapter of the resolutions we took of going over to the East Indies. But having more calmly considered on the length of our voyage from hence to *Guam, one of the* Ladrone Islands, which is the first place that we could touch at, and there also being not certain to find provisions, most of our men were almost daunted at the thoughts of it, for we had not sixty days' provision, at a little more than half a pint of maize a-day for each man, and no other provision except three meals of salted Jew-fish; and we had a great many rats aboard which we could not hinder from eating part of our maize; besides the great distance between Cape Corrientes and Guam, which is variously set down. The Spaniards, who have the greatest reason to know best, make it to be between 2300 and 2400 leagues: our books also reckon it differently—between 90 and 100 degrees, which all comes short indeed of 2000 leagues; but even that was a voyage enough to frighten us, considering our scanty provisions. Captain Swan, to encourage his men to go with him, persuaded them that the English books did give the best account of the distance; his reasons were many, although but weak. He urged, among the rest, that Sir Thomas Cavendish and Sir Francis Drake did run it in less than fifty days, and that he did not question but that our ships were better sailers than those which were built in that age; and that he did not doubt to get there in little more than forty days, this being the best time in the year for breezes, which undoubtedly is the reason that the Spaniards set out from Acapulco about this time; and that although they are sixty days in their voyage, it is because they are great ships, deep-laden, and very heavy sailers; besides, they, wanting nothing, are in no great haste in their way, but sail with a great deal of their usual caution, and when they come near the Island of Guam, they lie by in the night for a week before they make land. In prudence we also should have contrived to lie by in the night when we came near land; for otherwise we might have run ashore, or have outsailed the islands and lost sight of them before morning. But our bold adventurers seldom proceed

with such wariness when in any straits. But of all Captain Swan's arguments, that which prevailed most with them was his promising them, as I have said, to cruise off Manilla. So he and his men being now agreed, and they encouraged with the hope of gain, which works its way through all difficulties, we set out from Cape Corrientes, March the 31st, 1686. We were two ships in company, Captain Swan's ship and a bark commanded under Captain Swan by Captain Tait, and we were 150 men—100 aboard of the ship, and 50 aboard the bark, besides slaves, as I said.

The next morning, about 10 o'clock, we had the sea breeze at NNE., so that at noon we were thirty leagues from the cape. It blew a fresh gale of wind, which carried us off into the true trade-wind. At first we had it at NNE., so it came about easterly, and then to the east as we ran off. At 250 leagues' distance from the shore we had it at ENE., and there it stood till we came within forty leagues of Guam. When we had eaten up our three meals of salted Jew-fish in so many days' time, we had nothing but our small allowance of maize. After the 1st of May we made great runs every day, having very fair clear weather and a fresh trade-wind, which we made use of with all our sails, and we made many good observations of the sun. At our first setting out we steered into the Lat. of 13°, which is near the Latitude of Guam; then we steered west, keeping in that Latitude. By the time we had sailed twenty days, our men, seeing we made such great runs, and the wind like to continue, repined because they were kept at such short allowance. Captain Swan endeavoured to persuade them to have a little patience, yet nothing but an augmentation of their daily allowance would appease them. Captain Swan, though with much reluctance, gave way to a small enlargement of our commons, for now we had not above ten spoonfuls of boiled maize a-man once a-day, whereas before we had eight. I do believe that this short allowance did me a great deal of good, though others were weakened by it, for I found that my strength increased and my dropsy wore off. Yet I drank three times every twenty-four hours; but many of our men did not drink in nine or ten days' time, and some not in twelve days; one of our men did not drink in seventeen days' time, and said he was not a-dry when he did drink; yet he made water every day, more or less. One of our men in the midst of these hardships was found guilty of theft, and condemned for the same to have three blows from each man in the ship with a two-inch and a half rope on his bare back. Captain Swan began first, and struck with a good will, whose example was followed by all of us. It was very strange that in all this voyage we did not see one fish, not so much as a flying fish, nor any sort of fowl; but at one time, when we were by my account 4975 miles west from Cape Corrientes; then we saw a great number of boobies, which we supposed came from some rocks not far from us, which were mentioned in some of our sea-charts, but we did not see them.

After we had run the 1900 leagues by our reckoning, which made the English account to Guam, the men began to murmur against Captain Swan for persuading them to come this voyage; but he gave them fair words, and told them that the Spanish account might probably be the truest, and seeing the gale was likely to continue, a short time longer would end our troubles. As we drew nigh the island, we met with some small rain, and the clouds settling in the west were an apparent token that we were not far from land; for in these climates between or near the Tropics, where the trade-wind blows constantly, the clouds, which fly swift overhead, yet seem near the limb[1] of the horizon to hang without much motion or alteration where the land is near. I

[1] The utmost edge or border; an astronomical term applied to the border of the disc of the sun, the moon, or any planet.

have often taken notice of it, especially if it is high land, for you shall then have the clouds hang about it without any visible motion. The 20th day of May our bark, being about three leagues ahead of our ship, sailed over a rocky shoal on which there was but four fathom water, and abundance of fish swimming about the rocks. They imagined by this that the land was not far off; so they clapped on a wind with the bark's head to the north, and being past the shoal, lay by for us. When we came up with them, Captain Tait came aboard us and related what he had seen. We were then in Lat. 12° 55′, steering W. The Island of Guam is laid down in Lat. 13° N. by the Spaniards, who are masters of it, keeping it as a baiting-place[1] as they go to the Philippine Islands. Therefore we clapped on a wind and stood to the N., being somewhat troubled and doubtful whether we were right, because there is no shoal laid down in the Spanish draughts about the Island of Guam. At four o'clock, to our great joy, we saw the Island Guam at about eight leagues' distance. It was well for Captain Swan that we got sight of it before our provision was spent, of which we had but enough for three days more; for, as I was afterwards informed, the men had contrived[2] first to kill Captain Swan and eat him when the victuals were gone, and after him, all of us who were accessory in promoting the undertaking this voyage. This made Captain Swan say to me after our arrival at Guam, "Ah! Dampier, you would have made them but a poor meal," for I was as lean as the Captain was lusty and fleshy. The wind was at ENE. and the land bore NNE.; therefore we stood to the northward till we brought the island to bear east, and then we turned to get in to an anchor. [Dampier here occupies several pages with a detailed table, showing every day's run during the voyage, with the course steered, the direction of the wind, and the observations made; the result being, by his computation, a total westing of 7323 miles, or 125° 11′ of longitude, "allowing fifty-eight or fifty-nine Italian miles to a degree in these latitudes." And upon the ground of this calculation he disputes the ordinary reckoning of hydrographers, who make the breadth of the South Sea "only about 100 degrees, more or less." The tables and argument are omitted, being purely technical and practically obsolete.]

The Island of Guam, or Guahan (as the native Indians pronounce it), is one of the Ladrone Islands, and belongs to the Spaniards, who have a small fort with six guns in it, with a Governor and twenty or thirty soldiers. They keep it for the relief and refreshment of their Philippine ships that touch here in their way from Acapulco to Manilla, but the winds will not so easily let them take this way back again. The Spaniards of late have named Guam the Island Maria; it is about twelve leagues long and four broad, lying N. and S. It is a pretty high champaign land. The 21st of May 1686, at eleven o'clock in the evening, we anchored near the middle of the Island of Guam, on the west side, a mile from the shore. At a distance it appears flat and even, but coming near it you will find it stands shelving; and the east side, which is much the highest, is fenced with steep rocks that oppose the violence of the sea which continually rages against it, being driven with the constant trade-wind, and on that side there is no anchoring. The west side is pretty low and full of small sandy bays, divided with as many rocky points. The soil of the island is reddish, dry, and indifferent fruitful. The fruits are chiefly rice, pine-apples, water-melons, musk-melons, oranges and limes, cocoa-nuts, and a sort of fruit called by us bread-fruit.

The cocoa-nut trees grow by the sea on the western side in great groves, three or four miles in length, and a mile or two broad. This tree

[1] A place of provisioning or refreshment.

[2] *Plotted, arranged.*

is in shape like the cabbage tree, and at a distance they are not to be known each from other, only the cocoa-nut tree is fuller of branches; but the cabbage tree generally is much higher, though the cocoa-nut trees in some places are very high. . . .

The natives of this island are strong-bodied, large-limbed, and well-shaped. They are copper-coloured like other Indians; their hair is black and long, their eyes meanly proportioned; they have pretty high noses; their lips are pretty full, and their teeth indifferent white. They are long-visaged, and stern of countenance; yet we found them to be affable and courteous. They are many of them troubled with a kind of leprosy.

The natives are very ingenious beyond any people in making boats, or proas as they are called in the East Indies, and therein they take great delight. These are built sharp at both ends. The bottom is of one piece, made like the bottom of a little canoe, very neatly dug, and left of a good substance. This bottom part is instead of a keel; it is about twenty-six or twenty-eight feet long; the under part of this keel is made round, but inclining to a wedge, and smooth; and the upper part is almost flat, having a very gentle hollow, and is about a foot broad. From hence both sides of the boat are carried up to about five feet high with narrow plank, not above four or five inches broad, and each end of the boat turns up round very prettily. But, what is very singular, one side of the boat is made perpendicular, like a wall, while the other side is rounding, made as other vessels are, with a pretty full belly. Just in the middle it is about four or five feet broad aloft, or more, according to the length of the boat. The mast stands exactly in the middle, with a long yard that peaks up and down like a mizzen-yard. One end of it reaches down to the end or head of the boat, where it is placed in a notch that is made there purposely to receive it and keep it fast; the other end hangs over the stern. To this yard the sail is fastened. At the foot of the sail there is another small yard, to keep the sail out square, and to roll up the sail on when it blows hard; for it serves instead of a reef to take up the sail to what degree they please, according to the strength of the wind. Along the belly-side of the boat, parallel with it, at about six or seven feet distance, lies another small boat or canoe, being a log of very light wood, almost as long as the great boat, but not so wide, being not above a foot and a half wide at the upper part, and very sharp like a wedge at each end. And there are two bamboos of about eight or ten feet long, and as big as one's leg, placed over the great boat's side, one near each end of it, and reaching about six or seven feet from the side of the boat; by the help of which the little boat is made firm and contiguous to the other. . . . I have been the more particular in describing these boats, because I believe they sail the best of any boats in the world. I did here for my own satisfaction try the swiftness of one of them; sailing by our log, we had twelve knots on our reel, and she ran it all out before the half-minute glass was half out, which, if it had been no more, is after the rate of twelve miles an hour; but I do believe she would have run twenty-four miles an hour. . . .

The Indians of Guam have neat little houses, very handsomely thatched with palmetto thatch. They inhabit together in villages built by the sea on the west side, and have Spanish priests to instruct them in the Christian religion. The Spaniards have a small fort on the west side, near the south end, with six guns in it. There is a Governor, and twenty or thirty Spanish soldiers. There are no more Spaniards on the island, besides two or three priests. Not long before we arrived here, the natives rose on the Spaniards to destroy them, and did kill many; but the Governor with his soldiers at length prevailed, and drove them out of the fort. So, when they found themselves disappointed of their intent, they destroyed the plantations

and stock, and then went away to other islands. There were then 300 or 400 Indians on this island; but now there are not above 100, for all that were in this conspiracy went away. As for those who yet remain, if they were not actually concerned in that broil, yet their hearts also are bent against the Spaniards; for they offered to carry us to the fort, and assist us in the conquest of the island; but Captain Swan was not for molesting the Spaniards here. Before we came to an anchor here, one of the priests came aboard in the night with three Indians. They first hailed us to know from whence we came and what we were; to whom answer was made in Spanish that we were Spaniards, and that we came from Acapulco. It being dark, they could not see the make of our ship, nor very well discern what we were. Therefore they came aboard; but perceiving the mistake they were in in taking us for a Spanish ship, they endeavoured to get from us again; but we held their boat fast, and made them come in. Captain Swan received the priest with much civility, and, conducting him into the great cabin, declared that the reason of our coming to this island was want of provision, and that he came not in any hostile manner, but as a friend, to purchase with his money what he wanted; and therefore desired the priest to write a letter to the Governor to inform him what we were and on what account we came. For having him now aboard, the Captain was willing to detain him as a hostage till we had provision. The Padre told Captain Swan that provision was now scarce on the island, but he would engage that the Governor would do his utmost to furnish us.

In the morning, the Indians, in whose boat or proa the Friar came aboard, were sent to the Governor with two letters, one from the Friar, and another very obliging one from Captain Swan, and a present of four yards of scarlet cloth, and a piece of broad silver and gold lace. The Governor lives near the south end of the island, on the west side, which was about five leagues from the place where we were; therefore we did not expect an answer till the evening, not knowing then how nimble they were. Therefore, when the Indian canoe was despatched away to the Governor, we hoisted out two of our canoes, and sent one a-fishing and the other ashore for cocoa-nuts. Our fishing canoe got nothing, but the men that went ashore for cocoa-nuts came off laden. About 11 o'clock that same morning, the Governor of the island sent a letter to Captain Swan, complimenting him for his present, and promising to support us with as much provision as he could possibly spare; and as a token of his gratitude he sent a present of six hogs of a small sort, most excellent meat, the best, I think, that ever I ate; they are fed with cocoa-nuts, and their flesh is hard as brisket beef. They were doubtless of that breed in America which came originally from Spain. He sent also twelve musk-melons, larger than ours in England, and as many water-melons, both sorts here being a very excellent fruit; and sent an order to the Indians that lived in a village not far from our ship to bake every day as much of the bread-fruit as we desired, and to assist us in getting as many dry cocoa-nuts as we would have, which they accordingly did, and brought of the bread-fruit every day hot, as much as we could eat. After this the Governor sent every day a canoe or two with hogs and fruit, and desired for the same powder, shot, and arms, which were sent according to his request. We had a delicate[1] large English dog, which the Governor did desire, and had it given him very freely by the Captain, though much against the grain of many of his men, who had a great value for that dog. Captain Swan endeavoured to get this Governor's letter of recommendation to some merchants at Manilla, for he had then a design to go to Fort St George,[2]

[1] Handsome, or favourite.
[2] Madras.

and from thence intended to trade at Manilla: but this his design was concealed from the company. While we lay here, the Acapulco ship arrived in sight of the island, but did not come in sight of us; for the Governor sent an Indian proa with advice of our being here. Therefore she stood off to the southward of the island, and coming foul of the same shoal that our bark had run over before, was in great danger of being lost there; for she struck off her rudder, and with much ado got clear, but not till after three days' labour. This we heard afterwards, when we were on the coast of Manilla; but these Indians of Guam did speak of her being in sight of the island while we lay there, which put our men in a great heat to go out after her; but Captain Swan persuaded them out of that humour, for he was now wholly averse to any hostile action.

The 30th of May the Governor sent his last present, which was some hogs, a jar of pickled mangoes, a jar of excellent pickled fish, and a jar of fine rusk, or bread of fine wheat flour, baked like biscuit, but not so hard. He sent besides six or seven packs of rice, desiring to be excused from sending any more provision to us, saying he had no more on the island that he could spare. He sent word also that the west monsoon was at hand; that therefore it behoved us to be jogging from hence, unless we were resolved to return back to America again. Captain Swan returned him thanks for his kindness and advice, and took his leave; and the same day sent the Friar ashore that was seized on at our first arrival, and gave him a large brass clock, an astralobe, and a large telescope; for which present the Friar sent us aboard six hogs and a roasting pig, three or four bushels of potatoes, and fifty pounds of Manilla tobacco. Then we prepared to be gone, being pretty well furnished with provision to carry us to Mindanao, where we designed next to touch. We took aboard as many cocoa-nuts as we could well stow; and we had a good stock of rice, and about fifty hogs in salt.

CHAPTER XI.

WHILE we lay at Guam, we took up a resolution of going to Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, being told by the Friar and others that it was exceedingly well stored with provisions; that the natives were Mahometans, and that they had formerly a commerce with the Spaniards, but that now they were at war with them. This island was therefore thought to be a convenient place for us to go to; for besides that it was in our way to the East Indies, which we had resolved to visit; and that the westerly monsoon was at hand which would oblige us to shelter somewhere in a short time; and that we could not expect good harbours in a better place than in so large an island as Mindanao; besides all this, I say, the inhabitants of Mindanao being then, as we were told (though falsely), at war with the Spaniards, our men, who it should seem were very squeamish of plundering without license, derived hopes from thence of getting a commission there from the Prince of the island to plunder the Spanish ships about Manilla, and so to make Mindanao their common rendezvous. And if Captain Swan was minded to go to an English port, yet his men, who thought he intended to leave them, hoped to get vessels and pilots at Mindanao fit for their turn to cruise on the coast of Manilla. As for Captain Swan, he was willing enough to go thither, as best suiting his own design; and therefore this voyage was concluded on by general consent. Accordingly, June 2d, 1686, we left Guam, bound for Mindanao.

The 21st of June, we arrived at the Island St John,[1] which is one of the

[1] It would seem that Dampier was misled by the deep indentation of the coast on the south of Mindanao to fancy two islands when there was

Philippine Islands. The Philippines are a great company of large islands, taking up about 13° of Lat. in length, reaching near upon from 5° N. Lat. to 19°, and in breadth about 6° of Longitude. They derive this name from Philip the second king of Spain; and even now they do most of them belong to that crown. The chief island in this range is Luconia,[1] which lies on the north of them all. At this island Magellan died in the voyage that he was making round the world. For after he had passed those straits between the south end of America and Tierra del Fuego which now bear his name, and had ranged down in the South Seas on the back of America, from thence stretching over to the East Indies he fell in with the Ladrone Islands, and from thence steering east still he fell in with these Philippine Islands, and anchored at Luconia, where he warred with the native Indians, to bring them in obedience to his master the King of Spain, and was by them killed with a poisoned arrow. It is now wholly under the Spaniards, who have several towns there. The chief is Manilla, which is a large seaport town near the SE. end, opposite to the Island Mindoro. It is a place of great strength and trade; the two great Acapulco ships before mentioned fetching from hence all sorts of East Indian commodities, which are brought hither by foreigners, especially by the Chinese and Portuguese. Sometimes the English merchants of Fort St George send their ships thither as it were by stealth, under the charge of Portuguese pilots and mariners; for as yet we cannot get the Spaniards there to a commerce with us or the Dutch, although they have but few ships of their own. This seems to arise from a jealousy or fear of discovering the riches of these islands; for most if not all the Philippine Islands are rich in gold; and the Spaniards have no place of much strength in all these islands that I could ever hear of, besides Manilla itself. Yet they have villages and towns on several of the islands, and Padres or priests to instruct the native Indians, from whom they get their gold. The Spanish inhabitants, of the smaller islands especially, would willingly trade with us if the government was not so severe against it; for they have no goods but what are brought from Manilla at an extraordinary dear rate. I am of the opinion that if any of our nations would seek a trade with them they would not lose their labour, for the Spaniards can and will smuggle as well as any nation that I know; and our Jamaicans are to their profit sensible enough of it. And I have been informed that Captain Goodlad of London, in a voyage which he made from Mindanao to China, touched at some of these islands, and was civilly treated by the Spaniards, who bought some of his commodities, giving him a very good price for the same. There are about twelve or fourteen more large islands lying to the southwards of Luconia, most of which, as I said before, are inhabited by the Spaniards. Besides these there are an infinite number of small islands of no account; and even the great islands, many of them, are without names, or at least so variously set down, that I find the same islands named by divers names.

The Islands of St John and Mindanao are the southernmost of all these islands, and are the only islands in all this range that are not subject to the Spaniards. St John's Island is on the east side of Mindanao, and distant from it three or four leagues, in Lat. about 7° or 8° N. This island is in length about thirty-eight leagues, stretching NNW. and SSE., and in breadth about twenty-four leagues in the middle of the island; the northernmost end is broader, and the southernmost is narrower.[2] This island is of a good

only one; unless, indeed, he really touched first at Samar, to the north, not the east, of Mindanao.

[1] *Luçonia, or Luzon.*

[2] This answers fairly enough the description of the eastern part of

height, and is full of many small hills. The land at the SE. end, where I was ashore, is of a black fat mould; and the whole island seems to partake of the same fatness, by the vast number of large trees that it produces, for it looks all over like one great grove. As we were passing by the SE. end we saw a canoe of the natives under the shore; therefore one of our canoes went after to have spoken with her, but she ran away from us, seeing themselves chased, put their canoe ashore, leaving her, fled into the woods, nor would be allured to come to us, although we did what we could to entice them. Besides these men we saw no more here, nor sign of any inhabitants at this end. When we came aboard our ship again, we steered away for the Island Mindanao, which was now fair in sight of us; it being about ten leagues distant from this part of St John's. The 22d we came within a league of the east side of the island, and steered toward the north end, keeping on the east side, till we came into the Lat. of 7° 40′, and there we anchored. Some of our books gave us an account that Mindanao city and isle lie in 7° 40′. We guessed that the middle of the island might lie in this latitude, but we were at a great loss where to find the city, whether on the east or west side. Indeed, had it been a small island, lying open to the eastern wind, we might probably have searched first on the west side; for commonly the islands within the Tropics, or within the bounds of the trade-winds, have their harbours on the west side, as best sheltered; but Mindanao being guarded on the east side by St John's Island, we might as reasonably expect to find the harbour and city on this side as anywhere else. But coming into the Latitude in which we judged the city might be, we found no canoes or people that might give us any umbrage[1] of a city or place of trade near at hand, though we coasted within a league of the shore.

The Island Mindanao is the biggest of all the Philippine Islands except Luconia. It is about sixty leagues long, and forty or fifty broad. The south end is in about 5° N., and the NW. end reaches almost to 8°. It is a very mountainous island, full of hills and valleys. The mould in general is deep and black, and extraordinary fat and fruitful. The sides of the hills are stony, yet productive enough of very large tall trees. In the heart of the country there are some mountains that yield good gold. The valleys are well moistened with pleasant brooks and small rivers of delicate water, and have trees of divers sorts flourishing and green all the year. The trees in general are very large, and most of them are of kinds unknown to us. There is one sort which deserves particular notice, called by the natives libby trees.[2] These grow wild in great groves of five or six miles long by the sides of the rivers. Of these trees sago is made, which the poor country people eat instead of bread three or four months in the year. This tree, for its body and shape, is much like the palmetto tree or the cabbage tree, but not so tall as the latter. The bark and wood are hard and thin like a shell, and full of white pith like the pith of an elder. This tree they cut down and split it in the middle, and scrape out all the pith, which they beat lustily with a wooden pestle in a great mortar or trough, and then put into a cloth or strainer held over a trough, and pouring water in among the pith, they stir it about in the cloth. So the water carries all the substance of the pith through the cloth down into the trough, leaving nothing in the cloth but a light sort of husk which they throw away; but that which falls

Mindanao, which, with a broken but fairly continuous coast line on the north and east, is deeply penetrated on the south-east by Davao Bay, which might easily have misled Dampier into supposing the existence of two islands.

[1] Hint, foreshadowing.

[2] The sago palm; Sagus Rumphii.

into the trough settles in a short time to the bottom like mud, and then they draw off the water and take up the muddy substance, wherewith they make cakes, which being baked proves very good bread. The Mindanao people live three or four months of the year on this food for their bread kind. The native Indians of Ternate and Tidore,[1] and all the Spice Islands, have plenty of these trees, and use them for food in the same manner.

The plantain I take to be the king of all fruit, not excepting the cocoa itself. The tree that bears this fruit is about three feet or three feet and a half round, and about ten or twelve feet high. These trees are not raised from seed (for they seem not to have any), but from the roots of other old trees. If these young suckers are taken out of the ground and planted in another place, it will be fifteen months before they bear; but if let stand in their own native soil, they will bear in twelve months. As soon as the fruit is ripe, the tree decays, but then there are many young ones growing up to supply its place. . . . As the fruit of this tree is of great use for food, so is the body no less serviceable to make cloths; but this I never knew till I came to this island. The ordinary people of Mindanao do wear no other cloth. The tree never bearing but once, and so being felled when the fruit is ripe, they cut it down close by the ground if they intend to make cloth with it. One blow with a macheat, or long knife,[2] will strike it asunder: then they cut off the top, leaving the trunk eight or ten feet long, stripping off the outer rind, which is thickest towards the lower end. Having stripped two or three of these rinds, the trunk becomes in a manner all of one bigness, and of a whitish colour: then they split the trunk in the middle, which being done, they split the two halves again as near the middle as they can. This they leave in the sun two or three days, in which time part of the juicy substance of the tree dries away, and then the ends will appear full of small threads. The women, whose employment it is to make the cloth, take hold of those threads one by one, which rend away easily from one end of the trunk to the other, in bigness like whited brown threads; for the threads are naturally of a determinate bigness, as I observed their cloth to be all of one substance and equal fineness; but it is stubborn when new, wears out soon, and when wet feels a little slimy. They make their pieces seven or eight yards long, their warp and woof all one thickness and substance.

The banana tree is exactly like the plantain for shape and bigness, nor easily distinguishable from it but by its fruit, which is a great deal smaller, and not above half so long as a plantain, being also more mellow and soft, less luscious, yet of a more delicate taste. They use this for the making drink oftener than plantains, and it is best when used for drink or eaten as fruit; but it is not so good for bread, nor does it eat well at all when roasted or boiled; for it is only necessity that makes any use it this way. They grow generally where plantains do, being set intermixed with them purposely in their plantain walks. I have not seen the nutmeg trees anywhere; but the nutmegs this island produces are fair and large, yet they have no great store of them, being unwilling to propagate them or the cloves, for fear that should invite the Dutch to visit them and bring them into subjection, as they have done the rest of the neighbouring islands where they grow. For the Dutch being seated among the Spice Islands have monopolised all the trade into their own hands, and will not suffer any of the natives to dispose of it but to themselves alone. Nay, they are so careful to preserve it in their own hands, that they will not suffer the spice to grow in the uninhabited islands, but send soldiers to

[1] Two small islands between Celebes and Gilolo, in the Molucca Passage, south of Mindanao, mentioned by *Drake*. See *ante*, page 85.

[2] *See Note 1, page* 118.

cut the trees down. . . . The free merchants are not suffered to trade to the Spice Islands, nor to many other places where the Dutch have factories; but, on the other hand, they are suffered to trade to some places where the Dutch Company themselves may not trade, as to Achin particularly; for there are some princes in the Indies who will not trade with the Company for fear of them. The seamen that go to the Spice Islands are obliged to bring no spice from thence for themselves except a small matter for their own use, about a pound or two. Yet the masters of those ships do commonly so order their business, that they often secure a good quantity, and send it ashore to some place near Batavia before they come into that harbour (for it is always brought thither first before it is sent to Europe); and if they meet any vessel at sea that will buy their cloves, they will sell ten or fifteen tons out of a hundred, and yet seemingly carry their complement to Batavia; for they will pour water among the remaining part of their cargo, which will swell them to that degree that the ship's hold will be as full again as it was before any were sold. This trick they use whenever they dispose of any clandestinely, for the cloves when they first take them in are extraordinary dry, and so will imbibe a great deal of moisture. This is but one instance of many hundreds of little deceitful arts the Dutch seamen in these parts have among them, of which I have both seen and heard several. I believe there are nowhere greater thieves, and nothing will persuade them to discover one another; for should any do it, the rest would certainly knock him on the head. But to return to the products of Min-danao.

The betel nut is much esteemed here, as it is in most places of the East Indies. The betel tree grows like the cabbage tree, but it is not so big nor so high. The body grows straight, about twelve or fourteen feet high, without leaf or branch, except at the head; there it spreads forth long branches, like other trees of the like nature, as the cabbage tree, the cocoa-nut tree, and the palm. These branches are about ten or twelve feet long, and their stems near the head of the tree as big as a man's arm. On the top of the tree, among the branches, the betel nut grows on a tough stem as big as a man's finger, in clusters much as the cocoa nuts do, and they grow forty or fifty in a cluster. This fruit is bigger than a nutmeg, and is much like it, but rounder. It is much used all over the East Indies. This island produces also durians and jacks. The trees that bear the durians are as big as apple trees, full of boughs. The rind is thick and rough; the fruit is so large that they grow only about the bodies, or on the limbs near the body, like the cacao. The fruit is about the bigness of a large pumpkin, covered with a thick, green, rough rind. When it is ripe, the rind begins to turn yellow, but it is not fit to eat till it opens at the top. Then the fruit in the inside is ripe, and sends forth an excellent scent. When the rind is opened, the fruit may be split into four quarters; each quarter has several small cells that enclose a certain quantity of the fruit according to the bigness of the cell, for some are larger than others. The largest of the fruit may be as big as a pullet's egg; it is as white as milk and as soft as cream, and the taste very delicious to those that are accustomed to them; but those who have not been used to eat them will dislike them at first, because they smell like roasted onions. The jack or jaca is much like the durian, both in bigness and shape. The trees that bear them also are much alike, and so is their manner of the fruits growing; but the inside is different, for the fruit of the durian is white, that of the jack is yellow and fuller of stones. The durian is most esteemed, yet the jack is very pleasant fruit, and the stones or kernels are good roasted. There are many other sorts of grain, roots, and fruits in this island, which, to give a particular description of, would fill up a large volume. In this island

are also many sorts of beasts both wild and tame, as horses, bulls and cows, buffaloes, goats, wild hogs, deer, monkeys, guanas, lizards, snakes, &c. Of the venomous kind of creatures here are scorpions, whose sting is in their tail; and centipedes, called by the English fork-legs, both which are also common in the West Indies, in Jamaica, and elsewhere. The fowls of this country are ducks and hens: other tame fowl I have not seen, nor heard of any. The wild fowl are pigeons, parrots, paroquets, turtle-doves, and abundance of small fowls. There are bats as big as a kite.

There are a great many harbours, creeks, and good bays for ships to ride in; and rivers navigable for canoes, proas, or barks, which are all plentifully stored with fish of divers sorts; so is also the adjacent sea. The chief fish are bonetas, snooks, cavallies, breams, mullets, ten-pounders, &c. Here are also plenty of sea-turtle and small manatee.

The weather at Mindanao is temperate enough as to heat, for all it lies so near the Equator; and especially on the borders near the sea. There they commonly enjoy the breezes by day, and cooling land-winds at night. The winds are easterly one part of the year and westerly the other. The easterly winds begin to blow in October, and it is the middle of November before they are settled. These winds bring fair weather. The westerly winds begin to blow in May, but are not settled till a month afterwards. The west winds always bring rain, tornadoes, and very tempestuous weather. At the first coming in of these winds they blow but faintly; but then the tornadoes rise, one in a day, sometimes two. These are thunder-showers which commonly come against the wind, bringing with them a contrary wind to what did blow before. After the tornadoes are over, the wind shifts about again, and the sky becomes clear; yet then in the valleys, and the sides of the mountains, there rises a thick fog, which covers the land. The tornadoes continue thus for a week or more; then they come thicker, two or three in a day, bringing violent gusts of wind and terrible claps of thunder. At last they come so fast, that the wind remains in the quarter from whence these tornadoes do rise, which is out of the west, and there it settles till October or November. When these westward winds are thus settled, the sky is all in mourning, being covered with black clouds, pouring down excessive rains, sometimes mixed with thunder and lightning, that nothing can be more dismal; the winds raging to that degree, that the biggest trees are torn up by the roots, and the rivers swell and overflow their banks, and drown the low land, carrying great trees into the sea. Thus it continues sometimes a week together, before the sun or stars appear. The fiercest of this weather is in the latter end of July and in August; for then the towns seem to stand in a great pond, and they go from one house to another in canoes. At this time the water carries away all the filth and nastiness from under their houses. Whilst this tempestuous season lasts, the weather is cold and chilly. In September the weather is more moderate, and the winds are not so fierce, nor the rain so violent. The air thenceforward begins to be more clear and delightsome; but then in the morning there are thick fogs, continuing till 10 or 11 o'clock, before the sun shines out, especially when it has rained in the night. In October the easterly winds begin to blow again, and bring fair weather till April. Thus much concerning the natural state of Mindanao.

CHAPTER XII.

THIS Island is not subject to one prince, neither is the language one and the same; but the people are much alike in colour, strength, and stature. They are all or most of them of one religion, which is Mahometanism, and their customs and

manner of living are alike. The Mindanao people, more particularly so called, are the greatest nation in the island; and trading by sea with other nations, they are therefore the more civil.[1] I shall say but little of the rest, being less known to me; but so much as has come to my knowledge take as follows. There are, besides the Mindanayans, the Hilanoons (as they call them), or the Mountaineers, the Sologus, and Alfoores. The Hilanoons live in the heart of the country; they have little or no commerce by sea, yet they have proas that row with twelve or fourteen oars a-piece. They enjoy the benefit of the gold mines, and with their gold buy foreign commodities of the Mindanao people. They have also plenty of bees-wax, which they exchange for other commodities. The Sologus inhabit the NW. end of the island. They are the least nation of all; they trade to Manilla in proas, and to some of the neighbouring islands, but have no commerce with the Mindanao people. The Alfoores are the same with the Mindanayans, and were formerly under the subjection of the Sultan of Mindanao, but were divided between the Sultan's children, and have of late had a Sultan of their own; but having by marriage contracted an alliance with the Sultan of Mindanao, this has occasioned that prince to claim them again as his subjects; and he made war with them a little after we went away, as I afterwards understood.

The Mindanayans, properly so called, are men of mean statures, small limbs, straight bodies, and little heads. Their faces are oval, their foreheads flat, with black small eyes, short low noses, pretty large mouths; their lips thin and red, their teeth black yet very sound, their hair black and straight, the colour of their skin tawny, but inclining to a brighter yellow than some other Indians, especially the women. They have a custom to wear their thumb-nails very long, especially that on their left thumb, for they do never cut it, but scrape it often. They are endowed with good natural wits, are ingenious, nimble, and active when they are minded; but generally very lazy and thievish, and will not work except forced by hunger. This laziness is natural to most Indians; but these people's laziness seems rather to proceed not so much from their natural inclinations, as from the severity of their prince, of whom they stand in great awe: for he dealing with them very arbitrarily, and taking from them what they get, this damps their industry, so they never strive to have anything but from hand to mouth. They are generally proud, and walk very stately. They are civil enough to strangers, and will easily be acquainted with them, and entertain them with great freedom; but they are implacable to their enemies, and very revengeful if they are injured, frequently poisoning secretly those that have affronted them. They wear but few clothes; their heads are circled with a short turban, fringed or laced at both ends; it goes once about the head, and is tied in a knot, the laced ends hanging down. They wear frocks and breeches, but no stockings nor shoes.

The women are fairer than the men, and their hair is black and long; which they tie in a knot, that hangs back in their polls.[2] They are more round-visaged than the men, and generally well featured; only their noses are very small, and so low between their eyes, that in some of the female children the rising that should be between the eyes is scarce discernible; neither is there any sensible rising in their foreheads. At a distance they appear very well, but being nigh these impediments are very obvious. They have very small limbs. They wear but two garments; a frock, and a sort of petticoat: the petticoat is only a piece of cloth sewed both ends together: but it is made two feet too big for their waists, so that they may wear either end uppermost: that part

[1] The better civilised.

[2] Behind their heads.

that comes up to their waists, because it is so much too big, they gather in their hands and twist it till it sits close to their waists, tucking in the twisted part between the waist and the edge of the petticoat, which keeps it close. The frock sits loose about them, and reaches down a little below the waist. The sleeves are a great deal longer than their arms, and so small at the end, that their hands will scarce go through. Being on, the sleeve sits in folds about the wrist; wherein they take great pride. The better sort of people have their garments made of long-cloth; but the ordinary sort wear cloth made of plantain-tree, which they call *saggen*; by which name they call the plantain. They have neither stocking nor shoe; and the women have very small feet. The women are very desirous of the company of strangers, especially of white men; and doubtless would be very familiar, if the custom of the country did not debar them from that freedom which seems coveted by them. Yet from the highest to the lowest they are allowed liberty to converse with or treat strangers in the sight of their husbands. There is a kind of begging custom at Mindanao that I have not met elsewhere with in all my travels, and which I believe is owing to the little trade they have; which is thus: when strangers arrive here, the Mindanao men will come aboard, and invite them to their houses, and inquire who has a comrade (which word I believe they have from the Spaniards) or a pagally, and who has not. A comrade is a familiar male friend; a pagally is an innocent platonic friend of the other sex. All strangers are in a manner obliged to accept of this acquaintance and familiarity, which must be first purchased with a small present, and afterwards confirmed with some gift or other to continue the acquaintance: and as often as the stranger goes ashore, he is welcome to his comrade's or pagally's house, where he may be entertained for his money, to eat, drink, or sleep; and complimented *with tobacco and* betel-nut, which is all the entertainment he must expect gratis. The richest men's wives are allowed the freedom to converse with her pagally in public, and may give or receive presents from him. Even the Sultan's and the General's wives, who are always cooped up, will yet look out of their cages when a stranger passes by, and demand of him if he wants a pagally: and, to invite him to their friendship, will send a present of tobacco and betel-nut to him by their servants.

The chief city on this island is called by the same name of Mindanao. It is seated on the south side of the island in Lat. 7° 20′ N. on the banks of a small river about two miles from the sea. The manner of building is somewhat strange, yet generally used in this part of the East Indies. Their houses are all built on posts about 14, 16, 18, or 20 feet high. These posts are bigger or less, according to the intended magnificence of the superstructure. They have but one floor, but many partitions or rooms, and a ladder or stairs to go up out of the streets. The roof is large, and covered with palmetto or palm leaves. So there is a clear passage like a piazza (but a filthy one) under the house. Some of the poorer people that keep ducks or hens have a fence made round the posts of their houses, with a door to go in and out; and this under-room serves for no other use. Some use this place for the common draught[1] of their houses; but, building mostly close by the river in all parts of the Indies, they make the river receive all the filth of their houses; and at the time of the land-floods all is washed very clean. The Sultan's house is much bigger than any of the rest. It stands on about 180 great posts or trees, a great deal higher than the common building, with great broad stairs made to go up. In the first room he has about twenty iron guns, all saker and minion,[2]

[1] Closet.

[2] That is, all of small calibre; the "saker extraordinary," with a charge of 5 lbs. of powder, carried a 7-lb.

placed on field-carriages. The General and other great men have some guns also in their houses. About twenty paces from the Sultan's house there is a small low house built purposely for the reception of ambassadors or merchant strangers. This also stands on posts, but the floor is not raised above three or four feet above the ground, and is neatly matted purposely for the Sultan and his Council to sit on, for they use no chairs, but sit cross-legged like tailors on the floor. The common food at Mindanao is rice or sago, and a small fish or two. The better sort eat buffalo, or fowls, ill dressed, and abundance of rice with it. They use no spoons to eat their rice, but every man takes a handful ont of the platter, and by wetting his hand in water that it may not stick to his hand, squeezes it into a lump as hard as possibly he can make it, and then crams it into his mouth. They all strive to make these lumps as big as their mouths can receive them, and seem to vie with each other and glory in taking in the biggest lump, so that sometimes they almost choke themselves. They always wash after meals, or if they touch anything that is unclean; for which reason they spend abundance of water in their houses. This water, with the washing of their dishes, and what other filth they make, they pour down near their fireplace, for their chambers are not boarded but floored with split bamboos like laths, so that the water presently falls underneath their dwelling-rooms, where it breeds maggots and makes a prodigious stink. Besides this filthiness, the sick people ease themselves and make water in their chambers, there being a small hole made purposely in the floor to let it drop through; but healthy sound people commonly ease themselves and make water in the river. For that reason you shall always see abundance of people of both sexes in the river from morning till night—some easing themselves, others washing their bodies or clothes. If they come into the river purposely to wash their clothes, they strip and stand naked till they have done, then put them on and march out again. Both men and women take great delight in swimming and washing themselves, being bred to it from their infancy.

In the city of Mindanao they spoke two languages indifferently, their own Mindanao language and the Malay; but in other parts of the island they speak only their proper language, having little commerce abroad. They have schools, and instruct the children to read and write, and bring them up in the Mahometan religion. Therefore many of the words, especially their prayers, are in Arabic, and many of the words of civility the same as in Turkey; and especially when they meet in the morning, or take leave of each other, they express themselves in that language. Many of the old people, both men and women, can speak Spanish, for the Spaniards were formerly settled among them, and had several forts on this island; and then they sent two friars to this city to convert the Sultan of Mindanao and his people. At that time these people began to learn Spanish, and the Spaniards encroached on them and endeavoured to bring them into subjection; and probably before this time had brought them all under their yoke if they themselves had not been drawn off from this island to Manilla to resist the Chinese, who threatened to invade them there. When the Spaniards were gone, the old Sultan of Mindanao, father to the present, in whose time it was, razed and demolished their forts, brought away their guns, and sent away the friars; and since that time [they] will not suffer the Spaniards to settle on the islands. They are now most afraid of the Dutch, being sensible how they have enslaved many of the neighbouring islands. For that reason they have a long time desired the English to settle among them, and have offered them any convenient

ball; the smallest saker, with a 3 lb. charge, a 4¾-lb. ball. The minion was still a smaller piece.

place to build a fort in, as the General himself told us; giving this reason, that they do not find the English so encroaching as the Dutch or Spanish. The Dutch are no less jealous of their admitting the English, for they are sensible what detriment it would be to them if the English should settle here.

There are but few tradesmen at the city of Mindanao. The chief trades are goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters. There are but two or three goldsmiths; these will work in gold or silver, and make anything that you desire; but they have no shop furnished with ware ready for sale. Here are several blacksmiths who work very well considering the tools that they work with.[1] . . .

The Mindanao men have many wives, but what ceremonies are used when they marry I know not. There is commonly a great feast made by the bridegroom to entertain his friends, and the most part of the night is spent in mirth.

The Sultan is absolute in his power over all his subjects. He is but a poor prince; for, as I mentioned before, they have but little trade, and therefore cannot be rich. If the Sultan understands that any man has money, if it be but twenty dollars, which is a great matter among them, he will send to borrow so much money, pretending urgent occasions for it, and they dare not deny him. Sometimes he will send to sell one thing or another that he has to dispose of to such whom he knows to have money, and they must buy it and give him his price; and if afterwards he has occasion for the same thing he must have it if he sends for it. He is but a little man, between fifty and sixty years old, and by relation very good-natured, but overruled by those about him. He has a queen, and keeps about twenty women, or wives, more, in whose company he spends most of his time. He has one daughter by his Sultaness or queen, and a great many sons and daughters by the rest. These walk about the streets, and would be always begging things of us; but it is reported that the young Princess is kept in a room and never stirs out, and that she did never see any man but her father and Raja Laut her uncle, being then about fourteen years old. When the Sultan visits his friends, he is carried in a small couch on four men's shoulders, with eight or ten armed men to guard him; but he never goes far this way, for the country is very woody, and they have but little paths, which renders it the less commodious. When he takes his pleasure by water, he carries some of his wives along with him. The proas that are built for this purpose are large enough to entertain fifty or sixty persons or more. The hull is neatly built, with a round head and stern, and over the hull there is a small slight house built with bamboos; the sides are made up with split bamboos about four feet high, with little windows in them of the same to open and shut at their pleasure. The roof is almost flat, neatly thatched with palmetto leaves. This house is divided into two or three small partitions or chambers, one particularly for himself. This is neatly matted underneath and round the sides, and there is a carpet and pillows for him to sleep on. The second room is for his women, much like the former. The third is for the servants, who tend them with tobacco and betel-nut, for they are always chewing or smoking.

The Sultan has a brother called Raja Laut, a brave man. He is the second man in the kingdom. All strangers that come hither to trade must make their address to him, for all sea affairs belong to him. He licenses strangers to import or export any commodity, and it is by his permission that the natives themselves

[1] The men there are described as accustomed to the use of the axe and adze. They also built serviceable ships, their principal article of export being gold, bees-wax, and tobacco. The natives were much subject to a kind of leprosy, which showed itself *in a dry scurf all* over their bodies.

are suffered to trade; nay, the very fishermen must take a permit from him; so that there is no man can come into the river or go out but by his leave. He is two or three years younger than the Sultan, and a little man like him. He has eight women, by some of whom he has issue. He has only one son, about twelve or fourteen years old, who was circumcised while we were there. His eldest son died a little before we came thither, for whom he was still in great heaviness. If he had lived a little longer he should have married the young Princess; but whether this second son must have her I know not, for I did never hear any discourse about it. Raja Laut is a very sharp man; he speaks and writes Spanish, which he learned in his youth. He has, by often conversing with strangers, got a great insight into the customs of other nations, and by Spanish books has some knowledge of Europe. He is General of the Mindanayans, and is accounted an expert soldier and a very stout man; and the women in their dances sing many songs in his praise. The Sultan of Mindanao sometimes makes war with his neighbours the Mountaineers or Alfoores. Their weapons are swords, lances, and some hand cressets.[1] The cresset is a small thing like a bayonet, which they always wear in war or peace, at work or play, from the greatest of them to the poorest and meanest persons. They never meet each other so as to have a pitched battle, but they build small works or forts of timber, wherein they plant little guns, and lie in sight of each other two or three months, skirmishing every day in small parties, and sometimes surprising a breastwork; and whatever side is like to be worsted, if they have no probability to escape by flight, they sell their lives as dear as they can; for there is seldom any quarter given, but the conqueror cuts and hacks his enemies to pieces.

[1] Creeses; the Malay dagger, with zig-zag blade, often poisoned at the point.

The religion of these people is Mahometanism. Friday is their Sabbath; but I did never see any difference that they make between this day and any other day, only the Sultan himself goes then to his mosque twice. Raja Laut never goes to the mosque, but prays at certain hours, eight or ten times in a day; wherever he is, he is very punctual to his canonical hours, and if he be aboard will go ashore on purpose to pray. For no business nor company hinders him from his duty. Whether he is at home or abroad, in a house or in a field, he leaves all his company, and goes about 100 yards off, and there kneels down to his devotion. He first kisses the ground, then prays aloud, and divers times in his prayers he kisses the ground, and does the same when he leaves off. His servants, and his wives and children talk and sing, or play how they please, all the time, but himself is very serious. The meaner sort of people have little devotion; I did never see any of them at their prayers, or go into a mosque. In the Sultan's mosque there is a great drum with but one head, called a gong, which is instead of a clock. This gong is beaten at 12 o'clock, at three, six, and nine; a man being appointed for that service. He has a stick as big as a man's arm, with a great knob at the end, bigger than a man's fist, made with cotton, bound fast with small cords; with this he strikes the gong as hard as he can about twenty strokes, beginning to strike leisurely the first five or six strokes; then he strikes faster, and at last strikes as fast as he can, and then he strikes again slower and slower so many more strokes; thus he rises and falls three times, and then leaves off till three hours after. This is done night and day.

They circumcise the males at eleven or twelve years of age or older; and many are circumcised at once. This ceremony is performed with a great deal of solemnity. There had been no circumcision for some years before our being here, and then there was

one for Raja Laut's son. They choose to have a general circumcision when the Sultan or General or some other great person has a son fit to be circumcised; for with him a great many more are circumcised. There is notice given about eight or ten days before, for all men to appear in arms, and great preparation is made against the solemn day. In the morning, before the boys are circumcised, presents are sent to the father of the child that keeps the feast, which, as I said before, is either the Sultan or some great person; and, about 10 or 11 o'clock, the Mahometan priest does his office. After this, most of the men, both in city and country, being in arms before the house, begin to act as if they were engaged with an enemy, having such arms as I described. Only one acts at a time, the rest make a great ring of 200 or 300 yards round about him. He that is to exercise comes into the ring with a great shriek or two, and a horrid look; then he fetches two or three large stately strides, and falls to work. He holds his broadsword in one hand, and his lance in the other, and traverses his ground, leaping from one side of the ring to the other, and in a menacing posture and look, bids defiance to the enemy whom his fancy frames to him, for there is nothing but air to oppose him. Then he stamps and shakes his head, and grinning with his teeth, makes many rueful faces. Then he throws his lance, and nimbly snatches out his cresset, with which he hacks and hews the air like a madman, often shrieking. At last, being almost tired with motion, he flies to the middle of the ring, where he seems to have his enemy at his mercy; and with two or three blows cuts on the ground as if he was cutting off his enemy's head. By this time he is all of a sweat, and withdraws triumphantly out of the ring, and presently another enters with the like shrieks and gestures. Thus they continue combating their imaginary enemy all the *rest* of the day; towards the conclusion of which the richest men act, and at last the General, and then the Sultan concludes this ceremony. He and the General with some other great men, are in armour, but the rest have none. After this the Sultan returns home, accompanied with abundance of people, who wait on him there till they are dismissed.

But at the time when we were there there was an after-game to be played; for the General's son being then circumcised, the Sultan intended to give him a second visit in the night; so they all waited to attend him thither. The General also provided to meet him in the best manner, and therefore desired Captain Swan with his men to attend him. Accordingly Captain Swan ordered us to get our guns, and wait at the General's house till further orders. So about forty of us waited till 8 o'clock in the evening, when the General, with Captain Swan, and about 1000 men, went to meet the Sultan, with abundance of torches that made it as light as day. The manner of the march was thus: first of all there was a pageant,[1] and upon it two dancing-women gorgeously apparelled, with coronets on their heads full of glittering spangles, and pendants of the same hanging down over their breasts and shoulders. These are women bred up purposely for dancing; their feet and legs are but little employed, except sometimes to turn round very gently; but their hands, arms, head, and body are in continual motion, especially their arms, which they turn and twist so strangely, that you would think them to be made without bones. Besides the two dancing-women, there were two old women in the pageant, holding each a lighted torch in their hands close by the dancing-women, by which light the glittering spangles appeared very gloriously. This pageant was carried by six lusty men. Then came six or seven torches, lighting the General and Captain Swan, who marched side by side next; and

[1] A decorated or triumphal chariot.

we that attended Captain Swan followed close after, marching in order six and six abreast, with each man his gun on his shoulder, and torches on each side. After us came twelve of the General's men, with old Spanish matchlocks, marching four in a row; after them about forty lances, and behind them as many with great swords, marching all in order. After them came abundance only with cressets by their sides, who marched up close without any order. When we came near the Sultan's house the Sultan and his men met us, and we wheeled off to let them pass. The Sultan had three pageants went before him. In the first pageant were four of his sons, who were about ten or eleven years old; they had gotten abundance of small stones, which they roguishly threw about on the people's heads. In the next were four young maidens, nieces to the Sultan, being his sisters' daughters; and in the third there were three of the Sultan's children, not above six years old. The Sultan himself followed next, being carried in his couch, which was not like your Indian palanquins, but open, and very little and ordinary. A multitude of people came after, without any order; but as soon as he was past by, the General and Captain Swan and all our men closed in just behind the Sultan, and so all marched together to the General's house. We came thither between ten and eleven o'clock, where the biggest part of the company were immediately dismissed; but the Sultan and his children and his nieces, and some other persons of quality, entered the General's house. They were met at the head of the stairs by the General's women, who with a great deal of respect conducted them into the house. Captain Swan and we that were with him followed after. It was not long before the General caused his dancing-women to enter the room and divert the company with that pastime. I had forgot to tell you that they have none but vocal music here, by what I could learn, except only a row of kind of bells without clappers; sixteen in number, and their weight increasing gradually from about three to ten pounds' weight. These were set in a row on a table in the General's house, where for seven or eight days together before the circumcision day they were struck each with a little stick for the biggest part of the day, making a great noise; and they ceased that morning. So these dancing-women sung themselves, and danced to their own music. After this the General's women and the Sultan's sons and his nieces danced. Two of the Sultan's nieces were about eighteen or nineteen years old, the other two were three or four years younger. These young ladies were very richly dressed with loose garments of silk, and small coronets on their heads. They were much fairer than any women that I did ever see there, and very well featured; and their noses, though but small, yet higher than the other women's, and very well proportioned. When the ladies had very well diverted themselves and the company with dancing, the General caused us to fire some sky-rockets that were made by his and Captain Swan's orders purposely for this night's solemnity; and after that the Sultan and his retinue went away with a few attendants, and we all broke up; and thus ended this day's solemnity.

They are not, as I said before, very curious or strict in observing any days or times of particular devotion, except it be the Ramdam time,[1] as we call it. The Ramdam time was then in August, as I take it, for it was shortly after our arrival here. In this time they fast all day, and about 7 o'clock in the evening they spend near an hour in prayer. Towards the latter end of their prayer they loudly invoke their Prophet for about a quarter of an hour, both old and young bawling out very strangely, as if they intended to fright him out of his sleepiness or neglect of them. After their prayer is ended, they

[1] The Fast of Ramadan, the Mahometan Lent.

spend some time in feasting before they take their repose. Thus they do every day for a whole month at least, for sometimes it is two or three days longer before the Ramdam ends; for it begins at the new moon, and lasts till they see the next new moon, which sometimes in thick, hazy weather is not till three or four days after the change, as it happened while I was at Achin, where they continued the Ramdam till the new moon's appearance. The next day after they have seen the new moon, the guns are all discharged about noon, and then the time ends. A main part of their religion consists in washing often, to keep themselves from being defiled, or after they are defiled to cleanse themselves again. They also take great care to keep themselves from being polluted by tasting or touching anything that is accounted unclean; therefore swine's flesh is very abominable to them; nay, any one that has either tasted of swine's flesh, or touched those creatures, is not permitted to come into their houses in many days after; and there is nothing will scare them more than a swine. Yet there are wild hogs in the island, and those so plentiful that they will come in troops out of the woods in the night into the very city, and come under their houses, to rummage up and down the filth that they find there. The natives therefore would even desire us to lie in wait for the hogs to destroy them, which we did frequently by shooting them and carrying them presently on board; but were prohibited their houses afterwards. And now I am on this subject, I cannot omit a story concerning the General. He once desired to have a pair of shoes made after the English fashion, though he did very seldom wear any; so one of our men made him a pair, which the General liked very well. Afterwards somebody told him, that the threads wherewith the shoes were sewed were pointed with hog's bristles. This put him into a great passion; so he sent the shoes to the man that made them, *and sent* him withal more leather to make another pair, with threads pointed with some other hair, which was immediately done, and then he was well pleased.

CHAPTER XIII.

HAVING in the two last Chapters given some account of the natural, civil, and religious state of Mindanao, I shall now go on with the prosecution of our affairs during our stay there. It was in a bay on the NE. side of the island that we came to an anchor, as has been said. We lay in this bay but one night and part of the next day. Yet there we got speech with some of the natives, who by signs made us understand that the city Mindanao was on the west side of the island. We endeavoured to persuade one of them to go with us to be our pilot, but he would not; therefore in the afternoon we loosed from hence, steering again to the SE., having the wind at SW. When we came to the SE. end of the Island Mindanao, we saw two small islands about three leagues distant from it.[1] We might have passed between them and the main island, as we learned since; but not knowing them nor what dangers we might encounter there, we chose rather to sail to the eastward of them. But meeting very strong westerly winds, we got nothing forward in many days. In this time we first saw the Islands Meangis, which are about sixteen leagues distant from the Mindanao, bearing SE. The 4th of July we got into a deep bay, four leagues NW. from the two small islands before mentioned. But the night before, in a violent tornado, our bark, being unable to beat any longer, bore away; which put us in some pain for fear she was overset, as we had like to have been ourselves. We anchored on the SW. side of the bay, in fifteen fathoms water, about a cable's length from the shore. Here

[1] The Serangani Islands, off the southernmost point of Mindanao.

we were forced to shelter ourselves from the violence of the weather, which was so boisterous with rains and tornadoes and a strong westerly wind, that we were very glad to find this place to anchor in, being the only shelter on this side from the west winds. On the west side of the bay, the land is of a mean height, with a large savannah bordering on the sea, and stretching from the mouth of the bay a great way to the westward. This savannah abounds with long grass, and it is plentifully stocked with deer. The adjacent woods are a covert for them in the heat of the day; but mornings and evenings they feed in the open plains, as thick as in our parks in England. I never saw anywhere such plenty of wild deer, though I have met with them in several parts of America, both in the North and South Seas. The deer live here pretty peaceably and unmolested, for there are no inhabitants on that side of the bay. We visited this savannah every morning, and killed as many deer as we pleased, sometimes sixteen or eighteen in a day; and we did eat nothing but venison all the time we stayed here. We saw a great many plantations by the sides of the mountains on the east side of the bay, and we went to one of them, in hopes to learn of the inhabitants whereabouts the city was, that we might not oversail it in the night, but they fled from us.

We lay here till the 12th before the winds abated of their fury, and then we sailed from hence, directing our course to the westward. Being now past the SE. part of the island, we coasted down on the south side, and we saw abundance of canoes a-fishing, and now and then a small village. Neither were these inhabitants afraid of us as the former, but came aboard; yet we could not understand them, nor they us, but by signs; and when we mentioned the word Mindanao, they would point towards it. The 18th of July we arrived before the River of Mindanao. We anchored right against the river in fifteen fathoms water, clear hard sand, about two miles from the shore. We fired seven or nine guns, I remember not well which, and were answered again with three from the shore, for which we gave one again. Immediately after our coming to an anchor, Raja Laut and one of the Sultan's sons came off in a canoe, being rowed with ten oars, and demanded in Spanish what we were and from whence we came. Mr Smith (he who was taken prisoner at Leon in Mexico) answered in the same language that we were English, that we had been a great while out of England. They told us that we were welcome, and asked us a great many questions about England, especially concerning our East India merchants, and whether we were sent by them to settle a factory here. Mr Smith told them that we came hither only to buy provision. They seemed a little discontented when they understood that we were not come to settle among them; for they had heard of our arrival on the east side of the island a great while before, and entertained hopes that we were sent purposely out of England hither to settle a trade with them; which it should seem they are very desirous of, for Captain Goodlud had been here not long before to treat with them about it, and when he went away he told them, as they said, that in a short time they might expect an ambassador from England to make a full bargain with them. Indeed, upon mature thoughts I should think we could not have done better than to have complied with the desire they seemed to have of our settling here, and to have taken up our quarters among them. For as thereby we might better have consulted our own profit and satisfaction than by the other loose roving way of life; so it might probably have proved of public benefit to our nation, and been a means of introducing an English settlement and trade, not only here, but through several of the spice islands which lie in its neighbourhood. For the Islands Meangis, which I mentioned in the beginning of this Chapter, lie within twenty leagues of Mindanao. These are

three small islands that abound with gold and cloves, if I may credit my author,[1] Prince Jeoly, who was born on one of them, and was at this time a slave in the city of Mindanao. He might have been purchased by us of his master for a small matter, as he was afterwards by Mr Moody, who came hither to trade, and laded a ship with clove bark; and by transporting him home to his own country we might have gotten a trade there. But of Prince Jeoly I shall speak more hereafter. These islands are as yet probably unknown to the Dutch, who, as I said before, endeavour to engross all the spice into their own hands. There was another opportunity offered us here of settling on another spice island that was very well inhabited; for the inhabitants fearing the Dutch, and understanding that the English were settling at Mindanao, their Sultan sent his nephew to Mindanao while we were there to invite us thither. Captain Swan conferred with him about it divers times, and I do believe he had some inclination to accept the offer; and I am sure most of the men were for it; but this never came to a head for want of a true understanding between Captain Swan and his men, as may be declared hereafter. Besides the benefit which might accrue from this trade with Meangis and other spice islands, the Philippine Islands themselves, by a little care and industry, might have afforded us a very beneficial trade; and all these trades might have been managed from Mindanao by settling there first. For that island lies very convenient for trading either to the Spice Islands or to the rest of the Philippine Islands; since, as its soil is much of the same nature with either of them, so it lies, as it were, in the centre of the gold and spice trade in these parts; the islands north of Mindanao abounding most in gold, and those south of Meangis in spice. . . . As to the capacity we were then in of settling ourselves at Mindanao, although we were not sent out of any such design of settling, yet we were as well provided, or better, considering all circumstances, than if we had. For there was scarce any useful trade but some or others of us understood it. We had sawyers, carpenters, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, &c.; we only wanted a good smith for great work, which we might have had at Mindanao. We were very well provided with iron, lead, and all sorts of tools, as saws, axes, hammers, &c. We had powder and shot enough, and very good small arms. If we had designed to build a fort, we could have spared eight or ten guns out of our ship, and men enough to have managed it, and any affair of trade beside. We had also a great advantage above raw men that are sent out of England into these places, who proceed usually too cautiously, coldly, and formally, to compass any considerable design, which experience better teaches than any rules whatsoever; besides the danger of their lives in so great and sudden a change of air, whereas we were all inured to hot climates, hardened by many fatigues, and in general daring men, and such as would not be easily baffled. To add one thing more, our men were almost tired, and began to desire a *quietus est;* and therefore they would gladly have seated themselves anywhere. We had a good ship, too, and enough of us (besides what might have been spared to manage our new settlement) to bring the news with the effects to the owners in England; for Captain Swan had already £5000 in gold, which he and his merchants received for goods sold mostly to Captain Harris and his men, which if he had laid but part of it out in spice, as probably he might have done, would have satisfied the merchants to their hearts' content. So much by way of digression.

To proceed therefore with our first reception at Mindanao. Raja Laut and his nephew sat still in their canoe and would not come aboard us, because, as they said, they had no

[1] *Authority, informant.*

orders for it from the Sultan. After about half-an-hour's discourse they took their leaves, first inviting Captain Swan ashore, and promising him to assist him in getting provision, which they said at present was scarce, but in three or four months' time the rice would be gathered in, and then he might have as much as he pleased, and that in the meantime he might secure his ship in some convenient place for fear of the westerly winds, which they said would be very violent at the latter end of this month and all the next, as we found them. We did not know the quality of these two persons till after they were gone, else we should have fired some guns at their departure. When they were gone, a certain officer under the Sultan came aboard and measured our ship, a custom derived from the Chinese, who always measure the length and breadth and the depth of the hold of all ships that come to load there, by which means they know how much each ship will carry. But for what reason this custom is used either by the Chinese or Mindanao men I could never learn, unless the Mindanayans design by this means to improve their skill in shipping, against they have a trade. Captain Swan, considering that the season of the year would oblige us to spend some time at this island, thought it convenient to make what interest he could with the Sultan, who might afterwards either obstruct or advance his designs. He therefore immediately provided a present to send ashore to the Sultan, viz., three yards of scarlet cloth, three yards of broad gold lace, a Turkish scimitar, and a pair of pistols; and to Raja Laut he sent three yards of scarlet cloth and three yards of silver lace. This present was carried by Mr Henry More in the evening. He was first conducted to Raja Laut's house, where he remained till report thereof was made to the Sultan, who immediately gave order for all things to be made ready to receive him. About 9 o'clock at night a messenger came from the Sultan to bring the present away. Then Mr More was conducted all the way, with torches and armed men, till he came to the house where the Sultan was. The Sultan, with eight or ten men of his Council, were seated on carpets waiting his coming. The present that Mr More brought was laid down before them, and was very kindly accepted by the Sultan, who caused Mr More to sit down by them, and asked a great many questions of him. The discourse was in Spanish by an interpreter. This conference lasted about an hour, and then he was dismissed, and returned again to Raja Laut's house. There was a supper provided for him and the boat's crew, after which he returned aboard.

The next day the Sultan sent for Captain Swan. He immediately went ashore, with a flag flying in the boat's head, and two trumpets sounding all the way. When he came ashore he was met at his landing by two principal officers, guarded along with soldiers, and abundance of people gazing to see him. The Sultan waited for him in his chamber of audience, where Captain Swan was treated with tobacco and betel, which was all his entertainment. The Sultan sent for two English letters for Captain Swan to read, purposely to let him know that our East India merchants did design to settle here, and that they had already sent a ship hither. One of these letters was sent to the Sultan from England by the East India merchants. The chief thing contained in it, as I remember—for I saw it afterwards in the Secretary's hand, who was very proud to show it to us—was to desire some privileges in order to the building of a fort there. This letter was written in a very fair hand, and between each line there was a gold line drawn. The other letter was left by Captain Goodlud, directed to any Englishmen who should happen to come thither. This related wholly to trade, giving an account at what rate he had agreed with them for goods of the island, and how European goods should be sold to them; with an account of their weights and measures, and their

difference from ours. Captain Goodlud's letter concluded thus: "Trust none of them, for they are all thieves, but *tacs* is Latin for a candle." We understood afterwards that Captain Goodlud was robbed of some goods by one of the General's men, and that he that robbed him was fled into the mountains, and could not be found while Captain Goodlud was here. But the fellow returning to the city some time after our arrival here, Raja Laut brought him bound to Captain Swan, and told him what he had done, desiring him to punish him for it as he pleased; but Captain Swan excused himself and said it did not belong to him, therefore he would have nothing to do with it. However the General Raja Laut would not pardon him, but punished him according to their own custom. He was stripped stark naked in the morning at sun-rising, and bound to a post, so that he could not stir hand nor foot but as he was moved, and was placed with his face eastward against the sun. In the afternoon they turned his face towards the west that the sun might still be in his face, and thus he stood all day parched in the sun, which shines here excessively hot, and tormented with the mosquitoes or gnats; after this the General would have killed him if Captain Swan had consented to it. Their common way of punishment is to strip them in this manner and place them in the sun, but sometimes they lay them flat on their backs on the sand, which is very hot, where they remain a whole day in the scorching sun, with the mosquitoes biting them all the time. This action of the General in offering Captain Swan the punishment of the thief, caused Captain Swan afterwards to make him the same offer of his men when any had offended the Mindanao men, but the General left such offenders to be punished by Captain Swan as he thought convenient. So that for the least offence Captain Swan punished his men, and that in the sight of the Mindanayans; and I *think sometimes* only for revenge, as he did once punish his chief mate Mr Tait, he that came captain of the bark to Mindanao. Indeed at that time Captain Swan had his men as much under command as if he had been in a king's ship; and had he known how to use his authority, he might have led them to any settlement and have brought them to assist him in any design he had pleased.

Captain Swan being dismissed from the Sultan with abundance of civility, after about two hours' discourse with him, went thence to Raja Laut's house. Raja Laut had then some difference with the Sultan, and therefore he was not present at the Sultan's reception of our Captain, but waited his return, and treated him and all his men with boiled rice and fowls. He then told Captain Swan again, and urged it to him, that it would be best to get his ship into the river as soon as he could, because of the usual tempestuous weather at this time of the year, and that he should want no assistance to further him in anything. He told him also that as we must of necessity stay here some time, so our men would often come ashore; and he therefore desired him to warn his men to be careful to give no affront to the natives, who, he said, were very revengeful. That their customs being different from ours, he feared that Captain Swan's men might some time or other offend them, though ignorantly; that therefore he gave him this friendly warning to prevent it; that his house should always be open to receive him or any of his men; and that he, knowing our customs, would never be offended at anything. After a great deal of such discourse he dismissed the Captain and his company, who took their leave and came aboard. Captain Swan having seen the two letters, did not doubt that the English did design to settle a factory here; therefore he did not much scruple[1] the honesty of these people, but immediately ordered us to get the ship into the river. The river upon which the city of Mindanao stands is but

[1] Doubt, suspect.

small, and has not above ten or eleven feet of water on the bar at a spring tide; therefore we lightened our ship, and the spring coming on, we with much ado got her into the river, being assisted by fifty or sixty Mindanayan fishermen who lived at the mouth of the river, Raja Laut himself being aboard our ship to direct them. We carried her about a quarter of a mile up within the mouth of the river, and there moored her head and stern in a hole, where we always rode afloat. After this the citizens of Mindanao came frequently aboard to invite our men to their houses and to offer us pagallies. It was a long time since any of us had received such friendship, and therefore we were the more easily drawn to accept of their kindnesses; and in a very short time most of our men got a comrade or two, and as many pagallies, especially such of us as had good clothes and store of gold, as many had who were of the number of those that accompanied Captain Harris over the Isthmus of Darien, the rest of us being poor enough. Nay, the very poorest and meanest of us could hardly pass the streets but we were even hauled by force into their houses to be treated by them, although their treats were but mean, viz., tobacco or betel-nut, or a little sweet-spiced water. Yet their seeming sincerity, simplicity, and the manner of bestowing these gifts, made them very acceptable. When we came to their houses they would always be praising the English, as declaring that the English and Mindanayans were all one. This they expressed by putting their two forefingers close together, and saying that the English and Mindanayans were *samo, samo*—that is, all one. Then they would draw their forefingers half a foot asunder and say the Dutch and they were *bugeto*, which signifies that they were at such distance in point of friendship. And for the Spaniards, they would make a greater representation of distance than for the Dutch, fearing these, but having felt and smarted from the Spaniards, who had once almost brought them under.

Captain Swan did seldom go into any house at first but into Raja Laut's; there he dined commonly every day; and as many of his men as were ashore, and had no money to entertain themselves, resorted thither about 12 o'clock, where they had rice enough boiled and well dressed, and some scraps of fowls or bits of buffalo dressed very nastily. Captain Swan was served a little better, and his two trumpeters sounded all the time that he was at dinner. After dinner Raja Laut would sit and discourse with him most part of the afternoon. It was now the Ramdam time, therefore the General excused himself that he could not entertain our Captain with dances and other pastimes as he intended to do when this solemn time was past, besides, it was the very height of the wet season, and therefore not so proper for pastimes. . . .

When the Ramdam time was over, and the dry time set in a little, the General, to oblige Captain Swan, entertained him every night with dances. The dancing-women that are purposely bred up to it, and make it their trade, I have already described. But besides them, all the women in general are much addicted to dancing. They dance forty or fifty at once, and that standing all round in a ring joined hand in hand, and singing and keeping time. But they never budge out of their places, nor make any motion till the chorus is sung; then all at once they throw out one leg and bawl out aloud, and sometimes they only clap their hands when the chorus is sung. Captain Swan, to retaliate the General's favours, sent for his violins, and some that could dance English dances, wherewith the General was very well pleased. They commonly spent the biggest part of the nights in these sort of pastimes. Among the rest of our men that did use to dance thus before the General, there was one John Thacker, who was a seaman bred, and could neither write nor read, but had formerly learnt to dance in the music-houses about Wapping. This man came into the South Seas with Captain Harris;

and getting with him a good quantity of gold, and being a pretty good husband of his share, had still some left, besides what he laid out in a very good suit of clothes. The General supposed by his garb and his dancing that he had been of noble extraction, and, to be satisfied of his quality, asked of one of our men if he did not guess aright of him. The man of whom the General asked this question told him he was much in the right, and that most of our ship's company were of the like extraction, especially all those that had fine clothes, and that they came abroad only to see the world, having money enough to bear their expenses wherever they came; but that for the rest, those that had but mean clothes, they were only common seamen. After this the General showed a great deal of respect to all that had good clothes, but especially to John Thacker, till Captain Swan came to know the business, and marred all, undeceiving the General, and drubbing the nobleman; for he was so much incensed against John Thacker that he could never endure him afterwards, though the poor fellow knew nothing of the matter.

About the middle of November we began to work on our ship's bottom, which we found very much eaten with the worm; for this is a horrid place for worms. . . . Having ripped off all our worm-eaten plank and clapped on new, by the beginning of December 1686, our ship's bottom was sheathed and tallowed; and the 10th we went over the bar, and took aboard the iron and lead that we could not sell, and began to fill our water and fetch aboard rice for our voyage. I was at that time a-hunting with the General for beef, which he had a long time promised us; but now I saw that there was no credit to be given to his word, for I was a week out with him and saw but four cows, which were so wild that we did not get one. There were five or six more of our company with me; these, who were young men, and had Delilahs there, *which* made them fond of the place, *all agreed with* the General to tell Captain Swan that there were beeves enough, only they were wild. But I told him the truth, and advised him not to be too credulous of the General's promises. He seemed to be very angry, and stormed behind the General's back, but in his presence was very mute, being a man of small courage. It was about the 20th of December when we returned from hunting, and the General designed to go again to another place to hunt for beef; but he stayed till after Christmas Day, because some of us designed to go with him, and Captain Swan had desired all his men to be aboard that day, that we might keep it solemnly together; and accordingly he sent aboard a buffalo the day before, that we might have a good dinner. So the 25th, about 10 o'clock, Captain Swan came aboard, and all his men who were ashore; for you must understand that near a third of our men lived constantly ashore with their comrades and pagallies, and some with women-servants whom they hired of their masters for concubines. Some of our men also had houses, which they hired or bought (for houses are very cheap) for five or six dollars; for many of them having more money than they knew what to do with, eased themselves here of the trouble of telling it, spending it very lavishly, their prodigality making the people impose upon them, to the making the rest of us pay the dearer for what we bought, and to the endangering the like impositions upon such Englishmen as may come here hereafter. For the Mindanayans knew how to get our squires' gold from them (for we had no silver), and when our men wanted silver they would change now and then an ounce of gold, and could get for it no more than ten or eleven dollars for a Mindanao ounce, which they would not part with again under eighteen dollars. Yet this, and the great prices the Mindanayans set on their goods, were not the only way to lessen their stocks; for their pagallies and comrades would often be begging somewhat of them, and our men were

generous enough, and would bestow half-an-ounce of gold at a time in a ring for their pagallies, or in a silver wristband or hoop to come about their arms, in hopes to get a night's lodging with them. When we were all aboard on Christmas Day, Captain Swan and his two merchants, I did expect that Captain Swan would have made some proposals, or have told us his designs; but he only dined and went ashore again without speaking anything of his mind. Yet even then I think that he was driving on a design of going to one of the Spice Islands to load with spice; for the young man before mentioned, who I said was sent by his uncle, the Sultan of a spice island near Ternate, to invite the English to their island, came aboard at this time, and after some private discourse with Captain Swan they both went ashore together. This young man did not care that the Mindanayans should be privy to what he said. I have heard Captain Swan say that he offered to load his ship with spice, provided he would build a small fort and leave some men to secure the island from the Dutch; but I am since informed that the Dutch have now got possession of the island.

The next day after Christmas the General went away again, and five or six Englishmen with him, of whom I was one, under pretence of going a-hunting; and we all went together by water in his proa, together with his women and servants, to the hunting-place. The General always carried his wives and children, his servants, his money and goods with him; so we all embarked in the morning, and arrived there before night. I have already described the fashion of their proas, and the rooms made in them. We were entertained in the General's room or cabin. Our voyage was not so far but that we reached our port before night. At this time one of the General's servants had offended, and was punished in this manner: He was bound fast, flat on his belly, on a bamboo belonging to the proa, which was so near the water that by the vessel's motion it frequently delved under water, and the man along with it; and sometimes when hoisted up he had scarce time to blow before he would be carried under water again. When we had rowed about two leagues we entered a pretty large, deep river, and rowed up a league farther; the water salt all the way. There was a pretty large village, the houses built after the country fashion. We landed at this place, where there was a house made ready immediately for us. The General and his women lay at one end of the house, and we at the other end; and in the evening all the women in the village danced before the General. While he stayed here, the General with his men went out every morning betimes, and did not return till four or five o'clock in the afternoon; and he would often compliment us by telling us what good trust and confidence he had in us, saying that he left his women and goods under our protection, and that he thought them as secure with us six (for we had all our arms with us) as if he had left a hundred of his own men to guard them. Yet for all this great confidence he always left one of his principal men, for fear some of us should be too familiar with his women. They did never stir out of their own room when the General was at home; but as soon as he was gone out they would presently come into our room, and sit with us all day, and ask a thousand questions of us concerning our English women and our customs. You may imagine that before this time some of us had attained so much of their language as to understand them and give them answers to their demands. I remember that one day they asked how many wives the King of England had. We told them but one, and that our English laws did not allow of any more. They said it was a very strange custom that a man should be confined to one woman; some of them said it was a very bad law, but others again said it was a good law; so there was a great dispute among them about it. But one of the General's women said pos-

tively that our law was better than theirs, and made them all silent by the reason which she gave for it. This was the War Queen, as we called her, for she did always accompany the General whenever he was called out to engage his enemies, but the rest did not. By this familiarity among the women, and by often discoursing with them, we came to be acquainted with their customs and privileges. The General lies with his wives by turns, but she by whom he had the first son has a double portion of his company; for when it comes to her turn, she has him two nights, whereas the rest have him but one. She with whom he is to lie at night seems to have a particular respect shown her by the rest all the preceding day, and for a mark of distinction wears a striped silk handkerchief about her neck, by which we knew who was queen that day.

We lay here about five or six days, but did never in all that time see the least sign of any beef, which was the business we came about; neither were we suffered to go out with the General to see the wild kine, but we wanted for nothing else. However, this did not please us, and we often importuned him to let us go out among the cattle. At last he told us that he had provided a jar of rice-drink to be merry with us, and after that we should go with him. This rice-drink is made of rice boiled and put into a jar, where it remains a long time steeping in water. I know not the manner of making it, but it is very strong pleasant drink. The evening when the General designed to be merry, he caused a jar of this drink to be brought into our room, and he began to drink first himself, then afterwards his men; so they took turns till they were all as drunk as swine, before they suffered us to drink. After they had enough, then we drank, and they drank no more, for they will not drink after us. The General leaped about our room a little while; but, having his load, soon went to sleep. The next day we *went out with* the General into the savannah, where he had near 100 men making a large pen to drive the cattle into, for that is the manner of their hunting, having no dogs. But I saw not above eight or ten cows, and those as wild as deer, so that we got none this day; yet the next day some of his men brought in three heifers which they killed in the savannah. With these we returned aboard, they being all that we got there. Captain Swan was much vexed at the General's actions; for he promised to supply us with as much beef as we should want, but now either could not or would not make good his promise. Besides he failed to perform his promise in a bargain of rice that we were to have for the iron which he sold him, but he put us off still from time to time, and would not come to any account. Neither were these all his tricks; for a little before his son was circumcised, he pretended a great strait for money to defray the charges of that day; and therefore desired Captain Swan to lend him about twenty ounces of gold; for he knew that Captain Swan had a considerable quantity of gold in his possession, which the General thought was his own, but indeed had none but what belonged to the merchants. However, he lent it the General; but when he came to an account with Captain Swan he told him that it was usual at such solemn times to make presents, and that he received it as a gift. He also demanded payment for the victuals that our Captain and his men did eat at his house. These things startled Captain Swan, yet how to help himself he knew not. But all this, with other inward troubles, lay hard on our Captain's spirits, and put him very much out of humour; for his own company also were pressing him every day to be gone, because now was the height of the easterly monsoon, the only wind to carry us farther into the Indies.

About this time some of our men, who were weary and tired with wandering, ran away into the country and absconded, they being assisted,

as was generally believed, by Raja Laut. There were others also, who, fearing we should not go to an English port, bought a canoe and designed to go in her to Borneo; for not long before a Mindanao vessel came from thence and brought a letter directed to the chief of the English factory at Mindanao. This letter the General would have Captain Swan to have opened; but he thought it might come from some of the East India merchants, whose affairs he would not intermeddle with, and therefore did not open it. I since met with Captain Bowry at Achin, and telling him this story he said that he sent that letter, supposing that the English were settled there at Mindanao; and by this letter we also thought that there was an English factory at Borneo; so here was a mistake on both sides. But this canoe wherewith some of them thought to go to Borneo, Captain Swan took from them, and threatened the undertakers very hardly. However, this did not so far discourage them, for they secretly bought another; but their designs taking air, they were again frustrated by Captain Swan. The whole crew were at this time under a general disaffection, and full of very different projects; and all for want of action. The main division was between those that had money and those that had none. There was a great difference in the humours of these; for they that had money lived ashore, and did not care for leaving Mindanao; whilst those that were poor lived aboard and urged Captain Swan to go to sea. These began to be unruly as well as dissatisfied, and sent ashore the merchants' iron to sell for rack and honey to make punch, wherewith they grew drunk and quarrelsome; which disorderly actions deterred me from going aboard, for I did ever abhor drunkenness, which now our men that were aboard addicted themselves wholly to. Yet these disorders might have been crushed if Captain Swan had used his authority to suppress them; but he with his merchants living always ashore, there was no command, and therefore every man did what he pleased and encouraged each other in his villanies. Now Mr Hartop, who was one of Captain Swan's merchants, did very much importune him to settle his resolutions and declare his mind to his men; which at last he consented to do; therefore he gave warning to all his men to come aboard the 13th of January 1687.

We did all earnestly expect to hear what Captain Swan would propose, and therefore were very willing to go aboard; but unluckily for him, two days before this meeting was to be, Captain Swan sent aboard his gunner to fetch something ashore out of his cabin. The gunner rummaging to find what he was sent for, among other things took out the captain's journal from America to the Island of Guam, and laid it down by him. This journal was taken up by one John Reed, a Bristol man. He was a pretty ingenious young man, and of a very civil carriage and behaviour. He was also accounted a good artist, and kept a journal, and was now prompted by his curiosity to peep into Captain Swan's journal to see how it agreed with his own; a thing very usual among seamen that keep journals, when they have an opportunity, and especially young men who have no great experience. At the first opening of the book, he lighted on a place in which Captain Swan had inveighed bitterly against most of his men, especially against another John Reed, a Jamaica-man. This was such stuff as he did not seek after; but hitting so pat on the subject, his curiosity led him to pry further; and therefore while the gunner was busy, he conveyed the book away, to look over it at his leisure. The gunner having despatched his business, locked up the cabin-door, not missing the book, and went ashore; then John Reed shewed it to his name-sake, and to the rest that were aboard, who were by this time the biggest part of them ripe for mischief, only wanting some fair pretence to set themselves to work about it. There-

fore looking on what was written in this journal to be matter sufficient for them to accomplish their ends, Captain Tait, who, as I said before, had been abused by Captain Swan, laid hold on this opportunity to be revenged for his injuries, and aggravated the matter to the height, persuading the men to turn out Captain Swan from being commander, in hopes to have commanded the ship himself. As for the seamen, they were easily persuaded to anything, for they were quite tired with this long and tedious voyage, and most of them despaired of ever getting home, and therefore did not care what they did or whither they went. It was only want of being busied in some action that made them so uneasy; therefore they consented to what Tait proposed, and immediately all that were aboard bound themselves by oath to turn Captain Swan out, and to conceal this design from those that were ashore, until the ship was under sail; which would have been presently, if the surgeon or his mate had been aboard: but they were both ashore, and they thought it no prudence to go to sea without a surgeon. Therefore the next morning they sent ashore one John Cookworthy, to hasten off either the surgeon or his mate, by pretending that one of the men in the night broke his leg by falling into the hold. The surgeon told him that he intended to come aboard the next day with the Captain, and would not come before, but sent his mate Herman Coppinger. This man, some time before this, was sleeping at his pagally's, and a snake twisted himself about his neck, but afterwards went away without hurting him. In this country it is usual to have the snakes come into the houses, and into the ships too; for we had several came aboard our ship when we lay in the river. But to proceed: Herman Coppinger provided to go aboard; and the next day, being the time appointed for Captain Swan and all his men to meet aboard, I went aboard with *him,* neither of us mistrusting what *was designed by those* aboard till we came thither. Then we found it was only a trick to get the surgeon off; for now, having obtained their desires, the canoe was sent ashore again immediately, to desire as many as they could meet to come aboard, but not to tell the reason, lest Captain Swan should come to hear of it.

The 13th, in the morning, they weighed, and fired a gun. Captain Swan immediately sent aboard Mr Nelly, who was now his chief mate, to see what the matter was; to him they told all their grievances, and showed him the journal. He persuaded them to stay till the next day for an answer from Captain Swan and the merchants; so they came to an anchor again, and the next morning Mr Hartop came aboard. He persuaded [1] them to be reconciled again, or at least to stay and get more rice; but they were deaf to it, and weighed again while he was aboard. Yet at Mr Hartop's persuasion they promised to stay till 2 o'clock in the afternoon for Captain Swan and the rest of the men, if they would come aboard; but they suffered no man to go ashore except one William Williams that had a wooden leg, and another that was a sawyer. If Captain Swan had yet come aboard, he might have dashed all their designs; but he neither came himself, as a captain of any prudence and courage would have done, nor sent till the time was expired. So we left Captain Swan and about thirty-six men ashore in the city, and six or eight that ran away; and about sixteen we had buried there, the most of which died by poison. The natives are very expert at poisoning, and do it upon small occasions: nor did our men want for given offence, through their general rogueries, and sometimes by dallying too familiarly with their women even before their faces. Some of their poisons are slow and lingering; for we had some now aboard who were poisoned there, but died not till some months after.

[1] Advised.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE 14th of January 1687, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we sailed from the River of Mindanao, designing to cruise before Manilla. It was during our stay at Mindanao that we were first made sensible of the change of time in the course of our voyage. For having travelled so far westward, keeping the same course with the sun, we must consequently have gained something insensibly in the length of the particular days, but have lost in the tale, the bulk, or number, of the days or hours. According to the different longitudes of England and Mindanao, this isle being west from the Lizard, by common computation, about 210 degrees, the difference of time at our arrival at Mindanao ought to be about fourteen hours: and so much we should have anticipated our reckoning, having gained it by bearing the sun company. Now the natural day in every particular place must be consonant to itself: but this going about with or against the sun's course will of necessity make a difference in the calculation of the civil day between any two places. Accordingly, at Mindanao and all other places in the East Indies, we found them reckoning a day before us, both natives and Europeans; for, the Europeans coming eastward by the Cape of Good Hope, in a course contrary to the sun and us, wherever we met they were a full day before us in their accounts. So, among the Indian Mahometans here, their Friday, the day of their Sultan's going to their mosques, was Thursday with us; though it was Friday also with those who came eastward from Europe. Yet at the Ladrone Islands we found the Spaniards of Guam keeping the same computation with ourselves; the reason of which I take to be, that they settled that colony by a course westward from Spain; the Spaniards going first to America, and thence to the Ladrones and Philippines. . . .

We coasted to the westward on the south side of the Island Mindanao, keeping within four or five leagues off the shore. The land from hence trends away W. by S.; it is of a good height by the sea and very woody; and in the country we saw high hills. The next day we were abreast of Chambongo,[1] a town in this island, thirty leagues from the River of Mindanao. Here is said to be a good harbour and a great settlement, with plenty of beef and buffalo. It is reported that the Spaniards were formerly fortified here also. About six leagues before we came to the west end of the Island Mindanao, we fell in with a great many small low islands or keys; and about two or three leagues to the southward of these keys there is a long island, stretching NE. and SW. about twelve leagues.[2] This island is low by the sea on the north side, and has a ridge of hills in the middle running from one end to the other. Between this island and the small keys there is a good large channel. The 17th, we anchored on the east side of all these keys in eight fathoms water, clean sand. Here are plenty of green turtle, whose flesh is as sweet as any in the West Indies; but they are very shy. A little to the westward of these keys, on the Island Mindanao, we saw abundance of cocoa-nut trees. Therefore we sent our canoe ashore, thinking to find inhabitants, but found none, nor sign of any, but great tracks of hogs and great cattle; and close by the sea there were the ruins of an old fort; the walls thereof were of a good height, built with stone and lime, and, by the workmanship, seemed to be Spanish. We weighed again the 14th, and went through between the keys, but met such uncertain tides that we were forced to anchor again.

[1] Chambongo, or Zamboanga, stands at the south end of the great jut of land which forms the western portion of the Island of Mindanao; the bay enclosed in the curve of the coast between Mindanao and Zamboanga being called the Bay of Llana or Illana.

[2] Evidently the Basilian group of islands to the south of Zamboanga.

The 22d, we got about the westernmost point of all Mindanao, and stood to the northward, plying under the shore, and having the wind at NNE., a fresh gale. Here we met with two proas belonging to the Sologus, one of the Mindanayan nations before mentioned. They came from Manilla laden with silks and calicoes. We kept on this western part of the island, steering northerly, till we came abreast of some other of the Philippine islands that lay to the northward of us, then steered away towards them, but still keeping on the west side of them, and we had the winds at NNE. The 3d of February we anchored in a good bay on the west side of an island in Lat. 9° 55′, where we had thirteen fathoms water, good soft ooze. This island has no name that we could find in any book,[1] but lies on the west side of Island Sebo. It is about eight or ten leagues long, mountainous and woody. At this place Captain Reed, who was the same Captain Swan had so much railed against in his journal, and was now made captain in his room (as Captain Tait was made master, and Mr Henry More quarter-master), ordered the carpenters to cut down our quarter-deck, to make the ship snug and the fitter for sailing. When that was done we heeled her, scrubbed her bottom, and tallowed it; then we filled all our water, for here is a delicate small run of water. The land was pretty low in this bay, the mould black and fat, and the trees of several kinds, very thick and tall. In some places we found plenty of canes, such as we use in England for walking-canes. These were short-jointed, not above two feet and a half or two feet ten inches the longest, and most of them not above two feet. They run along on the ground like a vine, or taking hold of the trees they climb up to their very tops. They are fifteen or twenty fathoms long, and much of a bigness from the root till within five or six fathoms of the end. They are of a pale green colour, clothed over with a coat of short thick hairy substance of a dun colour, but it comes off by only drawing the cane through your hand. We did cut many of them, and they proved very tough heavy canes. We saw no houses, nor sign of inhabitants. In the middle of this bay, about a mile from the shore, there is a small low woody island not above a mile in circumference; our ship rode about a mile from it. This island was the habitation of an incredible number of great bats, with bodies as big as ducks or larger fowl, and with vast wings; for I saw at Mindanao one of this sort, and I judge that the wings, stretched out in length, could not be less asunder than seven or eight feet from tip to tip, for it was much more than any of us could fathom with our arms extended to the utmost.

We stayed here till the 10th of February 1687, and then, having completed our business, we sailed hence with the wind at north; but going out we struck on a rock, where we lay two hours. It was very smooth water, and the tide of flood, or else we should there have lost our ship. We struck off a great piece of our rudder, which was all the damage that we received; but we more narrowly missed losing our ship this time than in any other in the whole voyage. This is a very dangerous shoal, because it does not break, unless probably it may appear in foul weather. After we were passed this shoal, we coasted along by the rest of the Philippine Islands, keeping on the west side of them. Some of them appeared to be very mountainous dry land. We saw many fires in the night as we passed by Panay,[2] a great island settled by Spaniards; and by the fires up and down it seems to be well settled by them; for this is a Spanish custom, whereby they give notice of any danger, or the like, from sea; and it is probable they had seen our ship the day before. The

[1] It seems to be the Island of Negros, which lies to the west of *Zebu, or, as Dampier* calls it, Sebo.

[2] Lying to the north-west of Negros.

18th of February we anchored at the NW. end of the Island Mindoro, in ten fathoms water, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore. Mindoro is a large island, the middle of it lying in Lat. 13°, about forty leagues long, stretching NW. and SE. It is high and mountainous, and not very woody. Here we saw great tracks of hogs and beef, and we saw some of each, and hunted them; but they were wild, and we could kill none. While we lay here, there was a canoe with four Indians came from Manilla. They were very shy of us a while; but at last, hearing us speak Spanish, they came to us, and told us that they were going to a friar that lived at an Indian village towards the SE. end of the island. They told us also that the harbour of Manilla is seldom or never without twenty or thirty sail of vessels, most Chinese, some Portuguese, and some few the Spaniards have of their own. They said that when they had done their business with the friar, they would return to Manilla, and hoped to be back again at this place in four days' time. We told them that we came for a trade with the Spaniards at Manilla, and should be glad if they would carry a letter to some merchant there, which they promised to do. But this was only a pretence of ours, to get out of them what intelligence we could as to their shipping, strength, and the like, under colour of seeking a trade; for our business was to pillage. Now if we had really designed to have traded here, this was as fair an opportunity as men could have desired, for these men could have brought us to the friar that they were going to, and a small present to him would have engaged him to do any kindness for us in the way of trade; for the Spanish Governors do not allow of it, and we must trade by stealth.

The 21st, we went from hence with the wind at ENE., a small gale. The 23d, in the morning, we were fair by the SE. end of the Island Luconia,[1] the place that had been so long desired by us. We presently saw a sail coming from the northward, and making after her, we took her in two hours' time. She was a Spanish bark that came from a place called Pangasanam, a small town on the N. end of Luconia, as they told us; probably the same with Pongassinay, which lies on a bay at the NW. side of the island. She was bound to Manilla, but had no goods aboard; and therefore we turned her away. The 23d we took another Spanish vessel that came from the same place as the other. She was laden with rice and cotton cloth, and bound for Manilla also. These goods were purposely for the Acapulco ship; the rice was for the men to live on while they lay there, and in their return; and the cotton cloth was to make sails. The master of this prize was boatswain of the Acapulco ship, which escaped us at Guam, and was now at Manilla. It was this man that gave us the relation of what strength it had, how they were afraid of us there, and of the accident that happened to them, as is before mentioned in the tenth Chapter. We took these two vessels within seven or eight leagues of Manilla.

Luconia I have spoken of already; but I shall now add this further account of it. It is a great island, taking up between six and seven degrees of Latitude in length, and its breadth near the middle is about sixty leagues, but the ends are narrow. The north end lies in about 19° N., and the south end in about 12° 30′. This great island has abundance of small keys or islands lying about it, especially at the north end. The south side fronts towards the rest of the Philippine Islands; of these that are its nearest neighbours, Mindoro, lately mentioned, is the chief, and gives name to the sea or

[1] Not of the whole island, which stretches away south-east of Manilla, into a long jagged peninsula; Dampier evidently means at the southern point of what we may call the mainland of Luzon.

strait that parts it and the other islands from Luconia, being called the Straits of Mindoro. The body of the Island Luconia is composed of many spacious plain savannahs, and large mountains. The north end seems to be more plain and even, I mean freer from hills, than the south end; but the land is all along of a good height. It does not appear so flourishing and green as some of the other islands in this range, especially that of St John, Mindanao, Bat Island, &c.; yet in some places it is very woody. Some of the mountains of this island afford gold, and the savannahs are well stocked with herds of cattle, especially buffaloes. These cattle are in great plenty all over the East Indies; and therefore it is very probable that there were many of these here even before the Spaniards came hither. But now there are also plenty of other cattle, as I have been told, as bullocks, horses, sheep, goats, hogs, &c., brought hither by the Spaniards. It is pretty well inhabited with Indians, most of them, if not all, under the Spaniards, who now are masters of it. The native Indians do live together in towns; and they have priests among them to instruct them in the Spanish religion. Manilla, the chief, or perhaps only city, lies at the foot of a ridge of high hills, facing upon a spacious harbour near the SW. point of the island, in about 14° N. It is environed with a high strong wall, and very well fortified with forts and breastworks. The houses are large, strongly built, and covered with pantile. The streets are large and pretty regular, with a parade[1] in the midst, after the Spanish fashion. There are a great many fair buildings, besides churches and other religious houses, of which there are not a few. The harbour is so large, that some hundreds of ships may ride here; and is never without many, both of their own, and strangers. I have already given you an account of the two ships going and coming between this place and Acapulco. Besides them, they have some small vessels of their own; and they do allow the Portuguese to trade here; but the Chinese are the chief merchants, and they drive the greatest trade; for they have commonly twenty or thirty, or forty junks in the harbour at a time, and a great many merchants constantly residing in the city, beside shop-keepers and handicraftsmen in abundance. Small vessels run up near the town, but the Acapulco ships, and others of greater burthen lie a league short of it, where there is a strong fort also, and storehouses to put goods in. I had the major part of this relation two or three years after this time, from Mr Coppinger our surgeon; for he made a voyage hither from Porto Novo, a town on the coast of Coromandel, in a Portuguese ship, as I think. We were not within sight of this town, but I was shown the hills that overlooked it, and drew a draught of them as we lay off at sea.[2]

The time of the year being now too far spent to do anything here, it was concluded to sail from hence to Pulo Condore, a little parcel of islands on the coast of Cambodia, and carry this prize with us, and there careen if we could find any convenient place for it; designing to return hither again by the latter end of May, and wait for the Acapulco ship that comes about that time. By our draughts (which we were guided by, being strangers to these parts) this seemed to us, then, to be a place out of the way, where we might lie snug for a while, and wait the time of returning for our prey. For we avoided as much as we could, going to lie by at any great place of commerce, lest we should become too much exposed, and perhaps be assaulted by a force

[1] Plaza.

[2] In the edition from which the present text is printed, there is a shaded skeleton drawing, about four inches long by three-quarters high, entitled "A Prospect of ye Coast of ye I. Luconia, near Manila, at 6 L. off shore, ye highest Pike bearing East."

greater than our own. So having set our prisoners ashore, we sailed from Luconia the 26th of February. In our way we went pretty near the shoals of Pracel,[1] and other shoals which are very dangerous. We were very much afraid of them, but escaped them without so much as seeing them, only at the very south end of the Pracel shoals we saw three little sandy islands or spots of sand, standing just above water, within a mile of us. It was the 13th of March before we came in sight of Pulo Condore, or the Island Condore, as "Pulo" signifies. The 14th about noon we anchored on the north side of the island, against a sandy bay two miles from the shore, in ten fathoms clean hard sand, with both ship and prize. Pulo Condore is the principal of a heap of islands, and the only inhabited one of them. They lie in Lat. 8° 40′ N. and about twenty leagues south and by east from the mouth of the River of Cambodia.[2] These islands lie so near together, that at a distance they appear to be but one island. Two of these islands are pretty large, and of a good height; they may be seen fourteen or fifteen leagues at sea; the rest are but little spots. The biggest of the two (which is the inhabited one) is about four or five leagues long, and lies east and west. It is not above three miles broad at the broadest place, in most places not above a mile wide. The other large island is about three miles long, and half-a-mile wide. This island stretches north and south. There are no more islands on the north side, but five or six on the south side of the great island. The mould of these islands for the biggest part is blackish, and pretty deep; only the hills are somewhat stony. The eastern part of the biggest island is sandy, yet all clothed with trees of divers sorts. The trees do not grow so thick as I have seen them in some places, but they are generally large and tall, and fit for any uses. There is one sort of tree much larger than any other on this island, and which I have not seen anywhere else. It is about three or four feet diameter in the body, from whence is drawn a sort of clammy juice, which being boiled a little becomes perfect tar; and if you boil it much it will become hard as pitch.[3] The fruit trees that Nature has bestowed on these isles are mangoes, and trees bearing a sort of grape, and other trees bearing a kind of wild or bastard nutmegs. These all grow wild in the woods, and in very great plenty. The mangoes here grow on trees as big as apple trees. Those at Fort St George are not so large. The fruit of these is as big as a small peach, but long and smaller towards the top. It is of a yellowish colour when ripe; it is very juicy, and of a pleasant smell and delicate taste. When the mango is young, they cut them in two pieces, and pickle them with salt and vinegar, in which they put some cloves and garlic. The grape tree grows with a straight body, of a diameter about a foot or more, and has but few limbs or boughs. The fruit grows in clusters, all about the body of the tree, like the jack, durian, and cacao fruits. There are of them both red and white. They are much like such grapes as grow on our vines, both in shape and colour. The wild nutmeg tree is as big as a walnut tree; but it does not spread so much. The boughs are gross,[4] and the fruit grows among the boughs as the walnut and other fruits. The animals of these islands are some hogs, lizards, guanas, and some of those creatures mentioned in Chapter XI.,[5] which are

[1] The Paracel Islands and reefs at the mouth of the Gulf of Tonquin.

[2] Or Mai-Kiang, which on its way to the coast traverses the whole extent of the empire of Annam; Pulo Condore is directly south of its main embouchure, at the mouth of which stands Saigon, chief town of the French colony of Cochin China.

[3] Well known in commerce and for nautical purposes as Cambodia pitch.

[4] Thick.

[5] See page 232.

like, but much bigger, than the guana. Here are many sorts of birds, as parrots, paroquets, doves, and pigeons. Here are also a sort of wild cocks and hens, which crow like ours, but much more small and shrill; and by their crowing we do first find them out in the woods where we shoot them. Their flesh is very white and sweet. There are a great many limpets and mussels, and plenty of green turtle. These islands are pretty well watered with small brooks of fresh water, that run slush[1] into the sea for ten months in the years. The latter end of March they begin to dry away, and in April you shall have none in the brooks but what is lodged in deep holes; but you may dig wells in some places. In May, when the rain comes, the land is again replenished with water, and the brooks run out into the sea.

These islands lie very commodiously in the way to and from Japan, China, Manilla, Tonquin, Cochin China, and in general all this most easterly coast of the Indian continent, whether you go through the Straits of Malacca or the Straits of Sunda between Sumatra and Java; and one of them you must pass in the common way from Europe, or other parts of the East Indies, unless you mean to fetch a great compass round most of the East India islands, as we did. Any ship in distress may be refreshed and recruited here very conveniently, and, besides ordinary accommodations, be furnished with masts, yards, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants are by nation Cochin Chinese, as they told us, for one of them spoke good Malay, which language we learnt a smattering of, and some of us so as to speak it pretty well while we lay at Mindanao; and this is the common tongue of trade and commerce (though it be not in several of them the native language) in most of the East India islands, being the *lingua franca*, as it were, of these parts. I believe it is the vulgar tongue at Malacca, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo; but at Celebes, the Philippine Islands, and the Spice Islands, it seems borrowed for the carrying on of trade. The inhabitants of Pulo Condore are but a small people in stature, well enough shaped, and of a darker colour than the Mindanayans. They are pretty long-visaged, their hair is black and straight, their eyes are but small and black, their noses of a mean bigness and pretty high, their lips thin, their teeth white, and little mouths. They are very civil people, but extraordinary poor. Their chief employment is to draw the juice of those trees that I have described to make tar. They preserve it in wooden troughs, and when they have their cargo they transport it to Cochin China, their mother country. Some others of them employ themselves to catch turtle, and boil up their fat to oil, which they also transport home. These people have great large nets with wide meshes to catch the turtle. The Jamaica turtlers have such, and I did never see the like nets but at Jamaica and here. They are so free of their women that they would bring them aboard and offer them to us, and many of our men hired them for a small matter. This is a custom used by several nations in the East Indies, as at Pegu, Siam, Cochin China, and Cambodia, as I have been told. It is used at Tonquin also to my knowledge, for I did afterwards make a voyage thither, and most of our men had women aboard all the time of their abode there. In Africa also, on the coast of Guinea, our merchants, factors, and seamen that reside there have their black misses. It is accounted a piece of policy to do it, for the chief factors and captains of ships have the great men's daughters offered them, the Mandarin's or noblemen's at Tonquin, and even the King's wives in [New] Guinea; and by this sort of alliance the country people are engaged to a greater friendship. And if there should arise any difference about trade, or anything else, which might provoke the natives to seek some treacherous revenge (to which all these heathen nations are very prone), then these Delilahs would

[1] Full.

certainly declare it to their white friends, and so hinder their countrymen's designs.

These people are idolaters; but their manner of worship I know not. There are a few scattering houses and plantations on the great island, and a small village on the south side of it; where there is a little idol temple, and an image of an elephant, about five feet high, and in bigness proportionable, placed on one side of the temple, and a horse, not so big, placed on the other side of it: both standing with their heads towards the south. The temple itself was low and ordinary, built of wood, and thatched, like one of their houses, which are but very meanly. The images of the horse and the elephant were the most general idols that I observed in the temple of Tonquin when I travelled there. There were other images also, of beasts, birds, and fish; I do not remember I saw any human shape there, nor any such monstrous representations as I have seen among the Chinese. Wherever the Chinese seamen or merchants come (and they are very numerous all over the seas), they have always hideous idols on board their junks or ships, with altars, and images burning before them. These idols they bring ashore with them. And besides those they have in common; every man has one in his own house. Upon some particular solemn days I have seen their Bonzes, or priests, bring whole armfuls of painted papers, and burn them with a great deal of ceremony, being very careful to let no piece escape them. The same day they killed a goat, which had been purposely fatting a month before: this they offer or present before their idol, and then dress it and feast themselves with it. I have seen them do this in Tonquin, where I have at the same time been invited to their feasts: and at Bencoolen, in the Isle of Sumatra, they sent a shoulder of the sacrificed goat to the English, who ate of it and asked me to do so too; but I refused.

When I was at Madras, or Fort St George, I took notice of a great ceremony used for several nights successively by the idolaters inhabiting the suburbs. Both men and women (these very well clad) in a great multitude went in solemn procession with lighted torches, carrying their idols about with them. I know not the meaning of it. I observed some went purposely carrying oil to sprinkle into the lamps, to make them burn the brighter. They began their round about 11 o'clock at night; and having paced it gravely about the streets till 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, their idols were carried with much ceremony into the temple by the chief of the procession, and some of the women I saw enter the temple particularly. Their idols were different from those of Tonquin, Cambodia, &c., being in human shape.

I have said already that we arrived at these islands the 14th of March 1687. The next day we searched about for a place to careen in; and the 16th we entered the harbour, and immediately provided to careen. Some men were set to fell great trees to saw into plank; others went to unrigging the ship: some made a house to put our goods in, and for the sailmaker to work in. The country people resorted to us, and brought us of the fruits of the island, with hogs, and sometimes turtle; for which they received rice in exchange, which we had a shipload of, taken at Manilla. We bought of them also a good quantity of their pitchy liquor, which we boiled, and used about our ship's bottom. We mixed it first with lime, which we made here; and it made an excellent coat, and stuck on very well. We stayed in this harbour from the 16th of March till the 16th of April; in which time we made a new suit of sails of the cloth that was taken in the prize. We cut a spare main-topmast, and sawed plank to sheathe the ship's bottom; for she was not sheathed all over at Mindanao, and that old plank that was left on then we now ripped off, and clapped on new. While we lay here, two of our men died, who were poisoned at

Mindanao: they told us of it when they found themselves poisoned, and had lingered ever since. They were opened by our doctor, according to their own request before they died, and their livers were black, light and dry, like pieces of cork. Our business being finished here, we left the Spanish prize taken at Manilla, and most of the rice, taking out enough for ourselves: and on the 17th we went from hence to the place where we first anchored, on the north side of the great island, purposely to water; for there was a great stream when we first came to the island, and we thought it was so now. But we found it dried up, only it stood in holes, two or three hogsheads or a tun in a hole; therefore we did immediately cut bamboos, and made spouts, through which we conveyed the water down to the sea-side by taking it up in bowls, and pouring it into these spouts or troughs. We conveyed some of it thus near half-a-mile. While we were filling our water, Captain Reed engaged an old man, one of the inhabitants of this island (the same who, I said, could speak the Malay language), to be his pilot to the Bay of Siam: for he had often been telling us, that he was well acquainted there, and that he knew some islands there where there were fishermen lived, who he thought could supply us with salt-fish to eat at sea; for we had nothing but rice to eat. The easterly monsoon was not yet done; therefore it was concluded to spend some time there, and then take the advantage of the beginning of the western monsoon to return to Manilla again.

The 21st of April 1687, we sailed from Pulo Condore, directing our course W. by S. for the Bay of Siam. The 23d, we arrived at Pulo Uby.[1] The island is about forty leagues to the westward of Pulo Condore; it lies just at the entrance of the Bay of Siam, and the SW. point of land that makes the bay, namely, the Point of Cambodia. This island is about seven or eight leagues round, and it is higher land than any of the Pulo Condore isles. Against the south-east part of it there is a small key, about a cable's length from the main island. This Pulo Uby is very woody. At Pulo Uby we found two small barks laden with rice. They belonged to Cambodia, from whence they came not above two or three days before; and they touched here to fill water. Rice is the general food of all these countries; therefore it is transported by sea from one country to another, as corn is in these parts of the world. For in some countries they produce more than enough for themselves, and send what they can spare to those places where there is but little. The 24th, we went into the Bay of Siam. This is a large deep bay, of which and of this kingdom I shall at present speak but little.[2] We run down into the Bay of Siam till we came to the islands that our Pulo Condore pilot told us of, which lie about the middle of the bay;[3] but as good a pilot as he was, he run us aground; yet we had no damage. Captain Reed went ashore at these islands, where he found a small town of fishermen; but they had no fish to sell, and so we returned empty. We had yet fair weather and very little wind; so that being often becalmed, we were till the 13th of May before we got to Pulo Uby again. There we found two small vessels at anchor on the east side: they were laden with rice and lacquer, which is used in japanning of cabinets. One of these came from Champa, bound to the town of Malacca, which belongs to the Dutch, who took it from the Portuguese; and this shows that they have a trade with Champa. This was a very pretty neat vessel, her bottom very clean and curiously coated; she had about forty men all armed with cortans or broadswords, lances, and some guns

[1] Pulo Obi, off the extreme southern *point of the* Cambodian peninsula.

[2] Reserving a more particular account to Appendix I. (see Introductory Note on page 115).

[3] Probably Pulo Way, in Lat. 10° N.

that went with a swivel upon their gunwales. They were of the idolaters, natives of Champa, and some of the briskest, most sociable, without fearfulness or shyness, and the most neat and dexterous about their shipping, of any such I have met with in all my travels.[1] The other vessel came from the River of Cambodia and was bound towards the Straits of Malacca. Both of them stopped here, for the westerly winds now began to blow, which were against them, being somewhat belated. We anchored also on the east side, intending to fill water.

The 21st of May we went back from hence towards Pulo Condore. In our way we overtook a great junk that came from Palembang, a town on the Island of Sumatra. She was full laden with pepper which they bought there, and was bound to Siam; but it blowing so hard, she was afraid to venture into that bay, and therefore came to Pulo Condore with us, where we both anchored May 24th. This vessel was of the Chinese make, full of little rooms or partitions like our well-boats. I shall describe them in the next Chapter. The men of this junk told us that the English were settled on the Island of Sumatra, at a place called Sillabar; and the first knowledge we had that the English had any settlement on Sumatra was from these. When we came to an anchor, we saw a small bark at anchor near the shore; therefore Captain Reed sent a canoe aboard her to know from whence they came; and supposing that it was a Malay vessel, he ordered the men not to go aboard, for they are accounted desperate fellows, and their vessels are commonly full of men, who all wear cressets or little daggers by their sides. The canoe's crew, not minding the Captain's orders, went aboard, all but one man that stayed in the canoe. The Malays, who were about twenty of them, seeing our men all armed, thought that they came to take their vessel; therefore at once, on a signal given, they drew out their cressets and stabbed five or six of our men before they knew what the matter was. The rest of our men leaped overboard, some into the canoe and some into the sea, and so got away. Among the rest, one Daniel Wallis leaped into the sea, who could never swim before nor since; yet now he swam very well a good while before he was taken up. When the canoe came aboard, Captain Reed manned two canoes and went to be revenged on the Malays; but they, seeing him coming, cut a hole in their vessel's bottom and went ashore in their boat. Captain Reed followed them, but they ran into the woods and hid themselves.

Here we stayed ten or eleven days, for it blew very hard all the time. While we stayed here, Herman Coppinger our surgeon went ashore, intending to live here; but Captain Reed sent some men and fetched him again. I had the same thoughts, and would have gone ashore too, but waited for a more convenient place. For neither he nor I when we went last on board at Mindanao had any knowledge of the plot that was laid to leave Captain Swan and run away with the ship; and being sufficiently weary of this mad crew, we were willing to give them the slip at any place from whence we might hope to get a passage to an English factory. There was nothing else of moment happened whilst we stayed here.

[1] One is tempted to find in this graphic account traces of the Japanese, then little if at all known to even our most experienced navigators.

CHAPTER XV.

HAVING filled our water, cut our wood, and got our ship in a sailing posture while the blustering hard winds lasted, we took the first opportunity of a settled gale to sail towards Manilla. Accordingly, June the 4th 1687, we loosed from Pulo Condore with the wind at SW., fair weather, at a brisk gale. The pepper junk bound

to Siam remained there waiting for an easterly wind; but one of his men, a kind of bastard Portuguese, came aboard our ship and was entertained for the sake of his knowledge in the several languages of these countries. The wind continued in the SW. but twenty-four hours, or a little more, and then came about to the N. and then to the NE., and the sky became exceeding clear. Then the wind came at E., and lasted betwixt E. and SE. for eight or ten days. Yet we continued plying to windward, expecting every day a shift of wind, because these winds were not according to the season of the year. We were now afraid lest the currents might deceive us and carry us on the shoals of Pracel, which were near us, a little to the NW.; but we passed on to the eastward without seeing any sign of them. Yet we were kept much to the northward of our intended course, and the easterly winds still continuing, we despaired of getting to Manilla, and therefore began to project some new design; and the result was, to visit the Island of Prata,[1] about the Lat. of 20° 40′ N., and not far from us at this time. It is a small low island environed with rocks clear round it, by report. It lieth so in the way between Manilla and Canton, the head of a province and a town of great trade in China, that the Chinese do dread the rocks about it more than the Spaniards did formerly dread Bermudas,[2] for many of their junks coming from Manilla have been lost there, and with abundance of treasure in them, as we were informed by all the Spaniards that ever we conversed with in these parts. They told us also that in these wrecks most of the men were drowned, and that the Chinese did never go thither to take up any of the treasure that was lost there for fear of being lost themselves. But the danger of the place did not daunt us, for we were resolved to try our fortunes there if the winds would permit; and we did beat for it five or six days, but at last were forced to leave that design also for want of winds, for the SE. winds continuing, forced us on the coast of China.

It was the 25th of June when we made the land, and running in towards the shore, we came to an anchor the same day on the NE. end of St John's Island.[3] This island is in Lat. about 22° 30′ N., lying on the S. coast of the province of Quan Tung, or Canton, in China. It is of an indifferent height and pretty plain, and the soil fertile enough. It is partly woody, partly savannahs or pasturage for cattle, and there is some moist arable land for rice. The skirts or outer part of the island, especially that part of it which borders on the main sea, is woody. The middle part of it is good thick grassy pasture, with some groves of trees; and that which is cultivated land is low wet land, yielding plentiful crops of rice, the only grain that I did see here. The tame cattle which this island affords are China hogs, goats, buffaloes, and some bullocks. The hogs of this island are all black; they have but small heads, very short thick necks, great bellies commonly touching the ground, and short legs. They eat but little food, yet they are most of them very fat, probably because they sleep much. The tame fowls are ducks and cocks and hens. I saw no wild fowl but a few small birds.

The natives of this island are Chinese. They are subject to the crown of China, and consequently at this time to the Tartars.[4] The Chinese in general are tall, straight-bodied,

[1] Pratos, lying in the north of the Chinese Sea, about equidistant from Canton, Formosa, and the northern extremity of Luzon.

[2] "*The vext* Bermoothes."

[3] Called in Chinese Chang-cheun, which is evidently an assimilation of the name given by the Portuguese; it lies nearly a degree south-west of Macao.

[4] The Manchoo Tartars, after a war lasting nearly thirty years, had established their dynasty more than forty years before the time of which Dampier writes.

raw-boned men. They are long-visaged, and their foreheads are high; but they have little eyes. Their noses are pretty large, with a rising in the middle. Their mouths are of a mean size, pretty thin lips. They are of an ashy complexion; their hair is black, and their beards thin and long, for they pluck the hair out by the roots, suffering only some few very long straggling hairs to grow about their chin, in which they take great pride, often combing them and sometimes tying them up in a knot; and they have such hairs too growing down from each side of their upper lip like whiskers. The ancient Chinese were very proud of the hair of their heads, letting it grow very long, and stroking it back with their hands curiously, and then winding the plats all together round a bodkin thrust through it at the hinder part of the head; and both men and women did thus. But when the Tartars conquered them, they broke them off this custom they were fond of by main force, insomuch that they resented this imposition worse than their subjection, and rebelled upon it; but being still worsted, were forced to acquiesce; and to this day they follow the fashion of their masters the Tartars, and shave all their heads, only reserving one lock, which some tie up, others let it hang down to a great or small length, as they please. The Chinese in other countries still keep their old custom, but if any of the Chinese is found wearing long hair in China, he forfeits his head; and many of them have abandoned their country to preserve their liberty of wearing their hair, as I have been told by themselves. The Chinese have no hats, caps, or turbans; but when they walk abroad they carry a small umbrella in their hands, wherewith they fence their heads from the sun or the rain by holding it over their heads. If they walk but a little way, they carry only a large fan made of paper or silk, of the same fashion as those our ladies have, and many of them are brought over hither; one of these every man carries in his hand if he do but cross the street, screening his head with it if he has not an umbrella with him. The common apparel of the men is a loose frock and breeches. They seldom wear stockings, but they have shoes, or a sort of slippers rather. The men's shoes are made diversely. The women have very small feet, and consequently but little shoes, for from their infancy their feet are kept swathed up with bands as hard as they can possibly endure them; and from the time they can go till they have done growing, they bind them up every night. This they do purposely to hinder them from growing, esteeming little feet to be a great beauty. But by this unreasonable custom they do in a manner lose the use of their feet, and instead of going, they only stumble about their houses, and presently squat down again, being, as it were, confined to sitting all the days of their lives. They seldom stir abroad; and one would be apt to think that, as some have conjectured, their keeping up their fondness for this fashion were a stratagem of the men's to keep them from gadding and gossiping about and confine them at home. They are kept constantly to their work, being fine needle-women, and making many curious embroideries, and they make their own shoes; but if any stranger be desirous to bring away any for novelty's sake, he must be a great favourite to get a pair of shoes of them, though he give twice their value. The poorer sort of women trudge about the streets, and to the market, without shoes or stockings; and these cannot afford to have little feet, being to get their living with them.

The Chinese, both men and women, are very ingenious, as may appear by the many curious things that are brought from thence, especially the porcelain or China earthenware. The Spaniards of Manilla, that we took on the coast of Luconia, told me that this commodity is made of conch shells, the inside of which looks like mother-of-pearl. But the Portuguese, lately mentioned, who had lived in China, and spoke that and the neighbouring

languages very well, said that it was made of a fine sort of clay that was dug in the province of Canton. I have often made inquiry about it, but could never be well satisfied in it; but while I was on the coast of Canton I forgot to inquire about it. They make very fine lacquer ware also, and good silks; and they are curious at painting and carving. China affords drugs in great abundance, especially China root; but this is not peculiar to that country alone, for there is much of this root growing in Jamaica, particularly at Sixteen Mile Walk; and in the Bay of Honduras it is very plentiful. There is a great store of sugar made in this country; and tea in abundance is brought from thence, being much used there, and in Tonquin and Cochin China as common drinking, women sitting in the streets and selling dishes of tea hot and ready made; they call it Chau, and even the poorest people sip it. But the tea at Tonquin or Cochin China seems not so good, or of so pleasant a bitter, or of so fine a colour, or such virtue, as this in China; for I have drank of it in these countries, unless the fault be in their way of making it, for I made none there myself; and by the high red colour it looks as if they made a decoction of it, or kept it stale. Yet, at Japan, I was told there is a great deal of pure tea, very good.[1]

The Chinese are very great gamesters, and they will never be tired with it, playing night and day, till they have lost all their estates, then it is usual with them to hang themselves. This was frequently done by the Chinese factor at Manilla, as I was told by Spaniards that lived there. The Spaniards themselves are much addicted to gaming, and are very expert at it; but the Chinese are too subtle for them, being in general a very cunning people. But a particular account of them and their country would fill a volume; nor does my short experience of them qualify me to say much of them. Wherefore, to confine myself chiefly to what I observed at St John's Island, where we lay some time, and visited the shore every day to buy provision, as hogs, fowl, and buffalo. Here was a small town standing in a wet swampy ground, with many filthy ponds amongst the houses, which were built on the ground as ours are, not on posts as at Mindanao. In these ponds were plenty of ducks; the houses were small and low, and covered with thatch, and inside were but ill furnished, and kept nastily; and I have been told by one who was there, that most of the houses in the city of Canton itself are but poor and irregular. The inhabitants of this village seem to be most husbandmen; they were at this time very busy in sowing their rice, which is their chief commodity. The land in which they choose to sow the rice is low and wet, and when ploughed, the earth was like a mass of mud. They ploughed their land with a small plough drawn by one buffalo, and one man both holds the plough and drives the beast. When the rice is ripe and gathered in, they tread it out of the ear with buffaloes, in a large round place made with a hard floor fit for that purpose, where they chain three or four of these beasts, one at the tail of the other; and driving them round in a ring, as in a horse-mill, they so order it that the buffaloes may tread upon it all. I was once ashore at this island, with seven or eight Englishmen more, and having occasion to stay some time, we killed a small "shore" or young porker, and roasted it for our dinners. While we were busy dressing of our pork, one of the natives came and sat down by us; and when our dinner was ready, we cut a good piece and gave it him, which he willingly received. But by signs he begged more, and withal pointed into the woods; yet we did not understand his meaning, nor much mind him, till our hunger was pretty well assuaged, although he did still make signs, and walking a little way from us, he beckoned to us to come to him, which at last I did,

[1] Tea had been introduced in England, *though* only as a rare luxury, some *thirty years before* Dampier wrote.

and two or three more. He, going before, led the way in a small blind path through a thicket into a small grove of trees, in which there was an old idol temple about ten feet square. The walls of it were about nine feet high, and two feet thick, made of bricks. The floor was paved with broad bricks, and in the middle of the floor stood an old rusty iron bell on its brims. This bell was about two feet high, standing flat on the ground; the brims on which it stood were about sixteen inches diameter. From the brims it did taper away a little towards the head, much like our bells, but that the brims did not turn out so much as ours do. On the head of the bell there were three iron bars as big as a man's arm, and about ten inches long from the top of the bell, where the ends joined as in a centre, and seemed of one mass with the bell, as if cast together. These bars stood all parallel to the ground; and their further ends, which stood triangularly and opening from each other at equal distances, like the flyers of our kitchen-jacks, were made exactly in the shape of the paw of some monstrous beast, having sharp claws on it. This, it seems, was their god; for as soon as our zealous guide came before the bell, he fell flat on his face, and beckoned to us, seeming very desirous to have us do the like. At the inner side of the temple, against the walls, there was an altar of white hewn stone. The table of the altar was about three feet long, sixteen inches broad, and three inches thick. It was raised about two feet from the ground, and supported by three small pillars of the same white stone. On this altar there were several small earthen vessels; one of them was full of small sticks that had been burned at one end. Our guide made a great many signs for us to fetch and to leave some of our meat there, and seemed very importunate; but we refused. We left him there, and went aboard. I did see no other temple nor idol here.

While we lay at this place, we saw several small China junks sailing in the lagoon between the islands and the main; one came and anchored by us. I and some more of our men went aboard to view her. She was built with a square flat head as well as stern, only the head or fore-part was not so broad as the stern. On her deck she had little thatched houses like hovels, covered with palmetto leaves, and raised about three feet high, for the seamen to creep into. She had a pretty large cabin, wherein there was an altar and a lamp burning; I did but just look in, and saw not the idol. The hold was divided into many small partitions, all of them made so tight, that if a leak should spring up in any one of them, it could go no farther, and so could do but little damage, but only to the goods in the bottom of that room where the leak springs up. Each of these rooms belongs to one or two merchants, or more; and every man freights his goods in his own room, and probably lodges there if he be on board himself. These junks have only two masts, a mainmast and a foremast. The foremast has a square yard and a square sail; but the mainmast has a sail narrow aloft, like a sloop's sail; and in fair weather they use a topsail, which is to haul down on the deck in foul weather, yard and all; for they do not go up to furl it. The mainmast in their biggest junks seemed to me as big as any third-rate man-of-war's mast in England, and yet not pieced as ours, but made of one grown tree; and in all my travels I never saw any single tree masts so big in the body, and so long, and yet so well tapered, as I have seen in the Chinese junks.

Some of our men went over to a pretty large town on the continent of China, where we might have furnished ourselves with provision, which was a thing we were always in want of, and was our chief business here; but we were afraid to lie in this place any longer, for we had some signs of an approaching storm, this being the time of the year in which storms are expected on this coast; and here was no safe riding.

It was now the time of the year for the SW. monsoon; but the wind had been whiffling about from one part of the compass to another for two or three days, and sometimes it would be quite calm. This caused us to put to sea, that we might have sea-room at least; for such fluttering weather is commonly the forerunner of a tempest. Accordingly we weighed anchor and set out; yet we had very little wind all the next night. But the day ensuing, which was the 4th of July, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the wind came to the NE. and freshened upon us, and the sky looked very black in that quarter, and the black clouds began to rise apace and move towards us, having hung all the morning in the horizon. This made us take in our topsails; and the wind still increasing, about 9 o'clock we reefed our mainsail and foresail. At ten we furled our foresail, keeping under a mainsail and mizzen. At 11 o'clock we furled our mainsail, and ballasted our mizzen, at which time it began to rain, and by 12 o'clock at night it blew exceeding hard, and the rain poured down as through a sieve. It thundered and lightened prodigiously, and the sea seemed all of a fire about us; for every sea that broke sparkled like lightning. The violent wind raised the sea presently to a great height, and it ran very short and began to break in on our deck. One sea struck away the rails of our head; and our sheet anchor, which was stowed with one fluke, or bending of the iron over the ship's gunwale, and lashed very well down to the side, was violently washed off, and had like to have struck a hole in our bow as it lay beating against it. Then we were forced to put right before the wind, to stow our anchor again, which we did with much ado; but afterwards we durst not adventure to bring our ship to the wind again, for fear of foundering, for the turning the ship either to or from the wind is dangerous in such violent storms. The fierceness of the weather continued till 4 o'clock that morning, in which time we cut away two canoes that were towing astern. After 4 o'clock the thunder and the rain abated, and then we saw a *Corpus Sant*[1] at our main-topmast head, on the very top of the truck of the spindle. This sight rejoiced our men exceedingly; for the height of the storm is commonly over when the *Corpus Sant* is seen aloft; but when they are seen lying on the deck it is generally accounted a bad sign. A *Corpus Sant* is a certain small glittering light. When it appears, as this did, on the very top of the mainmast or at a yard-arm, it is like a star; but when it appears on the deck it resembles a great glow-worm. The Spaniards have another name for it (though I take even this to be a Spanish or Portuguese name, and a corruption only of *Corpus Sanctum*); and I have been told that when they see them they presently go to prayers, and bless themselves for the happy sight. I have heard some ignorant seamen discoursing how they have seen them creep, or, as they say, travel about in the scuppers, telling many dismal stories that happened at such times; but I did never see any one stir out of the place where it first was fixed, except upon deck, where every sea washes it about. Neither did I ever see any but when we have had hard rain as well as wind, and therefore do believe it is some jelly: but enough of this. We continued scudding right before wind and sea from 2 till 7 o'clock in the morning; and then the wind being much abated, we set our mizzen again, and brought our ship to the wind, and lay under a mizzen till eleven. Then it fell flat calm,

[1] "Corposant. A name given to the luminous appearance often beheld in a dark tempestuous night about the decks and rigging of a ship, especially about the mast-heads, yard-arms, &c., caused by the electric fluid passing upwards and downwards, 'by means of the humidity on the masts and rigging,' and 'most frequent in heavy rain accompanied by lightning.'"—*Young's Nautical Dictionary.*

and it continued so for about two hours; but the sky looked very black and rueful, especially in the SW., and the sea tossed us about like an eggshell for want of wind. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon, the wind sprung up at SW., out of the quarter from whence we did expect it;[1] therefore we presently brailed up our mizzen and wore our ship; but we had no sooner put our ship before the wind but it blew a storm again, and it rained very hard, though not so violently as the night before; but the wind was altogether as boisterous, and so continued till 10 or 11 o'clock at night. All which time we scudded, or run, before the wind very swift, though only with our bare poles, that is, without any sail abroad. Afterwards the wind died away by degrees, and before day we had but little wind and fine clear weather.

I was never in such a violent storm in all my life; so said all the company. This was near the change of the moon; it was two or three days before the change. The 6th, in the morning, having fine handsome weather, we got up our yards again, and began to dry ourselves and our clothes, for we were all well sopped. This storm had deadened the hearts of our men so much that, instead of going to buy more provision at the same place from whence we came before the storm, or of seeking any more from the Island of Prata, they thought of going somewhere to shelter before the full moon, for fear of another such storm at that time; for commonly, if there is any very bad weather in the month it is about two or three days before or after the full or change of the moon. These thoughts, I say, put our men on thinking where to go; and the draughts or sea-plats[2] being first consulted, it was concluded to go to certain islands lying in Lat. 23° N., called Pescadores. For there was not a man aboard that was anything acquainted on these coasts; and therefore all our dependence was on the draughts, which only pointed out to us where such and such places or islands were, without giving us any account what harbour, roads, or bays there were, or the produce, strength, or trade of them. These we were forced to seek after ourselves. The Pescadores are a great many inhabited islands, lying near the Island of Formosa, between it and China, in or near Lat. 23° N., almost as high as the Tropic of Cancer.[3] These Pescadore Islands are moderately high, and appear much like our Dorsetshire and Wiltshire Downs in England. They produce thick short grass and a few trees. They are pretty well watered, and they feed abundance of goats and some great cattle. There are abundance of mounts[4] and old fortifications on them, but of no use now, whatever they have been. Between the two easternmost islands there is a very good harbour, which is never without junks riding in it; and on the west side of the easternmost island there is a large town and fort commanding the harbour. The houses are but low, yet well built, and the town makes a fine prospect. This is a garrison of the Tartars, wherein are also three or four hundred soldiers, who live here three years, and then they are removed to some other place. On the island on the west side of the harbour, close by the sea, there is a small town of Chinese, and most of the other islands have some Chinese living on them, more or less.

Having, as I said before, concluded to go to these islands, we steered away for them. The 20th of July we had first sight of them, and steered in among them, finding no place to anchor in till we came into the harbour before mentioned. We blundered in, knowing little of our way, and we admired[5] to see so many

[1] It had been in the NE. before; and thus, though Dampier knew nothing about modern theories of storms, it seems clear that in the two hours' lull he had passed through the vortex of a tornado.

[2] Plans or charts.

[3] They really lie about 20′ to the northward of the Tropic.

[4] Mounds.

[5] Wondered.

junks going and coming, and some at anchor, and so great a town as the neighbouring easternmost town, the Tartarian garrison; for we did not expect nor desire to have seen any people, being in care to lie concealed in these seas. However, seeing we were here, we boldly ran into the harbour, and presently sent ashore our canoe to the town. Our people were met by an officer at their landing, and our quartermaster, who was the chief man in the boat, was conducted before the Governor and examined, of what nation we were, and what was our business here. He answered that we were English, and were bound to Amoy or Anhay, which is a city standing on a navigable river in the province of Fo-kien in China, a place of vast trade, there being a huge multitude of ships there, and in general on all these coasts, as I have heard of several that have been there. He said also, that having received some damage by a storm, we therefore put in here to refit before we would adventure to go farther, and that we did intend to lie here till after the full moon, for fear of another storm. The Governor told him that we might better refit our ship at Amoy than here, and that he heard that two English vessels were arrived there already, and that he should be very ready to assist us in anything, but we must not expect to trade there, but must go to the places allowed to entertain merchant strangers, which were Amoy and Macao. (Macao is a town of great trade also, lying in an island at the very mouth of the River of Canton. It is fortified and garrisoned by a large Portuguese colony, but yet under the Chinese Governor, whose people inhabit one moiety of the town, and lay on the Portuguese what tax they please; for they dare not disoblige the Chinese for fear of losing their trade.) However, the Governor very kindly told our quartermaster that whatsoever we wanted, if that place could furnish us, we should have it; yet that we must not come ashore on that island, but he would send aboard *some of his men* to know what we wanted, and they should also bring it off to us; that nevertheless we might go on shore on the other islands, to buy refreshments of the Chinese. After the discourse was ended, the Governor dismissed him with a small jar of flour and three or four large cakes of very fine bread, and about a dozen pine-apples and water-melons (all very good in their kind) as a present to the Captain.

The next day an eminent officer came aboard with a great many attendants. He wore a black silk cap of a particular make, with a plume of black and white feathers standing up almost round his head behind, and all his outside clothes were black silk. He had a loose black coat which reached to his knees, and his breeches were of the same, and underneath his coat he had two garments more of other coloured silk. His legs were covered with small black limber boots. All his attendants were in a very handsome garb of black silk, all wearing those small black boots and caps. These caps were like the crown of a hat made of palmetto leaves, like our straw-hats, but without brims, and coming down but to their ears. These had no feathers, but had an oblong button on the top, and from between the button and the cap there fell down all round their head, as low as the cap reached, a sort of coarse hair like horse-hair, dyed (as I suppose) of a light red colour. The officer brought aboard, as a present from the Governor, a young heifer, the fattest and kindliest beef that I did ever taste in any foreign country; it was small yet full grown; two large hogs, four goats, two baskets of fine flour, twenty great flat cakes of fine well-tasted bread, two great jars of arrack (made of rice as I judged), called by the Chinese Sam-Shu, and fifty-five jars of Hog-Shu, as they call it, and our Europeans from them. This is a strong liquor, made of wheat, as I have been told. It looks like mum,[1]

[1] Described in Bailey as "a strong liquor brought from Brunswick, in Germany"—a drink so potent as to

and tastes much like it, and is very pleasant and hearty. Our seamen love it mightily, and will lick their lips with it; for scarce a ship goes to China but the men come home fat with soaking this liquor, and bring store of jars of it home with them. It is put into small, white, thick jars that hold near a quart; the double jars hold about two quarts. These jars are small below, and thence rise up with a pretty full belly, closing in pretty short at top, with a small thick mouth. Over the mouth of the jar they put a thin chip cut round just so as to cover the mouth, over that a piece of paper, and over that they put a great lump of clay, almost as big as the bottle or jar itself, with a hollow in it to admit the neck of the bottle, made round and about four inches long; this is to preserve the liquor. If the liquor take any vent, it will be sour presently; so that when we buy any of it of the ships from China returning to Madras or Fort St George, where it is then sold, or of the Chinese themselves, of whom I have bought it at Achin and Bencoolen in Sumatra, if the clay be cracked, or the liquor mothery,[1] we make them take it again. A quart jar there is worth sixpence. Besides this present from the Governor, there was a captain of a junk sent two jars of arrack, and abundance of pine-apples and water-melons. Captain Reed sent ashore, as a present to the Governor, a curious Spanish silver-hilted rapier, an English carbine, and a gold chain; and when the officer went ashore three guns were fired. In the afternoon the Governor sent off the same officer again, to compliment the Captain for his civility, and promised to retaliate his kindness before we departed; but we had such blustering weather afterwards, that no boat could come aboard.

We stayed here till the 29th, and then sailed from hence, with the wind at SW., and pretty fair weather.

We now directed our course for some islands we had chosen to go to that lie between Formosa and Luconia. They are laid down in our plots[2] without any name, only with a figure of 5, denoting the number of them. It was supposed by us that these islands had no inhabitants, because they had not any name by our hydrographers; therefore we thought to lie there secure, and be pretty near the Island of Luconia, which we did still intend to visit. In going to them we sailed by the SW. end of Formosa, leaving it on our larboard side. The 6th of August we arrived at the five islands that we were bound to, and anchored on the east side of the northernmost island, in fifteen fathoms, a cable's length from the shore. Here, contrary to our expectation, we found abundance of inhabitants in sight; for there were three large towns all within a league of the sea, and another larger town than any of the three on the back side of a small hill close by also, as we found afterwards. These islands having no particular names in the draughts, some or other of us made use of the seamen's privilege to give them what names we pleased. Three of the islands were pretty large; the westernmost is the biggest. This the Dutchmen who were among us called the Prince of Orange's Island, in honour of his present majesty. The other two great islands are about four or five leagues to the eastward of this. The northernmost of them, where we first anchored, I called the Duke of Grafton's Isle as soon as we landed on it; having married my wife out of his Duchess's family, and leaving her at Arlington House at my going abroad. The other great isle our seamen called the Duke of Monmouth's Island; this is about a league to the southward of Grafton Isle. Between Monmouth and the south end of Orange Island there are two small islands of a roundish form, lying east and west. The easternmost island of the two our men unanimously called Bashee Island, from

make "mum" the word with the imbiber.

[1] Mouldy, muddy.

[2] Plats; maps, charts, or plates.

a liquor which we drank there plentifully every day after we came to an anchor at it. The other, which is the smallest of all, we called Goat Island, from the great number of goats there; and to the northward of them all are two high rocks. Orange Island, which is the biggest of them all, is not inhabited. It is high land, flat and even on the top, with steep cliffs against the sea; for which reason we could not go ashore there, as we did on all the rest. Monmouth and Grafton Isles are very hilly, with many of those steep inhabited precipices on them that I shall describe particularly. The two small islands are flat and even; only the Bashee Island has one steep, scraggy hill, but Goat Island is all flat and very even. The mould of these islands in the valleys is blackish in some places, but in most red. The hills are very rocky; the valleys are well watered with brooks of fresh water, which run into the sea in many different places. The soil is indifferent fruitful, especially in the valleys, producing pretty great plenty of trees (though not very big) and thick grass. The sides of the mountains have also short grass, and some of the mountains have mines within them; for the natives told us that the yellow metal they showed us (as I shall speak more particularly) came from these mountains; for when they held it up they would point towards them.

The fruit of the islands are a few plantains, bananas, pine-apples, pumpkins, sugar-canes, &c.; and there might be more if the natives would, for the ground seems fertile enough. Here are great plenty of potatoes and yams, which is the common food for the natives for bread kind; for those few plantains they have are only used as fruit. They have some cotton growing here, of the small plants. Here are plenty of goats and abundance of hogs, and few fowls, either wild or tame. For this I have always observed in my travels, both in the East and West Indies, that in those places where there is plenty of grain, *that is, of rice in* the one and maize in the other, there are also found great abundance of fowls; but on the contrary, few fowls in those countries where the inhabitants feed on fruits and roots only. The few wild fowls that are here are paroquets and some other small birds. Their tame fowl are only a few cocks and hens.

Monmouth and Grafton Islands are very thick inhabited; and Bashee Island has one town on it. The natives of these islands are short, squat people; they are generally round-visaged, with low foreheads and thick eyebrows; their eyes of a hazel colour and small, yet bigger than the Chinese; short low noses, and their lips and mouths middle proportioned. Their teeth are white; their hair is black, and thick, and lank, which they wear but short; it will just cover their ears, and so it is cut round very even. Their skins are of a very dark copper colour. They wear no hat, cap, or turbat,[1] nor anything to keep off the sun. The men for the biggest part have only a small clout to cover their nakedness; some of them have jackets made of plantain leaves, which were as rough as any bear's skin. I never saw such rugged things. The women have a short petticoat made of cotton, which comes a little below their knees. It is a thick sort of stubborn cloth, which they make themselves of their cotton. Both men and women wear large earrings, made of that yellow metal before mentioned. Whether it were gold or no I cannot positively say; I took it to be so, it was heavy, and of the colour of our paler gold. I would fain have brought away some to have satisfied my curiosity, but I had nothing wherewith to buy any. Captain Reed bought two of these rings with some iron, of which the people are very greedy; and he would have bought more, thinking he was come to a very fair market, but that the paleness of the metal made him and his crew distrust its being right gold. For my part, I should have ventured on the purchase of some;

[1] Turban.

but having no property in the iron, of which we had great store on board, sent from England by the merchants along with Captain Swan, I durst not barter it away. These rings when first polished look very gloriously; but time makes them fade, and turn to a pale yellow. Then they make a soft paste of red earth, and, smearing it over their rings, they cast them into a quick fire, where they remain till they be red-hot; then they take them out and cool them in water, and rub off the paste; and they look again of a glorious colour and lustre. These people make but small low houses. The sides, which are made of small posts, wattled with boughs, are not above four feet and a half high: the ridge pole is about seven or eight feet high. They have a fireplace at one end of their houses, and boards placed on the ground to lie on. They inhabit together in small villages, built on the sides and tops of rocky hills; three or four rows of houses one above another, and on such steep precipices, that they go up to the first row with a wooden ladder, and so with a ladder still from every story up to that above it: there being no [other] way to ascend. The plain on the first precipice may be so wide as to have room both for a row of houses that stand all along on the edge or brink of it, and a very narrow street running along before their doors; between the row of houses and the foot of the next precipice, the plain of which is in a manner level to the tops of the houses below; and so for the rest. The common ladder to each row or street comes up at a narrow passage left purposely about the middle of it; and the street being bounded with a precipice also at each end, it is but drawing up the ladder, if they be assaulted, and then there is no coming at them from below, but by climbing up as against a perpendicular wall; and that they may not be assaulted from above, they take care to build on the side of such a hill whose back side hangs over the sea, or is some high, steep, perpendicular precipice, altogether inaccessible. These precipices are natural; for the rocks seem too hard to work on; nor is there any sign that art has been employed about them. On Bashee Island there is one such, and built upon, with its back next the sea. Grafton and Monmouth Isles are very thick set with these hills and towns; and the natives, whether for fear of pirates, or foreign enemies, or factions among their own clans, care not for building but in these fastnesses, which I take to be the reason that Orange Isle, though the largest, and as fertile as any, yet, being level and exposed, has no inhabitants. I never saw the like precipices and towns.

These people are pretty ingenious also in building boats. Their small boats are much like our Deal yawls, but not so big; and they are built with very narrow plank, pinned with wooden pins and some nails. They have also some pretty large boats, which will carry forty or fifty men; these they row with twelve or fourteen oars of a side. They are built much like the small ones, and they row double-banked; that is, two men sitting on one bench, but one rowing on one side, the other on the other side, of the boat. They understand the use of iron, and work it themselves. Their bellows are like those at Mindanao. The common employment for the men is fishing; but I did never see them catch much: whether it is more plenty at other times of the year I know not. The women do manage their plantations.

I did never see them kill any of their goats or hogs for themselves; yet they would beg the paunches of the goats that they themselves did sell to us: and if any of our surly seamen did heave them into the sea, they would take them up again, and the skins of the goats also. They would not meddle with hogs' guts, if our men threw away any besides what they made chitterling and sausages off. The goats' skins these people would carry ashore, and making a fire they would singe off all the hair, and afterwards let the skin lie and parch on the coals, till they thought

it eatable; and then they would gnaw it, and tear it to pieces with their teeth, and at last swallow it. The paunches of the goats would make them an excellent dish: they dressed it in this manner. They would turn out all the chopped grass and crudities found in the maw[1] into their pots, and set it over the fire, and stir it about often; this would smoke, and puff, and heave up as it was boiling; wind breaking out of the ferment, and making a very savoury stink. While this was doing, if they had any fish, as commonly they had two or three small fish, these they would make very clean (as hating nastiness belike) and cut the flesh from the bone, and then mince the flesh as small as possibly they could; and when that in the pot was well boiled, they would take it up, and strewing a little salt into it they would eat it, mixed with their raw minced fish. The dung in the maw would look like so much boiled herbs minced very small; and they took up their mess with their fingers, as the Moors do their pillau, using no spoons. They had another dish made of a sort of locusts, whose bodies were about an inch and a half long, and as thick as the top of one's little finger; with large thin wings, and long and small legs. At this time of the year these creatures came in great swarms to devour their potato-leaves and other herbs; and the natives would go out with small nets, and take a quart at one sweep. When they had enough, they would carry them home, and parch them over the fire in an earthen pan; and then their wings and legs would fall off, and their heads and backs would turn red like boiled shrimps, being before brownish. Their bodies being full, would eat very moist, their heads would crackle in one's teeth. I did once eat of this dish, and liked it well enough; but their other dish my stomach would not take.

Their common drink is water; as it is of all other Indians. Besides which, they make a sort of drink with the juice of the sugar-cane, which they boil and put some small black sort of berries among it. When it is well boiled, they put it into great jars, and let it stand three or four days, and work. Then it settles and becomes clear, and is presently fit to drink. This is an excellent liquor, and very much like English beer, both in colour and taste. It is very strong, and I do believe very wholesome: for our men, who drank briskly of it all day for several weeks, were frequently drunk with it, and never sick after it. The natives brought a vast deal of it every day to those aboard and ashore: for some of our men were ashore at work on Bashee Island; which island they gave that name to from their drinking this liquor there, that being the name which the natives called this liquor by: and as they sold it to our men very cheap, so they did not spare to drink it as freely. And indeed, from the plenty of this liquor, and their plentiful use of it, our men called all these islands the Bashee Islands.

What language those people speak I know not: for it had no affinity in sound to the Chinese, which is spoken much through the teeth; nor yet to the Malay language. They called the metal that their earrings were made of, *Bullawan*, which is the Mindanao word for gold; therefore probably they may be related to the Philippine Indies: for that is the general name for gold among all those Indians. I could not learn whence they have their iron; but it is most likely they go in their great boats to the north end of Luconia, and trade with the Indians of that island for it. Neither did I see anything besides iron, and pieces of buffaloes' hides, which I could judge that they bought of strangers. Their clothes were of their own growth and manufacture. These men had wooden lances, and a few lances headed with iron; which are all the weapons that they have. Their armour is a piece of buffalo hide, shaped like our carters' frocks, being without sleeves, and sewed both

[1] Stomach.

sides together, with holes for the head and the arms to come forth. This buff-coat reaches down to their knees; it is close about their shoulders, but below it is three feet wide, and as thick as a board.

I could never perceive them to worship anything, neither had they any idols; neither did they seem to observe any one day more than another. I could never perceive that one man was of greater power than another; but they seemed to be all equal: only every man ruling in his own house, and the children respecting and honouring their parents. Yet it is probable that they have some law, or custom, by which they are governed: for while we lay here we saw a young man buried alive in the earth; and it was for theft, as far as we could understand from them. There was a great deep hole dug, and abundance of people came to the place to take their last farewell of him. Among the rest, there was one woman who made great lamentation, and took off the condemned person's earrings. We supposed her to be his mother. After he had taken his leave of her and some others, he was put into the pit, and covered over with earth. He did not struggle, but yielded very quietly to his punishment; and they crammed the earth close upon him, and stifled him.

They have but one wife, with whom they live and agree very well; and their children live very obediently under them. The boys go out a-fishing with their fathers, and the girls live at home with their mothers: and when the girls are grown pretty strong, they send them to their plantations, to dig yams and potatoes, of which they bring home on their heads every day enough to serve the whole family: for they have no rice nor maize. Their plantations are in the valleys, at a good distance from their houses: where every man has a certain spot of land, which is properly his own. This he manages himself for his own use; and provides enough, that he may not be beholden to his neighbour. Notwithstanding the seeming nastiness of their dish of goat's maw, they are in their persons a very neat cleanly people, both men and women: and they are withal the quietest and civilest people that I did ever meet with. I could never perceive them to be angry with one another. I have admired to see twenty or thirty boats aboard our ship at a time, and yet no difference among them, but all civil and quiet, endeavouring to help each other on occasion: no noise, nor appearance of distaste: and although sometimes cross accidents would happen, which might have set other men together by the ears, yet they were not moved by them. They have no sort of coin: but they have small crumbs of the metal before described, which they bind up very safe in plantain-leaves, or the like. This metal they exchange for what they want, giving a small quantity of it, about two or three grains, for a jar of drink that would hold five or six gallons. They have no scales, but give it by guess. Thus much in general.

To proceed, therefore, with our affairs. I have said before that we anchored here the 6th of August. While we were furling our sails, there came near 100 boats of the natives aboard, with three or four men in each, so that our deck was full of men. We were at first afraid of them, and therefore got up twenty or thirty small arms on our poop, and kept three or four men as sentinels, with guns in their hands, ready to fire on them if they had offered to molest us. But they were pretty quiet, only they picked up such old iron as they found on our deck; and they also took out our pump-bolts, and linch-pins out of the carriages of our guns, before we perceived them. At last one of our men perceived one of them very busy getting out one of our linch-pins, and took hold of the fellow, who immediately bawled out; and all the rest presently leaped overboard—some into their boats, others into the sea—and they all made away for the shore. But when we perceived their fright we made much of him that was in hold,

who stood trembling all the while; and at last we gave him a small piece of iron, with which he immediately leaped overboard and swam to his consorts, who hovered about our ship to see the issue. Then we beckoned to them to come aboard again, being very loth to lose a commerce with them. Some of the boats came aboard again, and they were always very honest and civil afterwards. We presently after this sent a canoe ashore to see their manner of living, and what provision they had. The canoe's crew were made very welcome with Bashee drink, and saw abundance of hogs, some of which they bought and returned aboard. After this the natives brought aboard both hogs and goats to us in their own boats; and every day we should have fifteen or twenty hogs and goats in boats aboard by our side. These we bought for a small matter. We could buy a good fat goat for an old iron hoop, and a hog of seventy or eighty pounds' weight for two or three pounds of iron. Their drink also they brought off in jars, which we bought for old nails, spikes, and leaden bullets. Besides the forementioned commodities, they brought aboard great quantities of yams and potatoes, which we purchased for nails, spikes, or bullets. It was one man's work to be all day cutting out bars of iron into small pieces with a cold chisel, and these were for the great purchases of hogs and goats, which they would not sell for nails, as their drink and roots. We never let them know what store we had, that they might value it the more. Every morning, as soon as it was light, they would thus come aboard with their commodities, which we bought as we had occasion. We did commonly furnish ourselves with as many goats and roots as served us all the day; and their hogs we bought in large quantities as we thought convenient, for we salted them. Their hogs were very sweet, but I never saw so many measled ones.

We filled all our water at a curious brook close by us in Grafton Isle, *where we first* anchored. We stayed there about three or four days before we went to other islands. We sailed to the southward, passing on the east side of Grafton Island; and then passed through between that and Monmouth Island, but we found no anchoring till we came to the north end of Monmouth Island, and there we stopped during one tide. When we went from hence, we coasted about two leagues to the southward on the west side of Monmouth Island; and finding no anchor ground, we stood over to Bashee Island, and came to an anchor on the north-east part of it against a small sandy bay in seven fathom clean hard sand, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore. We presently built a tent ashore to mend our sails in, and stayed all the rest of our time here, viz., from the 13th of August till the 26th of September. In which time we mended our sails and scrubbed our ship's bottom very well; and every day some of us went to their towns and were kindly entertained by them. Their boats also came aboard with their merchandise to sell, and lay aboard all day; and if we did not take it off their hands one day, they would bring the same again the next. We had yet the winds at SW. and SSW., mostly fair weather. In October we did expect the winds to shift to the NE., and therefore we provided to sail (as soon as the eastern monsoon was settled) to cruise off Manilla. Accordingly we provided a stock of provision. We salted seventy or eighty good fat hogs, and bought yams and potatoes good store to eat at sea.

About the 24th of September the winds shifted about to the E., and thence to the NE., fine fair weather. The 25th it came at N. and began to grow fresh, and the sky began to be clouded, and the wind freshened on us. At 12 of the clock at night it blew a very fierce storm. We were then riding with our best bower ahead, and though our yards and topmast were down, yet we drove. This obliged us to let go our sheet anchor, veering out a good scope of cable, which stopped us till 10 or 11

of the clock the next day. Then the wind came on so fierce that she drove again with both anchors ahead. The wind was now at N. by W., and we kept driving till 3 or 4 of the clock in the afternoon; and it was well for us that there were no islands, rocks, or sands in our way, for if there had been, we must have been driven upon them. We used our utmost endeavours to stop her, being loth to go to sea, because we had six of our men ashore who could not get off now. At last we were driven out into deep water, and then it was in vain to wait any longer; therefore we hove in our sheet cable, and got up our sheet anchor, and cut away our best bower (for to have heaved her up then would have gone near to have foundered us), and so put to sea. We had very violent weather the night ensuing, with very hard rain; and we were forced to scud with our bare poles till 3 o'clock in the morning. Then the wind slackened, and we brought our ship to under a mizzen, and lay with our head to the westward. The 27th the wind abated much, but it rained very hard all day and the night ensuing. The 28th the wind came about to the NE., and it cleared up and blew a hard gale; but it stood not there, for it shifted about to the eastward, thence to the SE., then to the S.; at last it settled at SW., and then we had a moderate gale and fair weather. It was the 29th when the wind came to the SW. Then we made all the sail we could for the island again. The 30th we had the wind at W., and saw the islands, but could not get in before night. Therefore we stood off to the southward till 2 of the clock in the morning, then we tacked and stood in all the morning; and about 12 of the clock, the 1st of October, we anchored again at the place whence we were driven.

Then our six men were brought aboard by the natives, to whom we gave three whole bars of iron for their kindness and civility, which was an extraordinary present to them. Mr Robert Hall was one of the men that were left ashore; I shall speak more of him hereafter. He and the rest of them told me that after the ship was out of sight the natives began to be more kind to them than they had been before, and persuaded them to cut their hair short, as theirs was; offering to each of them, if they would do it, a young woman to wife, and a small hatchet and other iron utensils fit for a planter, in dowry; and withal showed them a piece of land for them to manage. They were courted thus by several of the town where they then were, but they took up their headquarters at the house of him with whom they first went ashore. When the ship appeared in sight again, then they importuned them for some iron, which is the chief thing that they covet, even above their earrings. We might have bought all their earrings or other gold they had, with our iron bars, had we been assured of its goodness; and yet when it was touched and compared with other gold, we could not discern any difference, though it looked so pale in the lump; but the seeing them polish it so often was a new discouragement.

This last storm put our men quite out of heart; for although it was not altogether so fierce as that which we were in on the coast of China, which was still fresh in memory, yet it wrought more powerfully, and frighted them from their design of cruising before Manilla, fearing another storm there. Now every man wished himself at home, as they had done a hundred times before; but Captain Reed, and Captain Tait, the master, persuaded them to go towards Cape Comorin, and then they would tell them more of their minds, intending, doubtless, to cruise in the Red Sea; and they easily prevailed with the crew. The eastern monsoon was now at hand, and the best way had been to go through the Straits of Malacca; but Captain Tait said it was dangerous, by reason of many islands and shoals there, with which none of us were acquainted. Therefore he thought it best to go round on the east side of all the Philippine Islands, and so keeping south toward the Spice

Islands, to pass out into the East Indian Ocean about the Island Timor. This seemed to be a very tedious way about, and as dangerous altogether for shoals; but not for meeting with English or Dutch ships, which was their greatest fear. I was well enough satisfied, knowing that the farther we went, the more knowledge and experience I should get, which was the main thing that I regarded; and I should also have the more variety of places to attempt an escape from them, being fully resolved to take the first opportunity of giving them the slip.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE 3d of October 1687, we sailed from these islands standing to the southward, intending to sail through among the Spice Islands. We had fair weather, and the wind at W. We first steered SSW., and passed close by certain small islands that lie just by the north end of the Island Luconia. We left them all on the west of us, and passed on the east side of it, and the rest of the Philippine Islands, coasting to the southward. The NE. end of the Island Luconia appears to be good champaign land, of an indifferent height, plain and even for many leagues, only it has some pretty high hills standing upright by themselves in these plains; but no ridges of hills, or chains of mountains joining one to another. The land on this side seems to be most savannah, or pasture; the SE. part is more mountainous and woody. Leaving the Island Luconia, and with it our golden projects, we sailed on the southward, passing on the east side of the rest of the Philippine Islands. These appear to be more mountainous and less woody, till we came in sight of the Island St John, the first of that name I mentioned; the other I spoke of on the coast of China. This I have already described to be a very woody *Island.* *Here* the wind coming southerly, forced us to keep farther from the islands. The 14th of October we came close by a small, low, woody island, that lies east from the SE. end of Mindanao, distant from it about twenty leagues. I do not find it set down in any sea-chart. The 15th we had the wind at NE., and steered west for the Island Mindanao, and arrived at the SE. end again on the 16th. There we went in and anchored between two small islands. Here we found a fine small cove on the NW. end of the easternmost island, fit to careen in or haul ashore; so we went in there, and presently unrigged our ship, and provided to haul our ship ashore, to clean her bottom.

These islands are about three or four leagues from the Island Mindanao; they are about four or five miles in circumference, and of a pretty good height. The mould is black and deep, and there are two small brooks of fresh water. They are both plentifully stored with great high trees; therefore our carpenters were sent ashore to cut down some of them for our use; for here they made a new boltsprit,[1] which we did set here also, our old one being very faulty. They made a new foreyard too, and a foretopmast; and our pumps being faulty and not serviceable, they did cut a tree to make a pump. They first squared it, then sawed it in the middle, and then hollowed each side exactly. The two hollow sides were made big enough to contain a pump-box in the midst of them both, when they were joined together, and it required their utmost skill to close them exactly to the making a tight cylinder for the pump-box; being unaccustomed to such work. We learnt this way of pump-making from the Spaniards, who make their pumps that they use in their ships in the South Seas after this manner; and I am confident that there are no better

[1] Bowsprit, so called, probably, from the meaning of the word "bolt," as something projected or thrust out from the bow of the ship.

hand-pumps in the world than they have.

While we lay here, the young Prince that I mentioned in Chapter XIII., came aboard.[1] He, understanding that we were bound farther to the southward, desired us to transport him and his men to his own island. He showed it to us in our draught, and told us the name of it, which we put down in our draught, for it was not named there; but I quite forgot to put it into my journal. This man told us, that not above six days before this he saw Captain Swan, and several of his men that we left there, and named the names of some of them, who, he said, were all well, and now they were at the city of Mindanao; but that they had been all of them out with Raja Laut, fighting under him in his wars against his enemies the Alfoores; and that most of them fought with undaunted courage, for which they were highly honoured and esteemed, as well by the Sultan, as by the General Raja Laut. That now Captain Swan intended to go with his men to Fort St George,[2] and that in order thereto, he had proffered forty ounces of gold for a ship, but the owner and he were not yet agreed; and that he feared the Sultan would not let him go away till the wars were ended. All this the Prince told us in the Malay tongue, which many of us had learnt; and when he went away he promised to return to us again in three days' time, and so long Captain Reed promised to stay for him (for we had now almost finished our business), and he seemed very glad of the opportunity of going with us.

After this I endeavoured to persuade our men to return with the ship to the River of Mindanao and offer their service again to Captain Swan. I took an opportunity when they were filling water, there being then half the ship's company ashore, and I found these all very willing to do it. I desired them to say nothing till I had tried the minds of the other half, which I intended to do the next day, it being their turn to fill water then; but one of these men, who seemed most forward to invite back Captain Swan, told Captain Reed and Captain Tait of the project, and they presently dissuaded the men from any such designs. Yet, fearing the worst, they made all possible haste to be gone. I have since been informed that Captain Swan and his men stayed there a great while afterward, and that many of the men got passage thence in Dutch sloops to Ternate, particularly Mr Rofy and Mr Nelly. There they remained a great while, and at last got to Batavia (where the Dutch took their journals from them), and so to Europe; and some of Captain Swan's men died at Mindanao, of which number Mr Harthope and Mr Smith, Captain Swan's merchants, were two. At last Captain Swan and his surgeon, going in a small canoe aboard of a Dutch ship then in the road, in order to get passage to Europe, were overset by the natives at the mouth of the river, who waited their coming purposely to do it, but unsuspected by them, where they both were killed in the water. This was done by the General's order, as some think, to get his gold, which he did immediately seize on. Others say it was because the General's house was burnt a little before, and Captain Swan was suspected to be the author of it; and others say that it was Captain Swan's threats occasioned his own ruin, for he would often say, passionately, that he had been abused[3] by the General, and that he would have satisfaction for it; saying also, that now he was well acquainted with their rivers, and knew how to come in at any time; that he also knew their manner of fighting and the weakness of their country; and therefore he would go away and get a band of men to assist him, and returning thither again he

[1] Who had been sent by his uncle, the Sultan of a spice island, to Mindanao, with an invitation to Captain Swan to come and trade. See page 247.

[2] Madras.

[3] Dealt falsely with.

would spoil and take all that they had, and their country too. When the General has been informed of these discourses he would say, "What, is Captain Swan made of iron, and able to resist a whole kingdom? or does he think that we are afraid of him that he speaks thus?" Yet did he never touch him till now the Mindanayans killed him. It is very probable there might be somewhat of truth in all this, for the Captain was passionate, and the General greedy of gold. But whatever was the occasion, so he was killed, as several have assured me, and his gold seized on, and all his things; and his journal also from England, as far as Cape Corrientes on the coast of Mexico. This journal was afterwards sent away from thence by Mr Moody (who was there both a little before and a little after the murder), and he sent it into England by Mr Goddard, chief mate of the Defence.

But to our purpose. Seeing I could not persuade them to go to Captain Swan again, I had a great desire to have had the Prince's company; but Captain Reed was afraid to let his fickle crew lie long. That very day that the Prince had promised to return to us, which was November 2, 1687, we sailed hence, directing our course SW. and having the wind at NW. This wind continued till we came in sight of the Island Celebes, then it veered about to the W. and to the S. of W. We came up with the NE. end of the Island Celebes on the 9th, and there we found the current setting to the W. so strongly that we could hardly get on the E. side of that island.

The Island Celebes is a very large island, extended in length from north to south about seven degrees of Latitude, and in breadth about three degrees. It lies under the Equator, the north end being in Lat. 1° 30′ N., and the south end in Lat. 5° 30′ S.; and by common account the bulk of this island lies nearest north and south, but at the north-east end there *runs out a long* narrow point, stretch*ing NE. about thirty* leagues; and about thirty leagues to the eastward of this long slip is the Island Gilolo, on the west side of which are four small islands close by it, which are very well stored with cloves. The two chief are Ternate and Tidore. And as the Isle of Ceylon is reckoned the only place for cinnamon, and that of Banda for nutmegs; so these are thought by some to be the only clove islands in the world; but this is a great error, as I have already shown. At the south end of the Island Celebes there is a sea or gulf of about seven or eight leagues wide, and forty or fifty long, which runs up the country almost directly to the north; and this gulf has several small islands along the middle of it. On the west side of the island, almost at the south end of it, the town of Macassar is seated—a town of great strength and trade belonging to the Dutch. There are great inlets and lakes on the east side of the island, as also abundance of small islands and shoals lying scattered about it. We saw a high-peaked hill at the north end, but the land on the east side is low all along, for we cruised almost the length of it. The mould on this side is black and deep, and extraordinarily fat and rich, and full of trees; and many brooks of water run out into the sea. Indeed all this east side of the island seems to be but one large grove of extraordinary great high trees.

Having with much ado got on this east side, coasting along to the southward, and yet having but little wind, and even that little against us at SSW. and sometimes calm, we were a long time going about the island. The 22d we were in Lat. 1° 20′ S., and being about three leagues from the island, standing to the southward, with a very gentle land wind, about 2 or 3 of the clock in the morning, we heard clashing in the water, like boats rowing; and fearing some sudden attack, we got up all our arms and stood ready to defend ourselves. As soon as it was day we saw a great proa, built like the Mindanayan proas, with about sixty men in her, and six smaller proas. They lay still about a mile to windward of us to view us,

and probably designed to make a prey of us when they first came out, but they were now afraid to venture on us. At last we showed them Dutch colours, thinking thereby to allure them to come to us, for we could not go to them; but they presently rowed in towards the island and went into a large opening, and we saw them no more; nor did we ever see any other boats or men but only one fishing canoe while we were about this island, neither did we see any house on all the coast.

About five or six leagues to the south of this place there is a great range of both large and small islands, and many shoals also that are not laid down in our draughts, which made it extremely troublesome for us to get through. But we passed between them all and the Island Celebes, and anchored against a sandy bay in eight fathoms sandy ground about half-a-mile from the main island, being then in Lat. 1° 50′ S. Here we stayed several days, and sent out our canoes a-striking of turtle every day, for here is great plenty of them; but they were very shy, as they were generally wherever we found them in the East India Seas. I know not the reason of it, unless the natives go very much a-striking here; for even in the West Indies they are shy in places that are much disturbed; and yet on New Holland we found them shy, as I shall relate, though the natives there do not molest them. On the shoals without us we went and gathered shell-fish at low water. There were a monstrous sort of cockles—the meat of one of them would suffice seven or eight men. It was very good wholesome meat. We did also beat about in the woods on the island, but found no game. One of our men, who was always troubled with sore legs, found a certain vine that supported itself by climbing about other trees. The leaves reached six or seven feet high, but the strings or branches eleven or twelve. It had a very green leaf, pretty broad and roundish, and of a thick substance. These leaves pounded small, and boiled with hog's lard, make an excellent salve. Our men, knowing the virtues of it, stocked themselves here; there was scarce a man in the ship but got a pound or two of it, especially such as were troubled with old ulcers, who found great benefit by it. The man that discovered these leaves here had his first knowledge of them in the Isthmus of Darien, he having had this receipt from one of the Indians there; and he had been ashore in divers places since purposely to seek these leaves, but did never find any but here.

Among the many vast trees hereabouts there was one exceeded all the rest. This Captain Reed caused to be cut down in order to make a canoe, having lost our boats, all but one small one, in the late storms; so six lusty men, who had been logwood cutters in the Bays of Campeachy and Honduras (as Captain Reed himself, and many more of us had), and so were very expert at this work, undertook to fell it, taking their turns—three always cutting together; and they were one whole day and half the next before they got it down. This tree, though it grew in a wood, was yet eighteen feet in circumference and forty-four feet of clean body, without knot or branch; and even there it had no more than one or two branches, and then ran clean again ten feet higher; there it spread itself into many great limbs and branches like an oak, very green and flourishing; yet it was perished at the heart, which marred it for the service intended. So, leaving it, and having no more business here, we weighed and went from hence the next day, it being the 29th of November. We had the wind at NE. when we weighed, and we steered off SSW. In the afternoon we saw a shoal ahead of us, and altered our course to the SSE. In the evening, at 4 of the clock, we were close by another great shoal; therefore we tacked and stood in for the Island Celebes again for fear of running on some of the shoals in the night. By day a man might avoid them well enough, for they had all beacons on them, like huts built on tall posts, above high-

water mark, probably set up by the natives of the Island Celebes or those of some other neighbouring islands; and I never saw any such elsewhere.

The 30th we had a fresh land wind, and steered away south, passing between the two shoals which we saw the day before. Being past them, the wind died away, and we lay becalmed till the afternoon; then we had a hard tornado out of the SW., and towards the evening we saw two or three spouts, the first I had seen since I came into the East Indies: in the West Indies I had often met with them. A spout is a small ragged piece, or part of a cloud, hanging down about a yard, seemingly from the blackest part thereof. Commonly it hangs down sloping from thence, or sometimes appearing with a small bending or elbow in the middle. I never saw any hang perpendicularly down. It is small at the lower end, seeming no bigger than one's arm; but it is fuller towards the cloud, whence it proceeds. They seem terrible enough: the rather because they come upon you while you lie becalmed like a log in the sea, and cannot get out of their way; but though I have seen and been beset by them often, yet the fright was always the greatest of the harm.

December the 1st, we had a gentle gale at ESE. We steered south; and at noon I was by observation in Lat. 3° 34′ S. Then we saw the Island Bouton, bearing south-west, and about ten leagues distant. We had very uncertain and unconstant winds. The 5th, we got close by the NW. end of the Island Bouton, and in the evening, it being fair weather, we hoisted out our canoe, and sent the Mosquito men, of whom we had two or three, to strike turtle, for here are plenty of them; but they being shy, we chose to strike them in the night (which is customary in the West Indies also) for every time they come up to breathe, which is once in eight or ten minutes, they blow so hard, that one may hear them at thirty or forty yards' distance; by which means *the striker knows* where they are, and may more easily approach them than in the day, for the turtle sees better than he hears: but, on the contrary, the manatee's hearing is quickest. In the morning they returned with a very large turtle, which they took near the shore; and withal an Indian of the island came aboard with them. He spake the Malay language, by which we did understand him. He told us, that two leagues farther to the southward of us there was a good harbour, in which we might anchor: so having a fair wind, we got thither by noon.

This harbour is in Lat. 4° 54′ S., lying on the east side of the Island Bouton. Which island lies near the SE. end of the Island Celebes, distant from it about three or four leagues. It is of a long form, stretching SW. and NE. about twenty-five leagues, and ten broad. It is pretty high land, and appears pretty even, and flat, and very woody. There is a large town within a league of the anchoring-place, called Callasusung, being the chief, if there were more; which we knew not. It is about a mile from the sea, on the top of a small hill, in a very fair plain, encompassed with cocoa-nut trees. Without the trees there is a strong stone wall, clear round the town. The houses are built like the houses at Mindanao, but more neat; and the whole town was very clean and delightsome. The inhabitants are small and well shaped. They are much like the Mindanayans in shape, colour, and habit; but more neat and tight. They speak the Malay language, and are all Mahometans. They are very obedient to the Sultan, who is a little man, about forty or fifty years old, and has a great many wives and children. About an hour after we came to an anchor, the Sultan sent a messenger aboard, to know what we were, and what our business. We gave him an account, and he returned ashore, and in a short time after he came aboard again, and told us that the Sultan was very well pleased when he heard that we were English, and said, that we should have anything the island afforded; and that he himself would

come aboard in the morning. Therefore the ship was made clean, and everything put in the best order to receive him.

The 6th, in the morning betimes, a great many boats and canoes came aboard, with fowls, eggs, plantains, potatoes, &c., but they would dispose of none till they had order for it from the Sultan, at his coming. About 10 of the clock the Sultan came aboard in a very neat proa, built after the Mindanao fashion. There was a large white silk flag at the head of the mast, edged round with a deep red for about two or three inches broad, and in the middle there was neatly drawn a green griffin, trampling on a winged serpent that seemed to struggle to get up, and threatened his adversary with open mouth, and with a long sting that was ready to be darted into his legs. Other East Indian princes have their devices also. The Sultan, with three or four of his nobles, and three of his sons, sat in the house of the proa. His guards were ten musketeers, five standing on one side of the proa, and five on the other side: and before the door of the proa-house stood one with a great broad sword and a target, and two more such at the after-part of the house; and in the head and stern of the proa stood four musketeers more, two at each end. The Sultan had a silk turban, laced with narrow gold lace by the sides, and broad lace at the end; which hung down on one side the head, after the Mindanayan fashion. He had a sky-coloured silk pair of breeches, and a piece of red silk thrown across his shoulders, and hanging loose about him; the greatest part of his back and waist appearing naked. He had neither stocking nor shoe. One of his sons was about fifteen or sixteen years old; the other two were young things, and they were always in the arms of one or other of his attendants.

Captain Reed met him at the side, and led him into his small cabin, and fired five guns for his welcome. As soon as he came aboard he gave leave to his subjects to traffic with us: and then our people bought what they had a mind to. The Sultan seemed very well pleased to be visited by the English; and said he had coveted to have a sight of Englishmen, having heard extraordinary characters of their just and honourable dealings: but he exclaimed against the Dutch (as all the Mindanayans, and all the Indians we met with, do) and wished them at a greater distance. For Macassar is not very far from hence, one of the chief towns that the Dutch have in those parts. Thence the Dutch come sometimes hither to purchase slaves. The slaves that these people get here and sell to the Dutch are some of the idolatrous natives of the island, who, not being under the Sultan, and having no head, live straggling in the country, flying from one place to another to preserve themselves from this prince and his subjects, who hunt after them to make them slaves. For the civilising Indians of the maritime places, who trade with foreigners, if they cannot reduce the inland people to the obedience of their prince, catch all they can of them and sell them for slaves; accounting them to be but as savages, just as the Spaniards do the poor Americans.

After two or three hours' discourse, the Sultan went ashore again, and five guns were fired at his departure also. The next day he sent for Captain Reed to come ashore; and he, with seven or eight men, went to wait on the Sultan. I could not slip an opportunity of seeing the place; and so accompanied them. We were met at the landing-place by two of the chief men, and guided to a pretty neat house, where the Sultan waited our coming. The house stood at the farther end of all the town before mentioned, which we passed through; and abundance of people were gazing on us as we passed by. When we came near the house, forty poor, naked soldiers with muskets made a line for us to pass through. This house was not built on posts, as the rest were, after the Mindanayan way; but the room in which we were entertained was on the ground, covered

with mats to sit on. Our entertainment was tobacco and betel-nut, and young cocoa-nuts; and the house was beset with men, women, and children, who thronged to get near the windows to look on us. We did not tarry above an hour before we took our leave and departed. The next day the Sultan came aboard again, and presented Captain Reed with a little boy; but he was too small to be serviceable on board; and so Captain Reed returned thanks, and told him he was too little for him. Then the Sultan sent for a bigger boy, which the Captain accepted. This boy was a very pretty tractable boy; but what was wonderful in him, he had two rows of teeth, one within another, on each jaw. None of the other people were so, nor did I ever see the like. The Captain was presented also with two he-goats, and was promised some buffalo, but I do believe that they have but few of either on the island. We did not see any buffalo, nor many goats; neither have they much rice; but their chief food is roots. We bought here about a thousand pound weight of potatoes. Here our men bought also abundance of crockadores and fine large paroquets, curiously coloured, and some of the finest I saw. The crockador is as big as a parrot, and shaped much like it, with such a bill; but is as white as milk, and has a bunch of feathers on his head like a crown. At this place we bought a proa also of the Mindanayan make, for our own use, which our carpenters afterwards altered, and made a delicate boat fit for any service. She was sharp at both ends; but we sawed off one, and made that end flat, fastening a rudder to it; and she rowed and sailed incomparably.

We stayed here but till the 12th, because it was a bad harbour and foul ground, and a bad time of the year too, for the tornadoes began to come in thick and strong. When we went to weigh our anchor, it was hooked in a rock, and we broke our cable, and could not get our anchor, though we strove hard for it; so we went away *and left it there.* We had the wind at NNE., and we steered towards the SE., and fell in with four or five small islands, that lie in 5° 40′ S. Lat., and about five or six leagues from Callasusung harbour. These islands appeared very green with cocoa-nut trees, and we saw two or three towns on them, and heard a drum all night, for we were got in among shoals, and could not get out again till the next day. We know not whether the drum were for fear of us, or that they were making merry, as it is usual in these parts to do all the night, singing and dancing till morning. At last we passed between the islands, and tried for a passage on the east side. We met with divers shoals on this side also, but found channels to pass through; so we steered away for the Island Timor, intending to pass out by it. The 16th, we got clear of the shoals, and steered S. by E., with the wind at WSW., but veering every half hour, sometimes at SW., and then again at W., and sometimes at NNW., bringing much rain, with thunder and lightning. The 20th we passed by the Island Omba, which is a pretty high island, lying in Lat. 8° 20′, and not above five or six leagues from the NE. part of the Island Timor. It is about thirteen or fourteen leagues long, and five or six leagues wide. About seven or eight leagues to the west of Omba is another pretty large island, but it had no name in our plans; yet by the situation it should be that which in some maps is called Pentare.[1] We saw on it abundance of smokes by day, and fires by night, and a large town on the north side of it, not far from the sea; but it was such bad weather that we did not go ashore. Between Omba and Pentare, and in the mid-channel, there is a small, low, sandy island, with great shoals on either side; but there is a very good channel close by Pentare between them and the shoals about the small isle. We were three days beating off and on, not having a wind, for it was at SSW.

[1] Or Pantor; a small island about midway between Timor and Floris.

The 23d, in the evening, having a small gale at north, we got through, keeping close by Pentare. The tide of ebb here set out to the southward, by which we were helped through, for we had but little wind; but this tide, which did us a kindness in setting us through, had like to have ruined us afterwards. For there are two small islands lying at the south end of the channel we came through; and towards these islands the tide hurried so swiftly, that we very narrowly escaped being driven ashore; for the little wind we had before at north died away; we had not one breath of wind when we came there, neither was there an anchor-ground. But we got out our oars and rowed, yet all in vain; for the tide set wholly on one of the small islands, that we were forced by might and main strength to bear off the ship, by thrusting with our oars against the shore, which was a steep bank, and by this means we presently drove away, clear of danger; and having a little wind in the night at north, we steered away SSW. In the morning again we had the wind at WSW., and steered S.; and the wind coming to the WNW., we steered SW. to get clear of the SW. end of the Island Timor. The 26th, we saw the NW. point of Timor, SE. by E., distant about eight leagues. Timor is a long high mountainous island, stretching NE. and SW. It is about seventy leagues long, and fifteen or sixteen wide; the middle of the island is in Latitude about 9° S. I have been informed that the Portuguese trade to this island, but I know nothing of its produce, besides Coir, for making cables.[1]

Being now clear of all the islands, we stood off south, intending to touch at New Holland, a part of Terra Australis Incognita, to see what that country would afford us. Indeed, as the winds were, we could not now keep our intended course (which was first westerly, and then northerly) without going to New Holland, unless we had gone back again among the islands; but this was not a good time of the year to be among any islands to the south of the Equator, unless in a good harbour. The 31st, we were in Lat. 13° 20′, still standing to the southward, the wind bearing commonly very hard at W., and we keeping upon it under two courses, and our mizzen, and sometimes a maintopsail reefed. About 10 of the clock at night we tacked and stood to the northward, for fear of running on a shoal, which is laid down on our draughts in Lat. 13° 50′ or thereabouts. At 3 of the clock we tacked again, and stood S. by W. and SSW. In the morning, as soon as it was day, we saw the shoal right ahead. We stemmed right with the middle of it, and stood within half-a-mile of the rocks, and sounded, but found no ground. Then we went about and stood to the north two hours; and then tacked and stood to the southward again, thinking to weather it, but could not. So we bore away on the north side, till we came to the east point, giving the rocks a small berth; then we trimmed sharp, and stood to the southward, passing close to it, and sounded again, but found no ground. . . .

The 4th of January, 1688, we fell in with the land of New Holland in Lat. 16° 50′, having made our course due south from the shoal that we passed by the 31st of December. We ran in close by it, and finding no convenient anchoring, because it lies open to the NW., we ran along shore to the eastward, steering NE. by E., for so the land lies. We steered thus about twelve leagues, and then came to a point of land, whence the land trends east and southerly for ten or twelve leagues, but how afterwards I know not. About three leagues to eastward of this point, there is a pretty deep bay, with abundance of islands in it, and a very good place to anchor in, or to haul ashore. About a league to the eastward of that point we anchored, January the 5th, 1688, two miles from the shore, in twenty-nine

[1] Cordage made of cocoa-nut fibre.

fathoms, good hard sand, and clean ground.

New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joins neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea; only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay. The land is of a dry sandy soil, destitute of water, except you make wells; yet producing divers sorts of trees; but the woods are not thick, nor the trees very big. Most of the trees that we saw are dragon trees, as we supposed; and these two are the largest trees of any there. They are about the bigness of our large apple trees, and about the same height, and the rind is blackish, and somewhat rough. The leaves are of a dark colour; the gum distils out of the knots or cracks that are in the bodies of the trees. We compared it with some gum-dragon, or dragon's blood, that was aboard, and it was of the same colour and taste. The other sorts of trees were not known by any of us. There was pretty long grass growing under the trees; but it was very thin. We saw no trees that bore fruit or berries. We saw no sort of animal, nor any track of beast, but once, and that seemed to be the tread of a beast as big as a great mastiff dog. Here are a few small land-birds, but none bigger than a black-bird, and but few sea-fowls. Neither is the sea very plentifully stored with fish, unless you reckon the manatee and turtle as such. Of these creatures there is plenty; but they are extraordinary shy, though the inhabitants cannot trouble them much, having neither boats nor arrows.

The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa,[1] though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these, who have no houses and skin garments, sheep, poultry, and fruits of the earth, ostrich eggs, &c., as the Hodmadods have; and setting aside their human shape, they differ but little from brutes. They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with small long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows. Their eyelids are always half-closed, to keep the flies out of their eyes, they being so troublesome here, that no fanning will keep them from coming to one's face; and without the assistance of both hands to keep them off, they will creep into one's nostrils, and mouth too, if the lips are not shut very close. So that from their infancy, being thus annoyed with these insects, they do never open their eyes as other people, and therefore they cannot see far, unless they hold up their heads, as if they were looking at somewhat over them. They have great bottle noses, pretty full lips, and wide mouths. The two fore teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out, I know not, neither have they any beards. They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces. Their hair is black, short and curled, like that of the Negroes, and not long and lank like the common Indians. The colour of their skins, both of their faces and the rest of their body, is coal black, like that of the Negroes of Guinea. They have no sort of clothes, but a piece of the rind of a tree, tied like a girdle about their waists, and a handful of long grass, or three or four small green boughs, full of leaves, thrust under their girdle to cover their nakedness.

They have no houses, but lie in the open air, without any covering, the earth being their bed, and the heaven their canopy. Whether they cohabit one man to one woman, or promiscuously, I know not: but they do live in companies, twenty or thirty men, women, and children together. Their only food is a small sort of fish, which

[1] The Hottentots of the Cape. See *Chapter XX., page* 310.

they get by making wears[1] of stone across little coves, or branches of the sea; every tide bringing in the small fish, and there leaving them for a prey to these people, who constantly attend there, to search for them at low water. This small fry I take to be the top of their fishery: they have no instruments to catch great fish, should they come; and such seldom stay to be left behind at low water: nor could we catch any fish with our hooks and lines all the while we lay there. In other places at low water they seek for cockles, mussels, periwinkles. Of these shell-fish there are fewer still; so that their chief dependence is upon what the sea leaves in their wears, which, be it much or little, they gather up, and march to the places of their abode. There the old people, that are not able to stir abroad by reason of their age, and the tender infants, wait their return; and what Providence has bestowed on them, they presently broil on the coals, and eat it in common. Sometimes they get as many fish as make them a plentiful banquet; and at other times they scarce get every one a taste: but be it little or much that they get, every one has his part, as well the young and tender, as the old and feeble, who are not able to go abroad, and the strong and lusty. When they have eaten, they lie down till the next low water, and then all that are able to march out, be it night or day, rain or shine, it is all one: they must attend the wears, or else they must fast. For the earth affords them no food at all. There is neither herb, root, pulse, nor any sort of grain, for them to eat, that we saw: nor any sort of bird or beast that they can catch, having no instruments wherewithal to do so.

I did not perceive that they did worship anything. These poor creatures have a sort of weapon to defend their wear, or fight with their enemies if they have any that will interfere with their poor fishery. They did at first endeavour with their weapons to frighten us, who lying ashore deterred them from one of their fishing-places. Some of them had wooden swords, others had a sort of lances. The sword is a piece of wood, shaped somewhat like a cutlass. The lance is a long straight pole, sharp at one end, and hardened afterwards by heat. I saw no iron, nor any other sort of metal: therefore it is probable they use stone hatchets, as some Indians in America do.[2] How they get their fire I know not: but probably, as Indians do, out of wood. I have seen the Indians of Buen Ayre[3] do it, and have myself tried the experiment. They take a flat piece of wood, that is pretty soft, and make a small dent in one side of it: then they take another hard round stick, about the bigness of one's little finger, and sharping it at one end like a pencil, they put that sharp end in the hole or dent of the flat soft piece; then rubbing or twirling the hard piece between the palms of their hands, they drill the soft piece till it smokes and at last takes fire.

These people speak somewhat through the throat; but we could not understand one word that they said. We anchored, as I said before, January the 5th, and seeing men walking on the shore, we presently sent a canoe to get some acquaintance with them: for we were in hopes to get some provision among them. But the inhabitants, seeing our boat coming, ran away and hid themselves. We searched afterwards three days, in hopes to find their houses, but found none; yet we saw many places where they had made fires. At last, being out of hopes to find their habitations, we searched no farther; but left a great many toys ashore, in such places where we thought that they would come. In all our search we found no water, but old wells on the sandy bays. At last we went over to the islands, and there we

[1] Dams or embankments.

[2] Mentioned in Chapter IV., page 158.

[3] One of the Windward Islands, visited by the Author in 1681. See page 145.

found a great many of the natives; I do believe there were forty on one island, men, women, and children. The men, at our first coming ashore, threatened us with their lances and swords; but they were frighted by firing one gun, which we fired purposely to scare them. The island was so small, that they could not hide themselves; but they were much disordered at our landing, especially the women and children: for we went directly to their camp. The lustiest of the women, snatching up their infants, ran away howling, and the little children ran after squeaking and bawling; but the men stood still. Some of the women, and such people as could not go from us, lay still by a fire, making a doleful noise, as if we had been coming to devour them. But when they saw we did not intend to harm them, they were pretty quiet; and the rest, that fled from us at our first coming, returned again. This their place of dwelling was only a fire, with a few boughs before it, set up on that side the wind was off. After we had been here a little while, the men began to be familiar, and we clothed some of them, designing to have had some service of them for it; for we found some wells of water here, and intended to carry two or three barrels of it aboard. But it being somewhat troublesome to carry to the canoes, we thought to have made these men to have carried it for us, and therefore we gave them some clothes; to one an old pair of breeches, to another a ragged shirt, to a third a jacket that was scarce worth owning: which yet would have been very acceptable at some places where we had been, and so we thought they might have been with these people. We put them on them, thinking that this finery would have brought them to work heartily for us; and our water being filled in small long barrels, about six gallons in each, which were made purposely to carry water in, we brought these our new servants to the wells, and put a barrel on each of their shoulders for them to carry to the canoe. But all *the signs we could* make were to no purpose, for they stood like statues, without motion, but grinned like so many monkeys, staring one upon another: for these poor creatures seem not accustomed to carry burthens: and I believe that one of our shipboys of ten years old would carry as much as one of them. So we were forced to carry our water ourselves; and they very fairly put the clothes off again, and laid them down, as if clothes were only to work in. I did not perceive that they had any great liking to them at first; neither did they seem to admire[1] anything that we had.

At another time our canoe being among these islands seeking for game, espied a drove of these men swimming from one island to another; for they have no boats, canoes, or bark-logs. They took up four of them, and brought them aboard; two of them were middle-aged, the other two were young men about eighteen or twenty years old. To these we gave boiled rice, and with it turtle and manatee boiled. They did greedily devour what we gave them, but took no notice of the ship, or anything in it; and when they were set on land again, they ran away as fast as they could. At our first coming, before we were acquainted with them, or they with us, a company of them who lived on the main came just against our ship, and, standing on a pretty high bank, threatened us with their swords and lances, by shaking them at us: at last the Captain ordered the drum to be beaten, which was done of a sudden with much vigour, purposely to scare the poor creatures. They, hearing the noise, ran away as fast as they could drive, and when they ran away in haste, they would cry "Gurry, Gurry," speaking deep in the throat. Those inhabitants also that live on the main would always run away from us; yet we took several of them: for, as I have already observed, they had such bad eyes that they could not see us till we came close to them. We did always give them victuals, and let

[1] Wonder, be surprised at.

them go again; but the islanders, after our first time of being among them, did not stir for us.

When we had been here about a week, we hauled our ship into a small sandy cove, at a spring-tide, as far as she would float: and at low water she was left dry. All the neap-tides we lay wholly aground, for the sea did not come near us by about a hundred yards. We had therefore time enough to clean our ship's bottom, which we did very well. Most of our men lay ashore in a tent, where our sails were mending: and our strikers brought home turtle and manatee every day, which was our constant food. While we lay here, I did endeavour to persuade our men to go to some English factory; but was threatened to be turned ashore and left here for it. This made me desist, and patiently wait for some more convenient place and opportunity to leave them, than here: which I did hope I should accomplish in a short time; because they did intend, when they went hence, to bear down towards Cape Comorin. In their way thither they designed also to visit the Island Cocos, which lies in Lat. 12° 12′ N. by our draughts: hoping there to find of that fruit, the island having its name from thence.[1]

CHAPTER XVII.

March the 12th, 1688, we sailed from New Holland, with the wind at NNW., and fair weather. We directed our course to the northward, intending, as I said, to touch at the Island Cocos. It was the 26th of March before we were in the Latitude of the island, which is in 12° 12′; and then, by judgment, we were forty or fifty leagues to the east of it; and the wind was now at SW.: therefore we did rather choose to bear away towards some islands on the west side of Sumatra, than to beat against the wind for the Island Cocos. I was very glad of this, being in hopes to make my escape from them to Sumatra, or some other place. We met nothing of remark in this voyage, besides the catching two great sharks, till the 28th. Then we fell in with a small woody island, in Lat. 10° 30′. Its Longitude from New Holland, whence we came, was by my account 12° 6′ W. It was deep water about the island, and therefore no anchoring; but we sent two canoes ashore—one of them with the carpenters, to cut a tree to make another pump—the other canoe went to search for fresh water, and found a fine, small brook near the SW. point of the island; but there the sea fell in on the shore so high, that they could not get it off. At noon both our canoes returned aboard, and the carpenters brought aboard a good tree, which they afterwards made a pump with, such as they made at Mindanao. The other canoe brought aboard as many boobies and men-of-war birds as sufficed all the ship's company, when they were boiled. They got also a sort of land animal somewhat resembling a large crawfish without its great claws. These creatures lived in holes in the dry, sandy ground like rabbits. Sir Francis Drake, in his Voyage round the World, makes mention of such that he found at Ternate, or some other of the Spice Islands, or near them.[1] They were very good sweet meat, and so large that two of them were more than a man could eat, being almost as thick as one's leg. Their shells were of a dark brown, but red when boiled.

About 1 o'clock in the afternoon we made sail from this island, with the wind at SW., and we steered NW. We met nothing of remark till the 7th of April, and then, being in Lat. 7° S., we saw the land of

[1] Dampier lays it down, despite his text, in his "Map of the East Indies," in something between 12° and 13° south of the Line, and to the SSW. of the Strait of Sunda. The island is subsequently several times mentioned.

[1] See page 91.

Sumatra at a great distance, bearing north. The 8th we saw the east end of the Island Sumatra very plainly, we being then in Lat. 6° S. The 10th, being in Lat. 5° 11′, and about seven or eight leagues from the Island Sumatra, on the west side of it, we saw abundance of cocoa-nuts swimming in the sea, and we hoisted out our boat and took up some of them, as also a small hatch, or scuttle rather, belonging to some bark. The nuts were very sound, and the kernel sweet; and in some the milk or water was yet sweet and good. The 13th we came to a small island called Triste, in Lat. (by observation) 4° S. It is about fourteen or fifteen leagues to the west of the Island Sumatra. From hence to the northward there are a great many small uninhabited islands lying much at the same distance from Sumatra. This Island Triste is not a mile round, and so low, that the tide flows clear over it. It is of a sandy soil, and full of cocoa-nut trees. The nuts are but small, yet sweet enough, full, and more ponderous than I ever felt any of that bigness, notwithstanding that every spring-tide the salt water goes clear over the island. We sent ashore our canoes for cocoa-nuts, and they returned aboard laden with them three times. Our strikers also went out and struck some fish, which was boiled for supper. They also killed two young alligators, which we salted for the next day.

I had no opportunity at this place to make my escape, as I would have done, and gone over hence to Sumatra, could I have kept a boat with me. But there was no compassing this; and so on the 15th we went from hence, steering to the northward on the west side of Sumatra. Our food now was rice and the meat of the cocoa-nuts rasped and steeped in water, which made a sort of milk, into which we put our rice, making a pleasant mess enough. After we parted from Triste, we saw other small islands that were also full of cocoa-nut trees. The 19th, being in Lat. 3° 25′ S., the SW. point of the Island Nassau bore *N. about five miles* distant. This is a pretty large uninhabited island, in Lat. 3° 20′ S., and is full of high trees. About a mile from the Island Nassau, there is a small island full of cocoa-nut trees. There we anchored the 20th to replenish our stock of cocoa-nuts. A reef of rocks lies almost round this island, so that our boats could not go ashore, nor come aboard at low water, yet we got aboard four boat loads of nuts. The 21st we went from hence, and kept to the northward, coasting still on the west side of the Island Sumatra. The 25th we crossed the Equator, still coasting to the northward between the Island Sumatra and a range of small islands lying fourteen or fifteen leagues off it. Among all these islands, Hog Island is the most considerable. It lies in Lat. 3° 40′ N. It is pretty high even land, clothed with tall, flourishing trees; we passed by it on the 28th.

The 29th we saw a sail to the north of us, which we chased; but it being little wind, we did not come up with her till the 30th. Then, being within a league of her, Captain Reed went in a canoe and took her, and brought her aboard. She was a proa with four men in her, belonging to Achin,[1] whither she was bound. She came from one of these cocoa-nut islands that we passed by, and was laden with cocoa-nuts and cocoa-nut oil. Captain Reed ordered his men to take aboard all the nuts, and as much of the oil as he thought convenient, and then cut a hole in the bottom of the proa, and turned her loose, keeping the men prisoners. It was not for the lucre of the cargo that Captain Reed took this boat, but to hinder me and some others from going ashore; for he knew that we were ready to make our escape if an opportunity presented itself, and he thought that by his abusing and robbing the natives, we should be afraid to trust ourselves among them. But yet this

[1] Or Acheen, a native town at the extreme north point of Sumatra, which now carries on an extensive trade with Hindostan.

proceeding of his turned to our great advantage, as shall be declared hereafter.

May the 1st we ran down by the north-west end of the Island Sumatra, within seven or eight leagues of the shore. All this west side of Sumatra which we thus coasted along, our Englishmen at Fort St George call the West Coast, simply without adding the name of Sumatra. The prisoners who were taken the day before showed us the islands that lie off Achin harbour, and the channels through which ships go in, and told us also that there was an English factory at Achin. I wished myself there, but was forced to wait with patience till my time was come. We were now directing our course towards the Nicobar Islands, intending there to clean the ship's bottom, in order to make her sail well. The 4th, in the evening, we had sight of one of the Nicobar Islands. The southernmost of them lies about forty leagues NNW. from the NW. end of the Island Sumatra. This most southerly of them is Nicobar itself,[1] but all the cluster of islands lying south of the Andaman Islands are called by our seamen the Nicobar Islands.

The inhabitants of these islands have no certain converse with any nation; but as ships pass by them they will come aboard in their proas, and offer their commodities for sale, never inquiring of what nation they are: for all white people are alike to them. Their chief commodities are ambergris and fruits. Ambergris is often found by the native Indians of these islands, who know it very well, as also know how to cheat ignorant strangers with a certain mixture like it. Several of our men bought such of them for a small purchase. Captain Weldon also about this time touched at some of these islands to the north of the island where we lay, and I saw a great deal of such ambergris that one of his men bought there, but it was not good, having no smell at all. Yet I saw some there very good and fragrant. At that island where Captain Weldon was, there were two friars sent thither to convert the Indians. One of them came away with Captain Weldon, the other remained there still. He that came away with Captain Weldon gave a very good character of the inhabitants of that island, that they were very honest, civil, harmless people; that they were not addicted to quarrelling, theft, or murder; that they did marry, or at least live as man and wife, one man with one woman, never changing till death made the separation; that they were punctual and honest in performing their bargains; and that they were inclined to receive the Christian religion. This relation I had afterwards from the mouth of a priest at Tonquin, who told me that he received this information by a letter from the friar that Captain Weldon brought away from thence. But to proceed.

The 5th of May we ran down on the west side of the Island Nicobar properly so called, and anchored at the NW. end of it, in a small bay, in eight fathoms water, not half-a-mile from the shore. The body of this island is in 7° 30′ N. Lat.; it is about twelve leagues long, and three or four broad. The south end of it is pretty high, with steep cliffs against the sea; the rest of the island is low, flat, and even. The mould of it is black and deep, and it is very well watered with small running streams. It produces abundance of tall trees fit for any uses: for the whole bulk of it seems to be but one entire grove. But that which adds most to its beauty off at sea are the many spots of cocoa-nut trees which grow round it in every small bay. The bays are half-a-mile or a mile long, more or less, and these bays are intercepted or divided from each other with as many little rocky points of woodland. As the cocoa-nut trees do thus grow in groves fronting to the sea in the bays, so there is another sort of fruit tree in the bays bordering on the back side of the cocoa trees farther from the sea. It is called by the natives a melory

[1] Great Nicobar.

tree. This tree is as big as our large apple trees, and as high. It has a blackish rind, and a pretty broad leaf. The fruit is as big as the bread-fruit at Guam, or a large penny loaf. It is shaped like a pear, and has a pretty tough smooth rind of a light green colour. The inside of the fruit is in substance much like an apple, but full of small strings as big as a brown thread. I did never see these trees anywhere but here.

The natives of this island are tall, well-limbed men; pretty long-visaged, with black eyes; their noses middle proportioned, and the whole symmetry of their faces agreeing very well. Their hair is black and lank, and their skin of a dark copper colour. The women have no hair on their eyebrows. I do believe it is plucked up by the roots; for the men had hair growing on their eyebrows, as other people. [The men all go naked, save a long, narrow strip of cloth round their waist. The women wear a short petticoat reaching from their waist to the knee. Their houses are described as small, square, and low, and curiously thatched with palmetto leaves. Their canoes are commonly manned by twenty or thirty natives, and seldom fewer than nine or ten.] . . .

But to proceed with our affairs. It was, as I said, before the 5th of May, about ten in the morning, when we anchored at this island. Captain Reed immediately ordered his men to heel the ship, in order to clean her, which was done this day and the next. All the water vessels were filled, they intending to go to sea at night; for the winds being yet at NNE., the Captain was in hopes to get over to Cape Comorin before the wind shifted, otherwise it would have been somewhat difficult for him to get thither, because the westerly monsoon was now at hand. I thought now was my time to make my escape, by getting leave, if possible, to stay here. For it seemed not very feasible to do it by stealth; and I had no reason to despair of getting leave, this being a place where my stay could probably do our crew no harm, should I design it. Indeed, one reason that put me on the thoughts of staying at this particular place, besides the present opportunity of leaving Captain Reed, which I did always intend to do as soon as I could, was, that I had here also a prospect of advancing a profitable trade for ambergris with these people, and of gaining a considerable fortune for myself; for in a short time I might have learned their language, and by accustoming myself to row with them in their proas or canoes, especially by conforming myself to their customs and manners of living, I should have seen how they got their ambergris, and have known what quantities they got, and the time of the year when most is found. And then afterwards, I thought it would be easy for me to have transported myself from thence, either in some ship that passed this way, whether English, Dutch, or Portuguese, or else to have got some of the young men of the island to have gone with me in one of their canoes to Achin, and there to have furnished myself with such commodities as I found most coveted by them; and therewith, at my return, to have bought their ambergris.

I had, till this time, made no open show of going ashore here. But now, the water being filled, and the ship in readiness to sail, I desired Captain Reed to set me ashore on this island. He, supposing that I could not go ashore in a place less frequented by ships than this, gave me leave, which probably he would have refused, if he thought I should have got from hence in any short time; for fear of my giving an account of him to the English or Dutch. I soon got up my chest and bedding, and immediately got some to row me ashore, for fear lest his mind should change again. The canoe that brought me ashore landed me on a small sandy bay, where there were two houses, but no person in them. For the inhabitants were removed to some other house, probably for fear of us, because the ship was close by; and yet both men and women came

aboard the ship without any sign of fear. When our ship's canoe was going aboard again, they met the owner of the houses coming ashore in his boat. He made a great many signs to them to fetch me off again; but they would not understand him. Then he came to me and offered his boat to carry me off; but I refused. Then he made signs for me to go up into the house, and according as I did understand him by his signs, and a few Malay words that he used, he intimated that somewhat would come out of the woods in the night, when I was asleep, and kill me, meaning probably some wild beast. Then I carried my chest and clothes up into the house.

I had not been ashore an hour, before Captain Tait, and one John Damarell, with three or four armed men more, came to fetch me aboard again. They need not have sent an armed *posse* for me, for had they but sent the cabin-boy ashore for me, I would not have denied going aboard. For though I could have hid myself in the woods, yet then they would have abused or have killed some of the natives, purposely to incense them against me. I told them, therefore, that I was ready to go with them, and went aboard with all my things. When I came aboard I found the ship in an uproar, for there were three men more, who, taking courage by my example, desired leave also to accompany me. One of them was the surgeon, Mr Coppinger, the others were Mr Robert Hall, and one named Ambrose; I have forgot his surname. These men had always harboured the same designs as I had. The two last were not much opposed; but Captain Reed and his crew would not part with the surgeon. At last the surgeon leaped into the canoe, and taking up my gun, swore he would go ashore, and if any man did oppose it, he would shoot him. But John Oliver, who was then quarter-master, leaped into the canoe, taking hold of him, took away the gun, and with the help of two or three more, they dragged him again into the ship. Then Mr Hall, and Ambrose, and I were again set ashore; and one of the men that rowed us ashore stole an axe and gave it to us, knowing it was a good commodity with the Indians. It was now dark, therefore we lighted a candle, and I being the oldest stander in our new country, conducted them into one of the houses, where we did presently hang up our hammocks. We had scarce done this, before the canoe came ashore again, and brought the four Malay men belonging to Achin, which we took in the proa we took off Sumatra, and the Portuguese that came to our ship out of the Siam junk at Pulo Condore, the crew having no occasion for these, being leaving the Malay parts, where the Portuguese served as an interpreter; and not fearing now that the Achinese could be serviceable to us in bringing us over to their country, forty leagues off. Nor imagining that we durst make such an attempt, as, indeed, it was a bold one. Now we were men enough to defend ourselves against the natives of this island, if they should prove our enemies; though if none of these men had come ashore to me, I should not have feared any danger. Nay, perhaps less, because I should have been cautious of giving any offence to the natives; and I am of the opinion, that there are no people in the world so barbarous as to kill a single person that falls accidentally into their hands, or comes to live among them, except they have before been injured by some outrage or violence committed against them. Yet even then, or afterwards, if a man could but preserve his life from their first rage, and come to treat with them (which is the hardest thing, because their way is usually to abscond,[1] and rushing suddenly upon their enemy, to kill him at unawares), one might, by some sleight, insinuate one's self into their favour again; especially by showing some toy or knack that they did never see before, which any European that has seen the world might soon contrive to amuse

[1] Conceal themselves.

them withal, as might be done, generally, even with a little fire struck with a flint and steel.

As for the common opinion of Anthropophagi, or man-eaters, I did never meet with any such people. All nations or families in the world that I have seen or heard of, having some sort of food to live on, either fruit, grain, pulse, or roots, which grow naturally, or else planted by them, if not fish, and land animals besides (yea, even the people of New Holland had fish amidst all their penury), would scarce kill a man purposely to eat him. I know not what barbarous customs may formerly have been in the world: and to sacrifice their enemies to their gods is a thing that has been much talked of with relation to the savages of America. I am a stranger to that also, if it be or have been customary in any nation there; and yet, if they sacrifice their enemies, it is not necessary they should eat them too. After all, I will not be peremptory in the negative, but I speak as to the compass of my own knowledge, and know some of these cannibal stories to be false; and many of them have been disproved since I first went to the West Indies. At that time how barbarous were the poor Florida Indians accounted, which now we find to be civil enough? What strange stories have we heard of the Indians whose islands were called the Isles of Cannibals? Yet we find that they trade very civilly with the French and Spaniards, and have done so with us. I own that they have formerly endeavoured to destroy our plantations at Barbadoes, and have since hindered us from settling the Island Santa Lucia, by destroying two or three colonies successively of those that were settled there; and even the Island Tobago has been often annoyed and ravaged by them, when settled by the Dutch, and still lies waste (though a delicate fruitful island) as being too near the Caribbees on the continent, who visit it every year. But this was to preserve their own right, by endeavouring *to keep out* any that would settle themselves on those islands where they had planted themselves: yet even these people would not hurt a single person, as I have been told by some that have been prisoners among them. I could instance also the Indians of Bocca Toro and Bocca Drago, and many other places where they do live, as the Spaniards call it, wild and savage; yet there they have been familiar with privateers, but by abuses have withdrawn their friendship again. As for these Nicobar people, I found them affable enough, and therefore did not fear them; but I did not much care whether I had gotten any more company or no. But, however, I was very well satisfied, and the rather because we were now men enough to row ourselves over to the Island Sumatra; and accordingly we presently consulted how to purchase a canoe of the natives.

It was a fine clear moonlight night in which we were left ashore. Therefore we walked on the sandy bay, to watch when the ship would weigh and be gone, not thinking ourselves secure in our new-gotten liberty till then. About 11 or 12 o'clock we saw her under sail, and then we returned to our chamber, and so to sleep. This was the 6th of May. The next morning betimes, our landlord, with four or five of his friends, came to see his new guests, and was somewhat surprised to see so many of us, for he knew of no more but myself. Yet he seemed to be very well pleased, and entertained us with a large calabash of toddy, which he brought with him. Before he went away again (for wheresoever we came, they left their houses to us, but whether out of fear or superstition I know not), we bought a canoe of him for an axe, and did presently put our chests and clothes in it, designing to go to the south end of the island, and lie there till the monsoon shifted, which we expected every day. When our things were stowed away, we with the Achinese entered with joy into our new frigate, and launched off from the shore. We were no sooner off, but our canoe overset, bottom

upwards. We preserved our lives well enough by swimming, and dragged also our chests and clothes ashore; but all our things were wet. I had nothing of value but my journal, and some draughts of land of my own taking, which I much prized, and which I had hitherto carefully preserved. Mr Hall had also such another cargo of books and draughts, which were now like to perish. But we presently opened our chests, and took out our books, which, with much ado, we did afterwards dry; but some of our draughts that lay loose in our chests were spoiled. We lay here afterwards three days, making great fires to dry our books. The Achinese in the meantime fixed our canoe with outlagers on each side; and they also cut a good mast for her, and made a substantial sail with mats.

The canoe being now very well fixed, and our books and clothes dry, we launched out the second time, and rowed towards the east side of the island, leaving many islands to the north of us. The Indians of the island accompanied us with eight or ten canoes, against our desire; for we thought that these men would make provision dearer at that side of the island we were going to, by giving an account what rates we gave for it at the place whence we came, which was owing to the ship's being there; for the ship's crew were not so thirsty in bargaining (as they seldom are) as single persons or a few men might be apt to be, who would keep to one bargain. Therefore to hinder them from going with us, Mr Hall scared one canoe's crew by firing a shot over them. They all leaped overboard, and cried out; but seeing us row away, they got into their canoes again, and came after us. The firing of that gun made all the inhabitants of the island our enemies. For presently after this we put ashore, at a bay where were four houses and a great many canoes: but they all went away, and came near us no more, for several days. We had then a great loaf of melory, which was our constant food; and if we had a mind to cocoa-nuts, or toddy, our Malays of Achin would climb the trees, and fetch as many nuts as we would have, and a good pot of toddy every morning. Thus we lived till our melory was almost spent; being still in hopes that the natives would come to us, and sell it as they had formerly done. But they came not to us: nay, they opposed us wherever we came, and often shaking their lances at us, made all the show of hatred that they could invent. At last, when we saw that they stood in opposition to us, we resolved to use force to get some of their food, if we could not get it other ways. With this resolution, we went in our canoe to a small bay on the north part of the island, because it was smooth water there, and good landing; but on the other side, the wind being yet on that quarter, we could not land without jeopardy of oversetting our canoe and wetting our arms, and then we must have lain at the mercy of our enemies, who stood 200 or 300 men in every bay where they saw us coming, to keep us off.

When we set out, we rowed directly to the north end, and presently were followed by seven or eight of their canoes. They keeping at a distance, rowed away faster than we did, and got to the bay before us: and there, with about twenty more canoes full of men, they all landed and stood to hinder us from landing. But we rowed in within a hundred yards of them; then we lay still, and I took my gun, and presented at them: at which they all fell down flat on the ground. But I turned myself about, and, to show that we did not intend to harm them, I fired my gun off to sea, so that they might see the shot graze on the water. As soon as my gun was loaded again, we rowed gently in; at which some of them withdrew. The rest, standing up, did still cut and hew the air, making signs of their hatred; till I once more frighted them with my gun, and discharged it as before. Then more of them sneaked away, leaving only five or six men on the bay. Then

we rowed in again, and Mr Hall, taking his sword in his hand, leaped ashore; and I stood ready with my gun to fire at the Indians, if they had injured him. But they did not stir, till he came to them, and saluted them. He shook them by the hand, and by such signs of friendship as he made, the peace was concluded, ratified and confirmed by all that were present; and others that were gone were again called back, and they all very joyfully accepted of a peace. This became universal over all the island, to the great joy of the inhabitants. There was no ringing of bells, nor bonfires made, for that is not the custom here; but gladness appeared in their countenances, for now they could go out and fish again without fear of being taken. This peace was not more welcome to them than to us; for now the inhabitants brought their melory again to us; which we bought for old rags, and small stripes of cloth, about as broad as the palm of one's hand. I did not see above five or six hens, for they have but few on the island. At some places we saw some small hogs, which we could have bought of them reasonably; but we would not offend our Achinese friends, who were Mahometans.

We stayed here two or three days, and then rowed toward the south end of the island, keeping on the east side, and we were kindly received by the natives wherever we came. When we arrived at the south end of the island, we fitted ourselves with melory and water. We bought three or four loaves of melory, and about twelve large cocoa-nut shells, that had all the kernel taken out, yet were preserved whole, except only a small hole at one end; and all these held for us about three gallons and a half of water. We bought also two or three bamboos, that held about four or five gallons more: this was our sea-store. We now designed to go to Achin, a town on the NW. end of the Island Sumatra, distant from hence about forty leagues, bearing SSE. We only *waited for the* western monsoon, which we had expected a great while, and now it seemed to be at hand; for the clouds began to hang their heads to the eastward, and at last moved gently that way; and though the wind was still at east, yet this was an infallible sign that the western monsoon was nigh.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IT was the 15th of May 1688, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when we left Nicobar Island, directing our course toward Achin, being eight men of us in company—viz., three English, four Malays who were born at Achin, and the mongrel Portuguese. Our vessel, the Nicobar canoe, was not one of the biggest nor of the least size. She was much about the burthen of one of our London wherries below bridge, and built sharp at both ends, like the forepart of a wherry. She was deeper than a wherry, but not so broad, and was so thin and light that when empty, four men could launch her, or haul her ashore on a sandy bay. We had a good substantial mast and a mat sail, and good outlagers lashed very fast and firm on each side the vessel, being made of strong poles. So that while these continued firm the vessel could not overset, which she would easily have done without them, and with them too, had they not been made very strong; and we were therefore much beholden to our Achinese companions for this contrivance. These men were none of them so sensible of the danger as Mr Hall and myself, for they all confided so much in us that they did not so much as scruple anything that we did approve of. Neither was Mr Hall so well provided as I was, for before we left the ship I had purposely consulted our draught of the East Indies (for we had but one in the ship), and out of that I had written in my pocket-book an account of the bearing and distance of all the Malacca coast, and that of Sumatra, Pegu, and Siam; and also brought away

with me a pocket compass for my direction in any enterprize that I should undertake.

The weather at our setting out was very fair, clear, and hot. The wind was still at SE., a very small breeze just fanning the air; and the clouds were moving gently from west to east, which gave us hopes that the winds were either at west already, abroad at sea, or would be so in a very short time. We took this opportunity of fair weather, being in hopes to accomplish our voyage to Achin before the western monsoon was set in strong, knowing that we should have very blustering weather after this fair weather, especially at the first coming of the western monsoon. We rowed, therefore, away to the southward, supposing that when we were clear from the island we should have a true wind, as we call it, for the land hauls the wind; and we often find the wind at sea different from what it is near the shore. We rowed with four oars, taking our turns; Mr Hall and I steered also by turns, for none of the rest were capable of it. We rowed the first afternoon, and the night ensuing, about twelve leagues, by my judgment. Our course was SSE., but the 16th, in the morning, when the sun was an hour high, we saw the island whence we came, bearing NW. by N. Therefore I found we had gone a point more to the east than I intended, for which reason we steered S. by E. In the afternoon, at 4 o'clock, we had a gentle breeze at WSW., which continued so till 9, all which time we laid down our oars and steered away SSE. I was then at the helm, and I found by the rippling of the sea that there was a strong current against us. It made a great noise that might be heard near half-a-mile. At 9 o'clock it fell calm, and so continued till 10. Then the wind sprung up again, and blew a fresh breeze all night.

The 17th, in the morning, we looked out for the Island Sumatra, supposing that we were now within twenty leagues of it, for we had rowed and sailed, by our reckoning, twenty-four leagues from Nicobar Island; and the distance from Nicobar to Achin is about forty leagues. But we looked in vain for the Island Sumatra, for, turning ourselves about, we saw, to our grief, Nicobar Island lying WNW., and not above eight leagues distant. By this it was visible that we had met a very strong current against us in the night. But the wind freshened on us, and we made the best of it while the weather continued fair. The 18th, the wind freshened on us again, and the sky began to be clouded. It was indifferent clear till noon, and we thought to have had an observation; but we were hindered by the clouds that covered the face of the sun when it came on the meridian. We had then also a very ill presage by a great circle about the sun (five or six times the diameter of it), which seldom appears but storms of wind or much rain ensue. Such circles about the moon are more frequent, but of less import. We commonly take great notice of those that are about the sun, observing if there be any breach in the circle, and in what quarter the breach is, for thence we commonly find the greatest stress of the wind will come. I must confess that I was a little anxious at the sight of this circle, and wished heartily that we were near some land. Yet I showed no signs of it to discourage my consorts, but made a virtue of necessity and put a good countenance on the matter. I told Mr Hall that if the wind became too strong and violent, as I feared it would, it being even then very strong, we must of necessity steer away before the wind and sea till better weather presented; and that, as the winds were now, we should, instead of about twenty leagues to Achin, be driven sixty or seventy leagues to the coast of Cudda or Queda,[1] a kingdom and town and harbour of trade on the coast of Malacca.

The winds therefore bearing very

[1] Quedah, on the western coast of the Malayan Peninsula, a little to the north of the British settlement of Pulo Penang.

hard, we rolled up the foot of our sail on a pole fastened to it, and settled our yard within three feet of the canoe sides, so that we had now but a small sail; yet it was still too big, considering the wind, for the wind being on our broadside, pressed her down very much, though supported by her outlagers, insomuch that the poles of the outlagers going from the sides of their vessel bent as if they would break; and should they have broken, our overturning and perishing had been inevitable. Besides, the sea increasing would soon have filled the vessel this way. Yet thus we made a shift to bear up with the side of the vessel against the wind for a while; but the wind still increasing, about 1 o'clock in the afternoon we put away right before wind and sea, continuing to run thus all the afternoon and part of the night ensuing. The wind continued increasing all the afternoon, and the sea still swelled higher and often broke, but did us no damage; for the ends of the vessel being very narrow, he that steered received and broke the sea on his back, and so kept it from coming in so much as to endanger the vessel; though much water would come in, which we were forced to keep heaving out continually. And by this time we saw it was well that we had altered our course, every wave would else have filled and sunk us, taking the side of the vessel; and though our outlagers were well lashed down to the canoe's bottom with rattans, yet they must probably have yielded to such a sea as this, when even before they were plunged under water and bent like twigs.

The evening of this 18th was very dismal. The sky looked very black, being covered with dark clouds; the wind blew hard and the seas ran high. The sea was already roaring in a white foam about us, a dark night coming on, no land in sight to shelter us, and our little ark in danger to be swallowed by every wave; and what was worst of all, none of us thought ourselves prepared for another world. *The reader may* better guess than I can express the confusion that we were all in. I had been in many imminent dangers before now, some of which I have already related; but the worst of them all was but a play-game in comparison with this. I must confess that I was in great conflicts of mind at this time. Other dangers came not upon me with such a leisurely and dreadful solemnity: a sudden skirmish or engagement or so was nothing when one's blood was up and pushed forward with eager expectations. But here I had a lingering view of approaching death, and little or no hopes of escaping it; and I must confess that my courage, which I had hitherto kept up, failed me here; and I made very sad reflections on my former life, and looked back with horror and detestation on actions which before I disliked, but now I trembled at the remembrance of. I had long before this repented me of that roving course of life, but never with such concern as now. I did also call to mind the many miraculous acts of God's providence towards me in the whole course of my life, of which kind I believe few men have met with the like. For all these I returned thanks in a peculiar manner, and this once more desired God's assistance, and composed my mind as well as I could in the hopes of it; and, as the event showed, I was not disappointed of my hopes.

Submitting ourselves therefore to God's good providence, and taking all the care we could to preserve our lives, Mr Hall and I took turns to steer, and the rest took turns to heave out the water, and thus we provided to spend the most doleful night I ever was in. About 10 o'clock it began to thunder, lighten, and rain; but the rain was very welcome to us, having drunk up all the water we brought from the island. The wind at first blew harder than before; but within half-an-hour it abated, and became more moderate, and the sea also assuaged of its fury; and then by a lighted match, of which we kept a piece burning on purpose, we looked on our compass to see how

we steered, and found our course to be still east. We had no occasion to look on the compass before, for we steered right before the wind, which if it had shifted, we had been obliged to have altered our course accordingly. But now it being abated, we found our vessel lively enough, with that small sail which was then aboard, to haul to our former course, SSE., which accordingly we did, being now in hopes again to get to the Island Sumatra. But about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 19th, we had another gust of wind, with much thunder, lightning, and rain, which lasted till day, and obliged us to put before the wind again, steering thus for several hours. It was very dark, and the hard rain soaked us so thoroughly, that we had not one dry thread about us. The rain chilled us extremely; for any fresh water is much colder than that of the sea. For even in the coldest climates the sea is warm, and in the hottest climates the rain is cold and unwholesome for man's body. In this wet starveling plight we spent the tedious night. Never did poor mariners on a lee-shore more earnestly long for the dawning light, than we did now. At length the day appeared; but with such dark black clouds near the horizon, that the first glimpse of the dawn appeared thirty or forty degrees high, which was dreadful enough. For it is a common saying among seamen, and true, as I have experienced, that a high dawn will have high winds, and a low dawn, small winds.

We continued our course still east, before wind and sea, till about 8 o'clock in the morning of this 19th, and then one of our Malay friends cried out, "Pulo Way." Mr Hall, and Ambrose, and I, thought the fellow had said "Pull away," an expression usual among English seamen when they are rowing; and we wondered what he meant by it, till we saw him point to his consorts, and then we looking that way, saw land appearing like an island, and all our Malays said it was an island at the NW. end of Sumatra, called Way, for Pulo Way is the Island Way. We, who were dripping with wet, cold and hungry, were all overjoyed at the sight of the land, and presently marked its bearing. It bore south, and the wind was still at west, a strong gale; but the sea did not run so high as in the night. Therefore we trimmed our small sail no bigger than an apron, and steered with it. Now our outlagers did us a great kindness again; for although we had but a small sail, yet the wind was strong, and pressed down our vessel's side very much; but being supported by the outlagers, we could brook it well enough, which otherwise we could not have done. About noon we saw more land, beneath the supposed Pulo Way; and steering towards it, before night we saw all the coast of Sumatra, and found the errors of our Achinese; for the high land that we first saw, which then appeared like an island, was not Pulo Way, but a great high mountain on the Island Sumatra, called by the English the Golden Mountain. Our wind continued till about 7 o'clock at night, then it abated, and at 10 o'clock it died away. And then we stuck to our oars again, though all of us quite tired with our former fatigues and hardships.

The next morning, being the 20th, we saw all the low land plain, and judged ourselves not above eight leagues off. About 8 o'clock in the morning we had the wind again at west, a fresh gale; and steering in still for the shore, at 5 o'clock in the afternoon we ran to the mouth of a river on the Island Sumatra, called Passange Jonca. It is thirty-four leagues to the eastward of Achin, and six leagues to the west of Diamond Point. Our Malays were very well acquainted here, and carried us to a small fishing village, within a mile of the river's mouth, called also by the name of the River Passange Jonca. The hardships of this voyage, with the scorching heat of the sun at our first setting out, and the cold rain, and our continuing wet for the last two days, cast us all into fevers,

so that now we were not able to help each other, nor so much as to get our canoe up to the village; but our Malays got some of the townsmen to bring her up.

The news of our arrival being noised abroad, one of the Oramkais, or noblemen of the island, came in the night to see us. We were then lying in a small hut at the end of the town, and it being late, this lord only viewed us, and having spoken with our Malays, went away again; but he returned to us the next day, and provided a large house for us to live in, till we should be recovered of our sickness; ordering the town's-people to let us want for nothing. The Achinese Malays that came with us, told them all the circumstances of our voyage; how they were taken by our ship, and where, and how we that came with them were prisoners aboard the ship, and had been set ashore together at Nicobar, as they were. It was for this reason, probably, that the gentlemen of Sumatra were thus extraordinary kind to us, to provide everything that we had need of; nay, they would force us to accept of presents from them, that we knew not what to do with, as young buffaloes, goats, &c., for these we would turn loose at night, after the gentlemen that gave them to us were gone, for we were prompted by our Achinese consorts to accept of them for fear of disobliging by our refusal. But the cocoa-nuts, plantains, fowls, eggs, fish, and rice, we kept for our use. The Malays that accompanied us from Nicobar separated themselves from us now, living at one end of the house by themselves, for they were Mahometans, as all those of the kingdom of Achin are; and though during our passage by sea together we made them be contented to drink their water out of the same cocoa-shell with us, yet, being now no longer under that necessity, they again took up their accustomed nicety and reservedness. They all lay sick, and as their sickness increased, one of them threatened us, that if any of them died, the rest should kill us, for having brought them this voyage; yet I question whether they would attempted, or the country people have suffered it. We made a shift to dress our own food; for none of these people, though they were very kind in giving us anything that we wanted, would yet come near us to assist us in dressing our victuals; nay, they would not touch anything that we used. We had all fevers, and therefore took turns to dress victuals, according as we had strength to do it, or stomachs to eat it. I found my fever to increase, and my head so distempered, that I could scarce stand, therefore I whetted and sharpened my penknife, in order to let myself blood; but I could not, for my knife was too blunt. We stayed here ten or twelve days, in hopes to recover our health; but finding no amendment, we desired to go to Achin. But we were delayed by the natives, who had a desire to have kept Mr Hall and myself, to sail in their vessels to Malacca, Cudda, or other places whither they trade. But finding us more desirous to be with our countrymen in our factory at Achin, they provided a large proa to carry us thither, we not being able to manage our own canoe. Besides, before this, three of our Malay comrades were gone very sick into the country, and only one of them and the Portuguese remained with us, accompanying us to Achin, and they both as sick as we.

It was the beginning of June 1688, when we left Passange Jonca. We had four men to row, one to steer, and a gentleman of the country that went purposely to give information to the Government of our arrival. We were but three days and nights in our passage, having sea-breezes by day and land winds by night, and very fair weather. When we arrived at Achin, I was carried before the Shabander, the chief magistrate in the city. One Mr Dennis Driscall, an Irishman, and a resident in the factory which our East India Company had there then, was interpreter. I, being weak, was suffered to stand

in the Shabander's presence; for it is their custom to make men sit on the floor, as they do, cross-legged like tailors; but I had not strength then to pluck up my heels in that manner. The Shabander asked of me several questions, especially how we durst adventure to come in a canoe from Nicobar Island to Sumatra. I told him that I had been accustomed to hardships and hazards, therefore I did with much freedom undertake it. He inquired also concerning our ship, whence she came, &c. I told him, from the South Seas; that she had ranged about the Philippine Islands, &c., and was now gone towards Arabia and the Red Sea. The Malays also and Portuguese were afterwards examined, and confirmed what I declared; and in less than half-an-hour I was dismissed with Mr Driscall, who then lived in the English East India Company's factory. He provided a room for us to lie in, and some victuals.

Three days after our arrival here, our Portuguese died of a fever. What became of our Malays I know not. Ambrose lived not long after. Mr Hall also was so weak, that I did not think he would recover. I was the best, yet still very sick of a fever, and little likely to live. Therefore Mr Driscall and some other Englishmen persuaded me to take some purging physic of a Malay doctor. I took their advice, being willing to get ease; but after three dozes, each a large calabash of nasty stuff, finding no amendment, I thought to desist from more physic, but was persuaded to take one doze more; which I did, and it wrought so violently, that I thought it would have ended my days. I thought my Malay doctor, whom they so much commended, would have killed me outright. I continued extraordinary weak for some days after his drenching me thus; but my fever left me for above a week, after which it returned upon me again for a twelvemonth, and a flux with it. However, when I was a little recovered from the effects of my drench, I made a shift to go abroad; and having been kindly invited to Captain Bowry's house there, my first visit was to him, who had a ship in the road, but lived ashore. This gentleman was extraordinary kind to us all, particularly to me, and importuned me to go as his boatswain to Persia, whither he was bound, with a design to sell his ship there, as I was told, though not by himself. Thence he intended to pass with the caravan to Aleppo, and so home for England. His business required him to stay some time longer at Achin, I judge, to sell some commodities that he had not yet disposed of. Yet he chose rather to leave the disposal of them to some merchant there, and make a short trip to the Nicobar Islands in the meantime, and on his return to take in his effects, and so proceed towards Persia. This was a sudden resolution of Captain Bowry's presently after the arrival of a small frigate from Siam, with an Ambassador from the King of Siam to the Queen of Achin. The Ambassador was a Frenchman by nation. The vessel that he came in was but small, yet very well manned, and fitted for a fight. Therefore it was generally supposed here that Captain Bowry was afraid to lie in Achin Road, because the Siamese were now at war with the English, and he was not able to defend his ship if he should be attacked by them. But whatever made him think of going to the Nicobar Islands, he provided to sail, and took me, Mr Hall, and Ambrose with him, though all of us so sick and weak that we could do him no service. It was some time about the beginning of June when we sailed out of Achin Road; but we met with the winds at NW., with turbulent weather, which forced us back again in two days' time. Yet he gave us each twelve "mess" a-piece—a gold coin, each of which is about the value of fifteenpence English. So he gave over that design, and some English ships coming into Achin Road, he was not afraid of the Siamese who lay there. After this he again invited me to his house at

Achin, and treated me always with wine and good cheer, and still importuned me to go with him to Persia. But I being very weak, and fearing the westerly winds would create a great deal of trouble, did not give him a positive answer, especially because I thought I might get a better voyage in the English ships newly arrived, or some others now expected here.[1]

A short time after this, Captain Welden arrived here from Fort St George, in a ship called the Cartana, bound to Tonquin. This being a more agreeable voyage than to Persia, at this time of the year, besides that the ship was better accommodated, especially with a surgeon, and I being still sick, I therefore chose rather to serve Captain Welden than Captain Bowry. But to go on with a particular account of that expedition were to carry my reader back again; whom having brought thus far towards England in my circumnavigation of the Globe, I shall not now weary him with new rambles, nor so much swell this volume, as I must, to describe the tour I made in those remote parts of the East Indies from and to Sumatra. So that my voyage to Tonquin at this time, as also another to Malacca afterwards, with my observations in them, and the descriptions of those and the neighbouring countries; as well as the description of the Island Sumatra itself, and therein the kingdom and city of Achin, Bencouli,[2] &c., I shall refer to another place, where I may give a particular relation of them.[3]

In short, it may suffice that I set out to Tonquin with Captain Welden about July 1688, and returned to Achin in the April following. I stayed there till the latter end of September 1689, and making a short voyage to Malacca, came thither again about Christmas. Soon after that I went to Fort St George, and staying there about five months, I returned once more to Sumatra; not to Achin, but to Bencouli, an English factory on the west coast, of which I was gunner about five months more. So that, having brought my reader to Sumatra, without carrying him back, I shall bring him on next way from thence to England. And of all that occurred between my first setting out from this island in 1688, and my final departure from it at the beginning of the year 1691, I shall only take notice at present of two passages which I think I ought not to omit.

The first is, that at my return from Malacca, a little before Christmas 1689, I found at Achin one Mr Morgan, who was one of our ship's crew that left me ashore at Nicobar, now mate of a Danish ship of Trangambar,[4] which is a town on the Coast of Coromandel, near Cape Comorin, belonging to the Danes: and receiving an account of our crew from him and others, I thought it might not be amiss to gratify the reader's curiosity therewith, who would probably be desirous to know the success of those ramblers in their new intended expedition towards the Red Sea. And withal I thought it might not be unlikely that these papers might fall into the hands of some of our London merchants, who were concerned in fitting out that ship; which, I said formerly, was called the Cygnet of London, sent on a trading voyage into the South Seas, under the command of Captain Swan. To proceed therefore with Morgan's relation. He told me, that when they in the Cygnet went away from Nicobar, in pursuit of their intended voyage to Persia,

[1] Captain Bowry was the writer of the letter from Borneo to the "English factory at Mindanao," referred to in Chapter XIII., page 249.

[2] Bencoolen, where the English had settled in 1685, and where a year or two later the East India Company built a fort, which was called Fort York.

[3] This Dampier does in Appendix No. I to his greater work. See Introductory Note to "The Author's *Account of* Himself," page 115.

[4] Tranquebar, then capital of the Danish possessions in India.

they directed their course towards Ceylon. But not being able to weather it, the westerly monsoon bearing hard against them, they were obliged to seek refreshment on the Coast of Coromandel. Here this mad, fickle crew were upon new projects again; their designs meeting with such delays and obstructions, that many of them grew weary of it, and about half of them went ashore. Of this number, Mr Morgan, who told me this, and Mr Herman Coppinger the surgeon, went to the Danes at Trangambar, who kindly received them. There they lived very well; and Mr Morgan was employed as a mate in a ship of theirs at this time to Achin; and Captain Knox tells me, that he since commanded the Curtana, the ship that I went in to Tonquin, which Captain Welden having sold to the Mogul's subjects, they employed Mr Morgan as captain to trade in her for them; and it is an usual thing for the trading Indians to hire Europeans to go officers on board their ships, especially captains and gunners. About two or three more of these that were set ashore went to Fort St George; but the main body of them were for going into the Mogul's service. Our seamen are apt to have great notions of I know not what profit and advantages to be had in serving the Mogul; nor do they want for fine stories to encourage one another to it. It was what these men had long been thinking and talking of as a fine thing; but now they went upon it in good earnest. The place where they went ashore was at a town of the Moors; which name our seamen give to all the subjects of the Great Mogul, but especially his Mahometan subjects; calling the idolaters Gentoos or Rashbouts. At this Moors' town they got a peon to be their guide to the Mogul's nearest camp: for he has always several armies in his vast empire.

These peons are some of the Gentoos or Rashbouts, who in all places along the coast, especially in seaport towns, make it their business to hire themselves to wait upon strangers, be they merchants, seamen, or what they will. To qualify them for such attendance, they learn the European languages, English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, &c., according as they have any of the factories of these nations in their neighbourhood, or are visited by their ships. No sooner does any such ship come to an anchor and the men come ashore, but a great many of these peons are ready to proffer their service. It is usual for the strangers to hire their attendance during their stay there, giving them about a crown a month of our money, more or less. The richest sort of men will ordinarily hire two or three peons to wait upon them; and even the common seamen, if able, will hire one a-piece to attend them, either for convenience or ostentation; or sometimes one peon between two of them. These peons serve them in many capacities, as interpreters, brokers, servants to attend at meals, and go to market and on errands, &c. Nor do they give any trouble, eating at their own homes, and lodging there, when they have done their masters' business for them; expecting nothing but their wages, except that they have a certain allowance of about a "fanam," or threepence in a dollar, which is an eighteenth part profit, by way of brokerage for every bargain they drive: they being generally employed in buying and selling. When the strangers go away, their peons desire them to give them their names in writing, with a certificate of their honest and diligent serving them: and these they show to the next comers, to get into business; some being able to produce a large scroll of such certificates.

But to proceed. The Moors' town where these men landed was not far from Cunnimere, a small English factory on the Coromandel Coast. The Governor whereof having intelligence by the Moors of the landing of these men, and their intended march to the Mogul's camp, sent out a captain with his company to oppose it. He came up with them and gave them hard words, but they being thirty or forty resolute fellows not easily daunted,

he durst not attack them, but returned to the Governor; and the news of it was soon carried to Fort St George. During their march, John Oliver, who was one of them, privately told the peon who guided them, that himself was their captain. So when they came to the camp the peon told this to the General; and when their stations and pay were assigned them, John Oliver had a greater respect paid him than the rest; and whereas their pay was ten pagodas a month each man (a pagoda is two dollars, or 9s. English), his pay was twenty pagodas. Which stratagem and usurpation of his, occasioned him no small envy and indignation from his comrades. Soon after this, two or three of them went to Agra to be of the Mogul's guard. A while after, the Governor of Fort St George sent a message to the main body of them, and a pardon, to withdraw them from thence, which most of them accepted, and came away. John Oliver and the small remainder continued in the country, but leaving the camp, went up and down plundering the villages, and fleeing when they were pursued; and this was the last news I heard of them. This account I had partly by Mr Morgan from some of those deserters he met with at Trangambar, and partly from others of them whom I met with myself afterwards at Fort St George. And these were the adventures of those who went up into the country.

Captain Reed having thus lost the best half of his men sailed away with the rest of them, after having filled his water and got rice, still intending for the Red Sea. When they were near Ceylon they met with a Portuguese ship richly laden, out of which they took what they pleased, and then turned her away again. From thence they pursued their voyage, but the westerly winds bearing hard against them, and making it hardly feasible for them to reach the Red Sea, they stood away for Madagascar. There they entered into the service of one of the petty princes of that island, *to assist him against* his neighbours, with whom he was at war. During this interval, a small vessel from New York came hither to purchase slaves, which trade is driven here, as it is upon the Coast of Guinea, one nation or clan selling others that are their enemies. Captain Reed, with about five or six more, stole away from their crew and went aboard this New York ship, and Captain Tait was made commander of the residue. Soon after which, a brigantine from the West Indies, Captain Knight commander, coming thither with design to go to the Red Sea also, these of the Cygnet consorted with them, and they went together to the Island Johanna.[1] Thence going together towards the Red Sea, the Cygnet proving leaky, and sailing heavily, as being much out of repair, Captain Knight grew weary of her company; and giving her the slip in the night, went away for Achin; for, having heard that there was plenty of gold there, he went thither with a design to cruise; and it was from one Mr Humes belonging to the Ann of London, Captain Freke commander, who had gone aboard Captain Knight, and whom I saw afterwards at Achin, that I had this relation. Some of Captain Freke's men, their own ship being lost, had gone aboard the Cygnet at Johanna; and after Captain Knight had left her, she still pursued her voyage towards the Red Sea. But the winds being against them, and the ship in so ill a condition, they were forced to bear away for Coromandel, where Captain Tait and his own men went ashore to serve the Mogul. But the strangers of Captain Freke's ship, who kept still aboard the Cygnet, undertook to carry her for England; and the last news I heard of the Cygnet was from Captain Knox, who tells me that she now lies sunk in St Augustine's Bay in Madagascar.[2] This digression I have made to give an account of our ship.

The other passage I shall speak of

[1] One of the Comoro group, between Madagascar and Mozambique.

[2] On the south-west of the island.

that occurred during this interval of the tour I made from Achin is with relation to the Painted Prince whom I brought with me into England, and who died at Oxford. For while I was at Fort St George, about April 1690, there arrived a ship called the Mindanao Merchant, laden with clove-bark from Mindanao. Three of Captain Swan's men that remained there when we went from thence came in her, from whom I had the account of Captain Swan's death, as is before related. There was also one Mr Moody, who was supercargo of the ship. This gentleman bought at Mindanao the Painted Prince Jeoly,[1] and his mother, and brought them to Fort St George, where they were much admired by all that saw them. Some time after this, Mr Moody, who spoke the Malay language very well, and was a person very capable to manage the Company's affairs, was ordered by the Governor of Fort St George to prepare to go to Indrapore, an English factory on the west coast of Sumatra, in order to succeed Mr Gibbons, who was chief of that place. By this time I was very intimately acquainted with Mr Moody, and was importuned by him to go with him, and to be gunner of the fort there. I always told him I had a great desire to go to the Bay of Bengal, and that I had now an offer to go thither with Captain Metcalf, who wanted a mate, and had already spoken to me. Mr Moody, to encourage me to go with him, told me that if I would go with him to Indrapore he would buy a small vessel there, and send me to the Island Meangis as commander of her; and that I should carry Prince Jeoly and his mother with me (that being their country), by which means I might gain a commerce with his people for cloves. This was a design that I liked very well, therefore I consented to go thither. It was some time in July 1690 when we went from Fort St George in a small ship called the Diamond, Captain Howel commander. We were about fifty or sixty passengers in all; some ordered to be left at Indrapore, and some at Bencouli; five or six of us were officers, the rest soldiers to the Company. We met nothing in our voyage that deserves notice till we came abreast of Indrapore; then the wind came at NW., and blew so hard that we could not get in, but were forced to bear away to Bencouli, another English factory on the same coast, lying fifty or sixty leagues to the southward of Indrapore.

Upon our arrival at Bencouli we saluted the fort, and were welcomed by them. The same day we came to an anchor, and Captain Howel and Mr Moody, with the other merchants, went ashore, and were all kindly received by the Governor of the fort. It was two days after before I went ashore, and then I was importuned by the Governor to stay there to be gunner of this fort, because the gunner was lately dead; and this being a place of greater import than Indrapore, I should do the Company more service here than there. I told the Governor, if he would augment my salary, which by agreement with the Governor of Fort St George I was to have had at Indrapore, I was willing to serve him, provided Mr Moody would consent to it. As to my salary, he told me I should have twenty-four dollars per month, which was as much as he gave to the old gunner. Mr Moody gave no answer till a week after, and then, being ready to be gone to Indrapore, he told me I might use my own liberty, either to stay here or go with him to Indrapore. He added, that if I went with him, he was not certain as yet to perform his promise in getting a vessel for me to go to Meangis with Jeoly and his mother; but he would be so fair to me, that because I left Madras on his account, he would give me the half share of the two painted people, and leave them in my possession and at my disposal. I accepted of the offer, and writings were immediately drawn between us.

Thus it was that I came to have

[1] Who was a slave at Mindanao during Dampier's stay there. See Chapter XIII., page 242.

this Painted Prince, whose name was Jeoly, and his mother. They were born on a small island called Meangis. I saw the island twice, and two more close by it. Each of the three seemed to be about four or five leagues round, and of a good height. Jeoly himself told me that they all three abounded with gold, cloves, and nutmegs; for I showed him some of each sort several times, and he told me in the Malay language, which he spake indifferent well, "*Meangis hadda madochala se bullawan;*" that is, "There is abundance of gold at Meangis." "*Bullawan*" I have observed to be the common word for gold at Mindanao; but whether the proper Malay word I know not; for I found much difference between the Malay language as it was spoken at Mindanao, and the language on the coast of Malacca and Achin. When I showed him spice, he would not only tell me that there was *madochala*, that is, abundance; but, to make it appear more plain, he would also show me the hair of his head, a thing frequent among all the Indians that I have met with, to show their hair when they would express more than they can number. He told me also that his father was Raja of the island where they lived; that there were not above thirty men on the island, and about one hundred women; that he himself had five wives and eight children, and that one of his wives painted him. He was painted all down his breast; between his shoulders behind; on his thighs mostly before; and in the form of several broad rings, or bracelets, round his arms and legs. I cannot liken the drawings to any figures of animals, or the like; but they were very curious, full of great variety of lines, flourishes, chequered work, &c., keeping a very graceful proportion, and appearing very artificial,[1] even to wonder, especially that upon and between his shoulder blades. By the account he gave me of the manner of doing it, I understood that the painting was done in the same manner as the Jerusalem Cross is made in men's arms, by pricking the skin and rubbing in a pigment.[2] But whereas powder is used in making the Jerusalem Cross, they at Meangis use the gum of a tree beaten to powder, called by the English drammer, which is used instead of pitch in many parts of India. He told me that most of the men and women on the island were thus painted; and also that they had all earrings made of gold, and gold shackles about their legs and arms; that their common food, of the produce of the land, was potatoes and yams; that they had plenty of cocks and hens, but no other tame fowl. He said that fish (of which he was a great lover, as wild Indians generally are) was very plentiful about the island; and that they had canoes, and went a-fishing frequently in them; and that they often visited the other two small islands, whose inhabitants speak the same language as they did; which was so unlike the Malay, which he had learnt while he was a slave at Mindanao, that when his mother and he were talking together in their Meangian tongue I could not understand one word they said. And indeed all the Indians who speak Malay, who are the trading and politer sort, looked on these Meangians as a kind of barbarians; and, upon any occasion of dislike, would call them "bobby," that is, "hogs," the greatest expression of contempt that can be, especially from the mouth of Malays, who are generally Mahometans. And yet the Malays everywhere call a woman babby, by a name not much different; and mamma signifies a man: though these two last words properly denote male and female; and as "ejam" signifies a fowl, so "ejam mamma" is a cock, and "ejam babby" is a hen. But this by the way.

He said also, that the customs of those other isles, and their manner of living, was like theirs, and that they

[1] *Skilful, ingenious.*

[2] That is, by tattooing.

were the only people with whom they had any converse; and that one time, as he, with his father, mother, and brother, with two or three men more, were going to one of these other islands, they were driven by a strong wind on the coast of Mindanao, where they were taken by the fishermen of that island, and carried ashore and sold as slaves, they being first stripped of their gold ornaments. I did not see any of the gold that they wore; but there were great holes in their ears, by which it was manifest that they had worn some ornaments in them. Jeoly was sold to one Michael, a Mindanayan, that spoke good Spanish, and commonly waited on Raja Laut, serving him as our interpreter where the Raja was at a loss in any word, for Michael understood it better. He did often beat and abuse his painted servant, to make him work, but all in vain; for neither fair means, threats, nor blows would make him work as he would have him. Yet he was very timorous, and could not endure to see any sort of weapons; and he often told me that they had no arms at Meangis, they having no enemies to fight with. I knew this Michael very well while we were at Mindanao. I suppose that name was given him by the Spaniards, who baptized many of them at the time when they had footing at that island; but, at the departure of the Spaniards, they were Mahometans again as before. Some of our people lay at this Michael's house, whose wife and daughter were pagallies to some of them. I often saw Jeoly at his master Michael's house; and when I came to have him so long after, he remembered me again. I did never see his father nor brother, nor any of the others that were taken with them; but Jeoly came several times aboard our ship when we lay at Mindanao, and gladly accepted of such victuals as we gave him; for his master kept him at very short commons.

Prince Jeoly lived thus a slave at Mindanao four or five years, till at last Mr Moody bought him and his mother for sixty dollars, and, as is before related, carried him to Fort St George, and thence along with me to Bencouli. Mr Moody stayed at Bencouli about three weeks, and then went back with Captain Howel to Indrapore, leaving Jeoly and his mother with me. They lived in a house by themselves without the fort. I had no employment for them, but they both employed themselves. She used to make and mend their own clothes, at which she was not very expert, for they wear no clothes at Meangis, but only a cloth about their waists; and he busied himself in making a chest with four boards and a few nails that he begged of me. It was but an ill-shaped, odd thing, yet he was as proud of it as if it had been the rarest piece in the world. After some time they were both taken sick, and though I took as much care of them as if they had been my brother and sister, yet she died. I did what I could to comfort Jeoly; but he took on extremely, insomuch that I feared him also.[1] Therefore I caused a grave to be made presently, to hide her out of his sight. I had her shrouded decently in a piece of new calico; but Jeoly was not so satisfied, for he wrapped all her clothes about her, and two new pieces of chintz that Mr Moody gave her, saying that they were his mother's, and she must have them. I would not disoblige him, for fear of endangering his life; and I used all possible means to recover his health; but I found little amendment while we stayed here. In the little printed relation that was made of him when he was shown for a sight in England, there was a romantic story of a beautiful sister of his, a slave with them at Mindanao, and of the Sultan's falling in love with her; but these were stories indeed. They reported also that his paint was of such virtue, that serpents and venomous creatures would flee from him; for which reason, I suppose, they represented so many serpents scampering about in the

[1] That is, I feared for his life also, so profound was his grief.

printed picture that was made of him. But I never knew any paint of such virtue; and as for Jeoly, I have seen him as much afraid of snakes, scorpions, or centipedes as myself.

Having given this account of the ship that left me at Nicobar, and of my Painted Prince whom I brought with me to Bencouli, I shall now proceed with the relation of my voyage thence to England, after I have given this short account of the occasion of it, and the manner of my getting away. To say nothing, therefore, now of that place, and my employment there as gunner of the fort, the year 1690 drew towards an end; and not finding the Governor keep to his agreement with me, nor seeing by his carriage towards others any great reason I had to suspect he would, I began to wish myself away again. I saw so much ignorance in him with respect to his charge, being much fitter to be a book-keeper than governor of a fort; and yet so much insolence and cruelty with respect to those under him, and rashness in his management of the Malay neighbourhood, that I soon grew weary of him, not thinking myself very safe, indeed, under a man whose humours were so brutish and barbarous. I had other motives also for my going away. I began to long after my native country, after so tedious a ramble from it; and I proposed no small advantage to myself from my Painted Prince, whom Mr Moody had left entirely to my disposal, only reserving to himself his right to one half share in him. For besides what might be gained by showing him in England, I was in hopes that when I had got some money, I might there obtain what I had in vain sought for in the Indies —a ship from the merchants, wherewith to carry him back to Meangis, and reinstate him there in his own country, and by his favour and negotiation to establish a traffic for the spice and other products of those islands.

Upon these projects, I went to the *Governor and Council*, and desired that I might have my discharge to go for England with the next ship that came. The Council thought it reasonable, and they consented to it; he also gave me his word that I should go. Upon the 2d of January 1691, there came to an anchor in Bencouli Road the Defence, Captain Heath commander, bound for England, in the service of the Company. They had been at Indrapore, where Mr Moody then was; and he had made over his share in Prince Jeoly to Mr Goddard, chief mate of the ship. Upon his coming on shore, he showed me Mr Moody's writings, and looked upon Jeoly, who had been sick for three months; in all which time I tended him as carefully as if he had been my brother. I agreed matters with Mr Goddard, and sent Jeoly on board, intending to follow him as I could, and desiring Mr Goddard's assistance to fetch me off and conceal me aboard the ship if there should be occasion; which he promised to do, and the captain promised to entertain me. For it proved, as I had foreseen, that upon Captain Heath's arrival, the Governor repented him of his promise, and would not suffer me to depart. I importuned him all I could, but in vain; so did Captain Heath also, but to no purpose. In short, after several essays, I shipped away at midnight (understanding the ship was to sail the next morning, and that they had taken leave of the fort); and, creeping through one of the portholes of the fort, I got to the shore, where the ship's boat waited for me, and carried me on board. I brought with me my journal, and most of my written papers; but some papers and books of value I left in haste and all my furniture, being glad I was myself at liberty, and had hopes of seeing England again.

CHAPTER XIX.

BEING thus got on board the Defence, I was concealed there till a boat which came from the fort laden with pepper

was gone off again. And then we set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, January 25th, 1691, and made the best of our way, as wind and weather would permit, expecting there to meet three English ships more, bound home from the Indies: for the war with the French having been proclaimed at Fort St George a little before Captain Heath came from thence, he was willing to have company home if he could.

A little before this war was proclaimed, there was an engagement in the road of Fort St George between some French men-of-war and some Dutch and English ships at anchor in the road; which, because there is such a plausible story made of it in Monsieur Duquesne's late Voyage to the East Indies, I shall give a short account of, as I had it particularly related to me by the gunner's mate of Captain Heath's ship, a very sensible man, and several others of his men who were in the action. The Dutch have a fort on the Coast of Coromandel, called Pullicat, about twenty leagues to the northward of Fort St George. Upon some occasion or other the Dutch sent some ships thither to fetch away their effects, and transport them to Batavia. Acts of hostility were already begun between the French and Dutch; and the French had at this time a squadron newly arrived in India, and lying at Pondicherry, a French fort on the same coast southward of Fort St George. The Dutch, in returning to Batavia, were obliged to coast it along by Fort St George and Pondicherry for the sake of the wind; but when they came near this last, they saw the French men-of-war lying at anchor there, and should they have proceeded along the shore, or stood out to sea, expected to be pursued by them. They therefore turned back again; for though their ships were of a pretty good force, yet were they unfit for fight, as having great loads of goods, and many passengers, women, and children on board: so they put in at Fort St George, and, desiring the Governor's protection, had leave to anchor in the road, and to send their goods and useless people ashore. There were then in the road a few small English ships, and Captain Heath, whose ship was a very stout merchantman, and which the French relater calls the English Admiral, was just come from China, but very deep laden with goods, and the deck full of canisters of sugar, which he was preparing to send ashore; but before he could do it, the French appeared, coming into the road with their lower sails and topsails, and had with them a fireship. With this they thought to have burnt the Dutch Commodore, and might probably enough have done it as she lay at anchor, if they had had the courage to come boldly on; but they fired their ship at a distance, and the Dutch sent and towed her away, where she spent herself without any execution. Had the French men-of-war also come boldly up and grappled with their enemies, they might have done something considerable; for the fort could not have played on them without damaging our ships as well as theirs. But instead of this, the French dropped anchor out of reach of the shot of the fort, and there lay exchanging shot with their enemies' ships, with so little advantage to themselves, that after about four hours' fighting they cut their cables and went away in haste and disorder, with all their sails loose, even their topgallant sails, which is not usual but when ships are just next to running away. Captain Heath, notwithstanding his ship was so heavy and encumbered, behaved himself very bravely in the fight; and upon the going off of the French, went on board the Dutch Commodore, and told him that if he would pursue them he would stand out with them to sea, though he had very little water aboard. But the Dutch commander excused himself, saying he had orders to defend himself from the French, but none to chase them, or go out of his way to seek them. And this was the exploit which the French have thought fit to brag of. I hear that the Dutch have

taken from them since their fort of Pondicherry.

But to proceed with our voyage. We had not been at sea long before our men began to droop in a sort of a distemper that stole insensibly on them, and proved fatal to above thirty, who died before we arrived at the Cape. We had sometimes two and once three men thrown overboard in a morning. This distemper might probably arise from the badness of the water which we took in at Bencouli, for I did observe while I was there that the river water, wherewith our ships were watered, was very unwholesome, it being mixed with the water of many small creeks that proceeded from low land, and whose streams were always very black, they being nourished by the water that drained out of the low swampy unwholesome ground. I have observed, not only there but in other hot countries also, both in the East and West Indies, that the land-floods which pour into the channels of the rivers about the season of the rains are very unwholesome. This happens chiefly, as I take it, where the water drains through thick woods and savannahs of long grass and swampy grounds, with which some hot countries abound; and I believe it receives a strong tincture from the roots of several kind of trees, herbs, &c.; and especially where there is any stagnancy of the water, it soon corrupts; and possibly the serpents and other poisonous vermin and insects may not a little contribute to its bad qualities; at such times it will look very deep coloured, yellow, red, or black, &c. The season of the rains was over, and the land-floods were abating upon the taking up this water in the River of Bencouli; but would the seamen have given themselves the trouble, they might have filled their vessels with excellent good water at a spring on the back side of the fort, not above 200 or 300 paces from the landing-place, and with which the fort is served. Beside the badness of our water, it was *stowed among* the pepper in the hold, *which made it very* hot. Every morning when we came to take our allowance, it was so hot that a man could hardly suffer his hands in it, or hold a bottleful of it in his hand. I never anywhere felt the like, nor could I have thought it possible that water should heat to that degree in a ship's hold. It was exceeding black, too, and looked more like ink than water. Whether it grew so black with standing, or was tinged with the pepper, I know not; for this water was not so black when it was first taken up. Our food also was very bad, for the ship had been out of England upon this voyage above three years; and the salt provision brought from thence, which we fed on, having been so long in salt, was but ordinary food for sickly men to feed on. Captain Heath, when he saw the misery of his company, ordered his own tamarinds —of which he had some jars aboard— to be given some to each mess to eat with their rice. This was a great refreshment to the men, and I do believe it contributed much to keep us on our legs. This distemper was so universal that I do believe there was scarce a man in the ship but languished under it; yet it stole so insensibly on us, that we could not say we were sick, feeling little or no pain, only a weakness, and but little stomach. Nay, most of those that died in this voyage would hardly be persuaded to keep their cabins or hammocks till they could not stir about; and when they were forced to lie down, they made their wills, and piked off[1] in two or three days.

The loss of these men, and the weak languishing condition that the rest of us were in, rendered us incapable to govern our ship when the wind blew more than ordinary. This often happened when we drew near the Cape, and as oft put us to our trumps[2] to

[1] "Peaked off;" gradually dwindled and died. The word is used in the witches' curse in Macbeth, Act 1, s. 3:

"Weary seven nights, nine times nine,
Shall he dwindle, peak, and pine."

[2] Forced us to our utmost efforts; drove us to our wits' end.

manage the ship. Captain Heath, to encourage his men to their labour, kept his watch as constantly as any man, though sickly himself, and lent a helping hand on all occasions. But at last, almost despairing of gaining his passage to the Cape by reason of the winds coming southerly, and we having now been sailing eight or nine weeks, he called all our men to consult about our safety, and desired every man, from the highest to the lowest, freely to give his real opinion and advice what to do in this dangerous juncture; for we were not in a condition to keep out long, and could we not get to land quickly, must have perished at sea. He consulted, therefore, whether it were best to beat still for the Cape or bear away for Johanna, where we might expect relief, that being a place where our outward-bound East India ships usually touch, and whose natives are very familiar; but other places, especially St Lawrence or Madagascar,[1] which was nearer, were unknown to us. We were now so nigh the Cape that, with a fair wind, we might expect to be there in four or five days; but as the wind was now, we could not hope to get thither. On the other side, this wind was fair to carry us to Johanna; but then Johanna was a great way off; and if the wind should continue as it was, to bring us into a true trade-wind, yet we could not get thither under a fortnight; and if we should meet calms, as we might probably expect, it might be much longer. Besides, we should lose our passage about the Cape till October or November, this being about the latter end of March; for after the 10th of May it is not usual to beat about the Cape to come home. All circumstances therefore being weighed and considered, we at last unanimously agreed to prosecute our voyage towards the Cape, and with patience wait for a shift of wind. But Captain Heath, having thus far sounded the inclination of his weak men, told them that it was not enough that they all consented to beat for the Cape, for our desires were not sufficient to bring us thither, but that there would need a more than ordinary labour and management from those that were able; and withal, for their encouragement, he promised a month's pay *gratis* to every man that would engage to assist on all occasions, and be ready upon call, whether it were his turn to watch or not; and this money he promised to pay at the Cape. This offer was first embraced by some of the officers, and then as many of the men as found themselves in a capacity listed themselves in a roll to serve their commander. This was wisely contrived of the captain, for he could not have compelled them in their weak condition, neither would fair words alone, without some hopes of a reward, have engaged them to so much extraordinary work; for the ship, sail, and rigging were much out of repair. For my part, I was too weak to enter myself in that list; for else our common safety, which I plainly saw lay at stake, would have prompted me to do more than any such reward would do. In a short time after this it pleased God to favour us with a fine wind, which, being improved to the best advantage by the incessant labour of these new-listed men, brought us in a short time to the Cape.

The night before we entered the harbour, which was about the beginning of April, being near the land, we fired a gun every hour to give notice that we were in distress. The next day, a Dutch captain came aboard in his boat; who, seeing us so weak as not to be able to trim our sails to turn into the harbour, though we did tolerably well at sea before the wind, and being requested by our captain to assist him, sent ashore for a hundred lusty men, who immediately came aboard, and brought our ship in to an anchor. They also unbent our sails, and did everything for us that they were required to do, for which Captain Heath gratified them

[1] Which received the name of St Lawrence from its Portuguese discoverer, Emanuel de Meneses, in 1506.

to the full. These men had better stomachs than we, and ate freely of such food as the ship afforded; and they having the freedom of our ship, to go to and fro between decks, made prize of what they could lay their hands on, especially salt beef, which our men, for want of stomachs in the voyage, had hung up, six, eight, or ten pieces in a place. This was conveyed away before we knew it or thought of it; besides, in the night, there was a bale of muslins broken open, and a great deal conveyed away; but whether the muslins were stolen by our own men or the Dutch I cannot say, for we had some very dexterous thieves in our ship. Being thus got safe to an anchor, the sick were presently sent ashore, to quarters provided for them, and those that were able remained aboard and had good fat mutton or fresh beef sent aboard every day. I went ashore, also, with my Painted Prince, where I remained with him till the time of sailing again, which was about six weeks, in which time I took the opportunity to inform myself of what I could concerning this country, which I shall in this next place give a brief account of, and so make what haste I can home.

The Cape of Good Hope is the utmost bounds of the continent of Africa towards the south, lying in Lat. 34° 30′ S., in a very temperate climate. I look upon this Latitude to be one of the mildest and sweetest, for its temperature, of any whatsoever.[1] . . .

This large promontory consists of high and very remarkable land; and off at sea it affords a very pleasant and agreeable prospect. And without doubt the prospect of it was very agreeable to those Portuguese who first found out this way by sea to the East Indies, when after coasting along the vast continent of Africa, towards the South Pole, they had the comfort of seeing the land and their course end in this promontory, which therefore they called the Cape de Bon Esperance, or of Good Hope, finding that they might now proceed eastward.[2] The most remarkable land at sea is a high mountain, steep to the sea, with a flat even top, which is called the Table Land. On the west side of the Cape, a little to the northward of it, there is a spacious harbour,[3] with a low flat island lying off it, which you may leave on either hand, and pass in or out securely at either end. Ships that anchor here ride near the mainland, leaving the island at a farther distance without them. The land by the sea against the harbour is low, but backed with high mountains a little way in, to the southward of it.

The soil of this country is of a brown colour; not deep, yet indifferently productive of grass, herbs, and trees. The grass is short, like that which grows on our Wiltshire or Dorsetshire Downs. The trees hereabouts are but small and few; the country also farther from the sea does not much abound in trees, as I have been informed. The mould or soil also is much like this near the harbour, which though it cannot be said to be very fat or rich land, yet it is very fit for cultivation, and yields good crops to the industrious husbandman; and the country is pretty well settled with farms, Dutch families and French refugees, for twenty or thirty leagues up in the country; but there are but few farms near the harbour. Here grows plenty of wheat, barley, pease, &c. Here are also fruits of many kinds, as apples, pears, quinces, and the largest pomegranates that I did ever see. The chief fruits are grapes. These thrive very well, and the

[1] A digression is here omitted, in which Dampier combats and explains a "common prejudice" among European seamen, who look upon the Cape as much colder than other *places in* the same Latitude to the *north of the Line*.

[2] A passage relating to soundings and signs of nearing the Cape is omitted.

[3] Table Bay.

country is of late years so well stocked with vineyards, that they make abundance of wine, of which they have enough and to spare, and do sell great quantities to ships that touch here. This wine is like a French high country white-wine, but of a pale yellowish colour; it is sweet, very pleasant, and strong.

The tame animals of this country are sheep, goats, hogs, cows, horses, &c. The sheep are very large and fat, for they thrive very well here. There is a very beautiful sort of wild ass in this country, whose body is curiously striped with equal lists[1] of white and black; the stripes coming from the ridge of his back, and ending under the belly, which is white. Here are a great many ducks, dunghill fowls, &c.; and ostriches are plentifully found in the dry mountains and plains. The sea hereabouts affords plenty of fish of divers sorts; especially a small sort of fish, not so big as a herring, whereof they have such great plenty, that they pickle great quantities yearly, and send them to Europe. Seals are also in great numbers about the Cape, which, as I have still observed, is a good sign of the plentifulness of fish, which is their food.

The Dutch have a strong fort by the seaside, against the harbour, where the Governor lives. At about 200 or 300 paces distance from thence, on the west side of the fort, there is a small Dutch town, in which I told about fifty or sixty houses, low, but well built, with stone walls, there being plenty of stone drawn out of a quarry close by. On the back side of the town, as you go towards the mountains, the Dutch East India Company have a large house, and a stately garden walled in with a high stone wall. This garden is full of divers sorts of herbs, flowers, roots, and fruits, with curious spacious gravel walks and arbours; and is watered with a brook that descends out of the mountains, which being cut into many channels is conveyed into all parts of the garden. The hedges which make the walks are very thick, and nine or ten feet high. They are kept exceeding neat and even by continual pruning. There are lower hedges within these again, which serve to separate the fruit trees from each other, but without shading them; and they keep each sort of fruit by themselves, as apples, pears, abundance of quinces, pomegranates, &c. These all prosper very well, and bear good fruit, especially the pomegranate. The roots and garden herbs have also their distinct places, hedged in apart by themselves; and all in such order, that it is exceeding pleasant and beautiful. There are a great number of Negro slaves brought from other parts of the world; some of which are continually weeding, pruning, trimming, and looking after it. All strangers are allowed the liberty to walk there; and, by the servant's leave, you may be admitted to taste of the fruit; but if you think to do it clandestinely you may be mistaken, as I knew one was when I was in the garden, who took five or six pomegranates, and was espied by one of the slaves, and threatened to be carried before the Governor. I believe it cost him some money to make his peace, for I heard no more of it. Farther up from the sea, beyond the garden, towards the mountains, there are several other small gardens and vineyards, belonging to private men; but the mountains are so nigh, that the number of them is but small.

The Dutch that live in the town get considerably by the ships that frequently touch here, chiefly by entertaining strangers that come ashore to refresh themselves: for you must give three shillings or a dollar a day for your entertainment; the bread and flesh is as cheap here as in England. Besides, they buy good pennyworths of the seamen, both outward and homeward bound, which the farmers up the country buy of them again at a dear rate; for they have not an opportunity of buying things at the best hand, but must buy of

[1] Rings, streaks.

those that live at the harbour; the nearest settlements, as I was informed, being twenty miles off. Notwithstanding the great plenty of corn and wine, yet the extraordinary high taxes which the Company lays on liquor make it very dear, and you can buy none but at the tavern, except it be by stealth. There are but three houses in the town that sell strong liquor, one of which is this wine-house or tavern; there they sell only wine; another sells beer and mum[1]; and the third sells brandy and tobacco, all extraordinary dear. A flask of wine which holds three quarts will cost eighteen stivers,[2] for so much I paid for it; yet I bought as much for eight stivers in another place, but it was privately, at an unlicensed house; and the person that sold it would have been ruined had it been known. And thus much for the country and the European inhabitants.

CHAPTER XX.

THE natural[3] inhabitants of the Cape are the Hodmadods, as they are commonly called, which is a corruption of the word Hottentot; for this is the name by which they call to one another, either in their dances, or on any occasion, as if every one of them had this for his name. The word probably has some signification or other in their language, whatever it is. The Hottentots are people of a middle stature, with small limbs and thin bodies, full of activity. Their faces are of a flat, oval figure, of the Negro make, with great eyebrows, black eyes; but neither are their noses so flat, nor their lips so thick, as the Negroes of Guinea. Their complexion is darker than the common Indians, though not so black as the Negroes or New Hollanders; neither is their hair so much frizzled. They besmear themselves all over with grease, as well to keep their joints supple, as to fence their half-naked bodies from the air by stopping up their pores. To do this the more effectually, they rub soot over the greased parts, especially their faces, which adds to their natural beauty as painting does in Europe; but withal sends from them a strong smell, which, though sufficiently pleasing to themselves, is very unpleasant to others. They are glad of the worst of kitchen stuff for this purpose, and use it as often as they can get it. This custom of anointing the body is very common in other parts of Africa, especially on the coast of Guinea, where they generally use palm oil, anointing themselves from head to foot; but when they want oil they make use of kitchen stuff, which they buy of the Europeans that trade with them. In the East Indies also, especially on the coast of Cudda and Malacca, and in general on almost all the easterly islands, as well on Sumatra, Java, &c., as on the Philippine and Spice Islands, the Indian inhabitants anoint themselves with cocoa-nut oil two or three times a day, especially mornings and evenings. They spend sometimes half-an-hour in chafing the oil, and rubbing it into their hair and skin, leaving no place unsmeared with oil but their face, which they daub not like these Hottentots. The Americans also in some places do use this custom, but not so frequently, perhaps for want of oil and grease to do it. Yet some American Indians in the North Seas frequently daub themselves with a pigment made with leaves, roots, or herbs, or with a sort of red earth, giving their skins a yellow, red, or green colour, according as the pigment is. And these smell unsavourly enough to people not accustomed to them; though not so rank as those who use oil or grease.

The Hottentots wear no covering

[1] A kind of strong beer, introduced into England from Brunswick in Germany.

[2] According to Bailey's Dictionary, a stiver was, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, equivalent to *a penny* and one-fifth English.

[3] *Native, aboriginal.*

on their heads, but deck their hair with small shells. Their garments are sheepskins wrapped about their shoulders like a mantle, with the woolly sides next their bodies. The men have, besides this mantle, a piece of skin like a small apron hanging before them. The women have another skin tucked about their waists which comes down to their knees like a petticoat: and their legs are wrapped round with sheepguts, two or three inches thick, some up as high as to their calves, others even from their feet to their knees; which at a small distance seems to be a sort of boots. These are put on when they are green; and so they grow hard and stiff on their legs, for they never pull them off again, till they have occasion to eat them; which is when they journey from home, and have no other food: then these guts, which have been worn, it may be, six, eight, ten, or twelve months, make them a good banquet. This I was informed of by the Dutch. They never pull off their sheepskin garments but to louse themselves; for by continual wearing them they are full of vermin, which obliges them often to strip and sit in the sun two or three hours together in the heat of the day, to destroy them. Indeed, most Indians that live remote from the Equator are molested with lice, though their garments afford less shelter for lice than these Hottentots' sheepskins do. For all those Indians who live in cold countries, as in the north and south parts of America, have some sort of skin or other to cover their bodies, as deer, otter, beaver, or seal skins, all which they as constantly wear, without shifting themselves, as these Hottentots do their sheepskins. And, hence they are lousy too, and strong scented, though they do not daub themselves at all, or but very little; for even by reason of their skins they smell strong.

The Hottentots' houses are the meanest that I did ever see. They are about nine or ten feet high, and ten or twelve from side to side. They are in a manner round, made with small poles stuck into the ground, and brought together at the top, where they are fastened. The sides and top of the house are filled up with boughs coarsely wattled between the poles, and all is covered over with long grass, rushes, and pieces of hides; and the house at a distance appears just like a haycock. They leave only a small hole on one side, about three or four feet high, for a door to creep in and out at; but when the wind comes in at this door they stop it up, and make another hole in the opposite side. They make the fire in the middle of the house, and the smoke ascends out of the crannies, from all parts of the house. They have no beds to lie on, but tumble down at night round the fire. Their household furniture is commonly an earthen pot or two to boil victuals, and they live very miserably and hard; it is reported that they will fast two or three days together when they travel about the country. Their common food is either herbs, flesh, or shellfish, which they get among the rocks, or other places at low water: for they have no boats, bark-logs, nor canoes to go a-fishing in; so that their chief subsistence is on land animals, or on such herbs as the land naturally produces. I was told by my Dutch landlord that they kept sheep and bullocks here before the Dutch settled among them: and that the inland Hottentots have still great stocks of cattle, and sell them to the Dutch for rolls of tobacco; and that the price for which they sell a cow or sheep, was as much twisted tobacco as will reach from the horns or head to the tail; for they are great lovers of tobacco, and will do anything for it. This their way of trucking[1] was confirmed to me by many others, who yet said that they could not buy their beef this cheap way, for they had not the liberty to deal with the Hottentots, that being a privilege which the Dutch East India Company reserve to themselves. My landlord, having a

[1] Bartering, exchanging.

great many lodgers, fed us most with mutton, some of which he bought of the butcher, and there is but one in the town; but most of it he killed in the night, the sheep being brought privately by the Hottentots, who assisted in skinning and dressing, and had the skin and guts for their pains. I judge these sheep were fetched out of the country a good way off; for he himself would be absent a day or two to procure them, and two or three Hottentots with him. These of the Hottentots that live by the Dutch town have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch: for there is one or more of them belonging to every house. These do all sorts of servile work, and there take their food and grease. Three or four more of their nearest relations sit at the doors or near the Dutch house, waiting for the scraps and fragments that come from the table; and if between meals the Dutch people have any occasion for them to go on errands or the like, they are ready at command, expecting little for their pains; but for a stranger they will not budge under a stiver.

Their religion, if they have any, is wholly unknown to me; for they have no temple nor idol, nor any place of worship that I did see or hear of. Yet their mirth and nocturnal pastimes at the new and full of the moon looked as if they had some superstition about it. For at the full especially they sing and dance all night, making a great noise. I walked out to their huts twice at these times, in the evening, when the moon arose above the horizon, and viewed them for an hour or more. They seem all very busy, both men, women, and children, dancing very oddly on the green grass by their houses. They traced to and fro promiscuously, often clapping their hands and singing aloud. Their faces were sometimes to the east, sometimes to the west; neither did I see any motion or gesture that they used when their faces were towards the moon, more than when their backs were towards it. After I had thus *observed them for* a while, I returned to my lodging, which was not above 200 or 300 paces from their huts; and I heard them singing in the same manner all night. In the grey of the morning I walked out again, and found many of the men and women still singing and dancing, who continued their mirth till the moon went down, and then they left off; some of them going into their huts to sleep, and others to their attendance in their Dutch houses. Other Negroes are less circumspect, in their night-dances, as to the precise time of the full moon, they being more general in these nocturnal pastimes, and use them oftener; as do many people also in the East and West Indies. Yet there is a difference between colder and warmer countries as to their divertisements.[1] The warmer climates being generally very productive of delicate fruits, &c., and these uncivilised people caring for little else than what is barely necessary, they spend the greatest part of their time in diverting themselves after their several fashions; but the Indians of colder climates are not so much at leisure, the fruits of the earth being scarce with them, and they necessitated to be continually fishing, hunting, or fowling for their subsistence; not as with us, for recreation. As for these Hottentots, they are a very lazy sort of people; and though they live in a delicate country, very fit to be manured, and where there is land enough for them, yet they choose rather to live as their forefathers, poor and miserable, than be at pains for plenty. And so much for the Hottentots: I shall now return to our own affairs.

Upon our arrival at the Cape, Captain Heath took a house to live in, in order to recover his health. Such of his men as were able did so too: for the rest he provided lodgings and paid their expenses. Three or four of our men, who came ashore very sick, died; but the rest, by the assistance of the doctors of the fort, a fine air, and good kitchen and cellar physic, soon recovered their health. Those

[1] Sports, diversions.

that subscribed to be at all calls, and assisted to bring in the ship, received Captain Heath's bounty, by which they furnished themselves with liquor for their homeward voyage. But we were now so few, that we could not sail the ship; therefore Captain Heath desired the Governor to spare him some men; and, as I was informed, had a promise to be supplied out of the homeward-bound Dutch East India ships, that were now expected every day; and we waited for them. In the meantime, in came the James and Mary, and the Josiah of London, bound home. Out of these we thought to have been furnished with men, but they had only enough for themselves; therefore we waited yet longer for the Dutch Fleet, which at last arrived: but we could get no men from them. Captain Heath was therefore forced to get men by stealth, such as he could pick up, whether soldiers or seamen. The Dutch knew our want of men; therefore near forty of them, those that had a design to return to Europe, came privately and offered themselves, and waited in the night at places appointed, where our boats went and fetched three or four aboard at a time, and hid them, especially when any Dutch boat came aboard our ship. Here at the Cape I met my friend Daniel Wallis, the same who leaped into the sea and swam at Pulo Condore.[1] After several traverses to Madagascar, Don Mascarin,[2] Pondicherry, Pegu, Cunnimere, Madras, and the River Hooghly, he was now got hither in a homeward-bound Dutch ship. I soon persuaded him to come over to us, and found means to get him aboard our ship.

About the 23d of May we sailed from the Cape in the company of the James and Mary and the Josiah, directing our course towards the Island Santa Helena. We met nothing of remark in this voyage except a great swelling sea out of the SW., which, taking us on the broadside, made us roll sufficiently. Such of our water-casks as were between decks, running from side to side, were in a short time all staved, and the deck well washed with the fresh water. The shot tumbled out of the lockers and garlands, and rung a loud peal, rumbling from side to side every roll that the ship made; neither was it an easy matter to reduce them again within bounds. The guns being carefully looked after and lashed fast, never budged, but the tackles or pulleys and lashings made great music too. The sudden and violent motion of the ship made us fearful lest some of the guns should have broken loose, which must have been very detrimental to the ship's sides. The masts were also in great danger to be rolled by the board; but no harm happened to any of us besides the loss of three or four butts of water, and a barrel or two of good Cape wine, which was staved in the great cabin. This great tumbling sea took us shortly after we came from the Cape. The violence of it lasted but one night; yet we had a continual swelling out of the SW. almost during all the passage to Santa Helena, which was an eminent token that the SW. winds were now violent in the higher latitudes towards the South Pole; for this was the time of year for those winds. Notwithstanding this boisterous sea coming thus obliquely upon us, we had fine clear weather, and a moderate gale at SE., or between that and the east, till we came to the Island Santa Helena, where we arrived the 20th of June. There we found the Princess Ann at anchor waiting for us.

The Island Santa Helena lies in about 16° S. Lat. The air is commonly serene and clear, except in the months that yield rain; yet we had one or two very rainy days even while we were here. Here are moist seasons to plant and sow; and the weather is temperate enough as to heat, though so near the Equator, and very healthy. The island is but small, not above nine or ten leagues in length, and stands 300 or 400 leagues from the

[1] Escaping from a murderous Malayan crew. See end of Chapter XIV., page 259.

[2] The Isle of France.

main land. It is bounded against the sea with steep rocks, so that there is no landing but at two or three places. The land is high and mountainous, and seems to be very dry and poor, yet there are fine valleys proper for cultivation. The mountains appear bare, only in some places you may see a few low shrubs; but the valleys afford some trees fit for building, as I was informed.

This island is said to have been first discovered and settled by the Portuguese,[1] who stocked it with goats and hogs; but it being afterwards deserted by them, it lay waste till the Dutch, finding it convenient to relieve their East India ships, settled it again; but they afterwards relinquished it for a more convenient place, I mean the Cape of Good Hope. Then the English East India Company settled their servants there, and began to fortify it; but they being yet weak, the Dutch about the year 1672 came thither and retook it, and kept it in their possession. This news being reported in England, Captain Monday was sent to retake it, who, by the advice and conduct of one that had formerly lived there, landed a party of armed men in the night in a small cove, unknown to the Dutch then in garrison, and climbing the rocks, got up into the island, and so came in the morning to the hills hanging over the fort which stands by the sea in a small valley. Thence firing into the fort, they soon made them surrender. There were at this time two or three Dutch East India ships either at anchor, or coming thither, when our ships were there. These, when they saw that the English were masters of the island again, made sail to be gone; but being chased by the English frigates, two of them became rich prizes to Captain Monday and his men. The island has continued ever since in the hands of the English East India Company, and has been greatly strengthened both with men and guns; so that at this day it is secure enough from the invasion of any enemy. For the common landing-place is a small bay, like a half-moon, scarce 500 paces wide, between the two points. Close by the seaside are good guns planted at equal distances, lying along from one end of the bay to the other; besides a small fort, a little farther in from the sea, near the midst of the bay: all which makes this bay so strong, that it is impossible to force it. The small cove where Captain Monday landed his men when he took the island from the Dutch, is scarce fit for a boat to land at, and yet that is now also fortified.

There is a small English town within the great bay, standing in a little valley between two high steep mountains. There may be about twenty or thirty small houses, whose walls are built with rough stones; the inside furniture is very mean. The Governor has a pretty tolerably handsome low house by the fort, where he commonly lives, having a few soldiers to attend him, and to guard the fort. But the houses in the town before mentioned stand empty, save only when ships arrive here; for their owners have all plantations farther in the island, where they constantly employ themselves. But when ships arrive, they all flock to the town, where they live all the time that the ships lie here; for then is their fair or market, to buy such necessaries as they want, and to sell off the produce of their plantations. Their plantations afford potatoes, yams, and some plantains and bananas. Their stock consists chiefly of hogs, bullocks, cocks and hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys, of which they have great plenty, and sell them at a low rate to the sailors; taking in exchange shirts, drawers, or any light clothes, pieces of calico, silks, or muslins. Arrack, sugar, and lime-juice are also much esteemed and coveted by them. But now they are

[1] By Juan de Nova, in 1501, who gave such a favourable account of the island, that the Portuguese Admirals were instructed in future to touch *there for refreshments.*

in hopes to produce wine and brandy in a short time; for they already begin to plant vines for that end, there being a few Frenchmen there to manage that affair. This I was told, but I saw nothing of it, for it rained so hard when I was ashore, that I had not the opportunity of seeing their plantations. I was also informed that they get manatee or sea-cows here, which seemed very strange to me. Therefore inquiring more strictly into the matter, I found the Santa Helena manatee to be, by their shapes and manner of lying ashore on the rocks, those creatures called sea-lions; for the manatee never come ashore, neither are they found near any rocky shores as this island is, there being no feeding for them in such places. Besides, in this island there is no river for them to drink at, though there is a small brook runs into the sea out of the valley by the fort.

We stayed here five or six days, all which time the islanders lived at the town, to entertain the seamen, who constantly flocked ashore to enjoy themselves among their country people. Our touching at the Cape had greatly drained the seamen of their loose coins, at which these islanders as greatly repined; and some of the poorer sort openly complained against such doings, saying it was fit that the East India Company should be acquainted with it, that they might hinder their ships from touching at the Cape. Yet they were extremely kind, in hopes to get what was remaining. They are most of them very poor; but such as could get a little liquor to sell to the seamen at this time got what the seamen could spare, for the punch-houses were never empty. But had we all come directly hither, and not touched at the Cape, even the poorest people among them would have gotten something by entertaining sick men. For commonly the seamen coming home are troubled more or less with scorbutic distempers, and their only hopes are to get refreshment and health at this island; and these hopes seldom or never fail them if once they get footing here: for the island affords abundance of delicate herbs, wherewith the sick are first bathed to supple their joints, and then the fruits and herbs and fresh food soon after cure them of their scorbutic humours; so that in a week's time men that have been carried ashore in hammocks, and they who were wholly unable to go, have been able to leap and dance. Doubtless the serenity and wholesomeness of the air contributes much to the carrying off of these distempers, for there is constantly a fresh breeze. While we stayed here, many of the seamen got sweethearts. One young man belonging to the James and Mary was married, and brought his wife to England with him. Another brought his sweetheart to England, they being each engaged by bonds to marry at their arrival in England; and several others of our men were over head and ears in love with the Santa Helena maids, who, though they were born there, yet very earnestly desired to be released from that prison, which they have no other way to compass but by marrying seamen or passengers that touch here. The young women born here are but one remove from English, being the daughters of such. They are well shaped, proper, and comely, were they in a dress to set them off.

My stay ashore here was but two days, to get refreshments for myself and Jeoly, whom I carried ashore with me; and he was very diligent to pick up such things as the island afforded, carrying ashore with him a bag, which the people of the isle filled with roots for him. They flocked about him, and seemed to admire him much. This was the last place where I had him at my own disposal; for the mate of the ship, who had Mr Moody's share in him, left him entirely to my management, I being to bring him to England. But I was no sooner arrived in the Thames, but he was sent ashore to be seen by some eminent persons; and I, being in want of money, was prevailed upon to sell first part of

my share in him, and by degrees all of it. After this I heard that he was carried about to be shown as a sight, and that he died of the small-pox at Oxford.

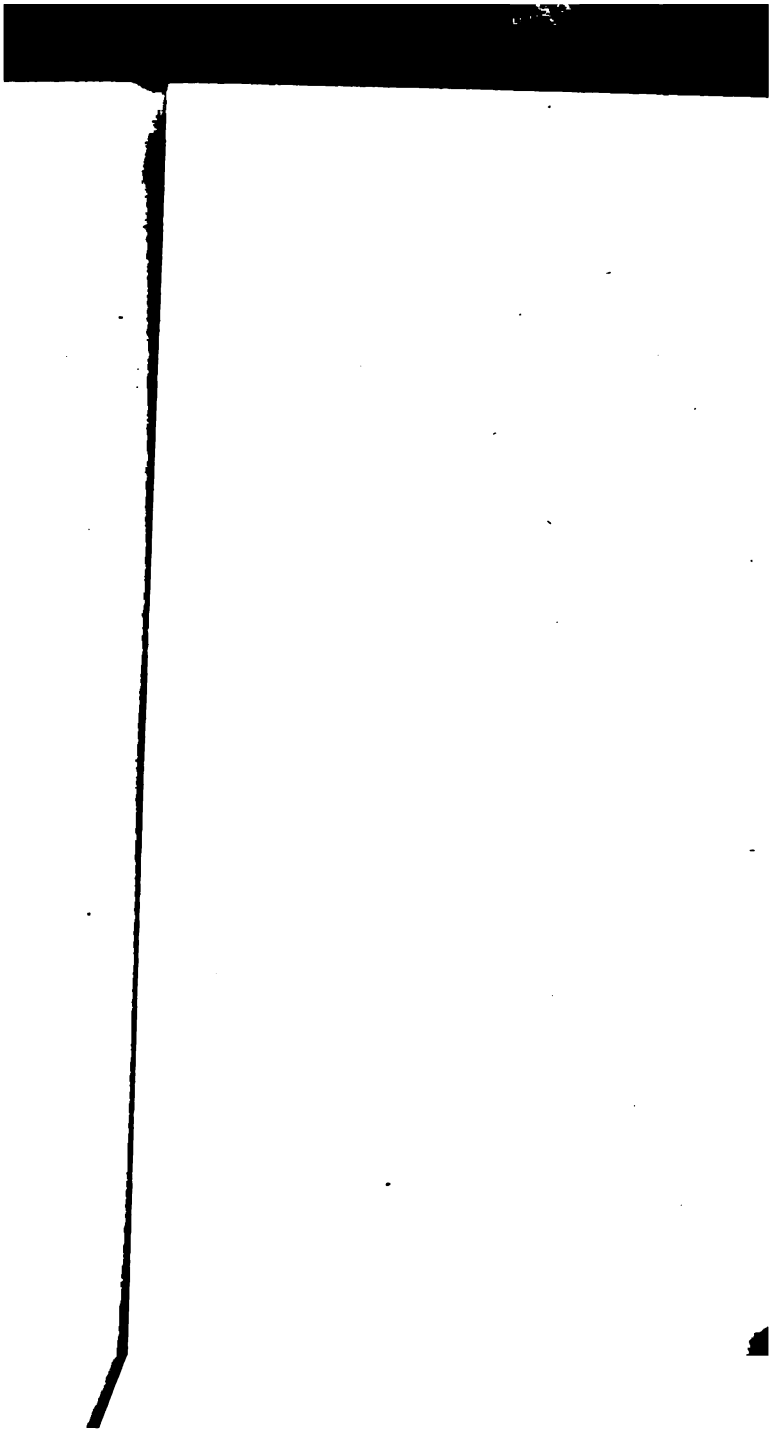
But to proceed. Our water being filled, and the ships all stocked with fresh provision, we sailed hence in company of the Princess Ann, the James and Mary, and the Josiah, July the 2d, 1691, directing our course towards England, and designing to touch nowhere by the way. . . . In our passage before we got to the Line, we saw three ships, and making towards them, we found two of them to be Portuguese, bound to Brazil. The third kept on a wind, so that we could not speak with her; but we found by the Portuguese it was an English ship, called the Dorothy, Captain Thwayt commander, bound to the East Indies. After this we kept company still with our three consorts till we came near England, and then were separated by bad weather; but before we came within sight of land, we got together again, all but the James and Mary. She got into the Channel before us, and went to Plymouth, and there gave an account of the rest of us; whereupon our men-of-war who lay there came out to join us, and meeting us, brought us off Plymouth. There our consort the James and Mary came to us again; and thence we all sailed in company of several men-of-war towards Portsmouth. There our first convoy left us, and went in thither. But we did not want convoys, for our fleets were then repairing to their winter harbours to be laid up; so that we had the company of several English ships to the Downs, and a squadron also of Dutch sailed up the Channel, but kept off farther from our English coast, they being bound home to Holland. When we came as high as the South Foreland, we left them standing on their course, keeping on the back of the Goodwin Sands; and we luffed in for the Downs, where we anchored September the 16th, 1691.

END OF DAMPIER'S VOYAGE.

ANSON'S

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

1740—1744.



[redacted]

ARCTIC OCEAN
North East C.
Liakov Is. or New Siberia
Novia Zemlia
Kara Sea
SIBERIA
SSIAN EMPIRE
ASIA
Okhotsk
SEA OF OKHOTSK
BEHRING SEA
Aleutian Is.
Petropavlovsk
L. Baikal
Kiakhta
Sea of Aral
Balkash
TURKESTAN
CHINESE EMPIRE
Pekin
Sea of Japan
Yedo
JAPAN
ISLANDS
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
CHINA
Shanghai
Formosa
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
ARABIAN SEA
Madras
BAY OF BENGAL
Ceylon
Maldive Is.
Philippine Islands
CHINA SEA
Marianne or Ladrones
Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Pelew Is.
Molucca Is.
Borneo
Sonda Islands
Java
Batavia
Timor
Papua
New Guinea
Solomon Is.
INDIAN OCEAN
Chagos
Mauritius
Bourbon
AUSTRALIA
Queensland
Western Australia
South Australia
New Hebrides
Tonga Is.
Caledonia
Brisbane
Norfolk I.
Sydney
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Perth
King George
Melbourne
Tasmania
Amsterdam I.
St. Paul
Crozet Is.
Kerguelen I.
McDonnelle
Royal Company Is.
Macquarie I.
Emerald I.
Clarie Is.
Kemp Is.
Balleny Is.
Supposed Antarctic Continent

A

VOYAGE

ROUND THE

WORLD,

In the Years M DCC XL, I, II, III, IV.

BY

GEORGE ANSON, Eſq;

Commander in Chief of a Squadron of His Majeſty's Ships, ſent upon an Expedition to the *South-Seas*.

COMPILED

From Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable *GEORGE* Lord *ANSON*, and publiſhed under his Direction.

By RICHARD WALTER, M.A.

Chaplain of his Majeſty's Ship the *Centurion*, in that Expedition.

THE SECOND EDITION.

With CHARTS of the Southern Part of *South America*, of Part of the *Pacific Ocean*, and of the Track of the *Centurion* round the World.

LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL KNAPTON, in Ludgate-Street. M DCC XLVIII.

ANSON'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

DEDICATION.

To His Grace, John, Duke of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, Earl of Bedford, Baron Russel, Baron Russel of Thornhaugh, and Baron Howland of Streatham: one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and Lord-Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of Bedford.

My Lord;—The following narrative of a very singular naval achievement is addressed to Your Grace, both on account of the infinite obligations which the Commander-in-Chief at all times professes to have received from your friendship; and also, as the subject itself naturally claims the patronage of one under whose direction the British Navy has resumed its ancient spirit and lustre, and has in one summer ennobled itself by two victories, the most decisive and (if the strength and number of the captures be considered) the most important that are to be met with in our annals.[1] Indeed, an uninterrupted series of success, and a manifest superiority gained universally over the enemy, both in commerce and glory, seem to be the necessary effects of a revival of strict discipline, and of an unbiassed regard to merit and service. These are marks that must distinguish the happy period of time in which Your Grace presided, and afford a fitter subject for history than for an address of this nature. Very signal advantages of rank and distinction, obtained and secured to the naval profession by Your Grace's auspicious influence, will remain a lasting monument of your unwearied zeal and attachment to it, and be for ever remembered with the highest gratitude by all who shall be employed in it. As these were the generous rewards of past exploits, they will be likewise the noblest incentives and surest pledges of the future. That Your Grace's eminent talents, magna-

[1] In 1747, when Anson, then Rear-Admiral of the White, defeated the French Admiral, Ionquierre, near Cape Finisterre, capturing six ships of the line and a valuable convoy, and gaining, as his reward, a peerage, with the title of Lord Anson, Baron Soberton; and Hawke totally defeated the French fleet off Belleisle, also taking six ships, and winning promotion to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the Blue. Of the first-named victory, it is narrated that when M. St George, captain of one of the French vessels, gave up his sword to Anson, he addressed him thus, with allusion to the names of two of the ships that had surrendered: "Vous avez vaincu L'Invincible, et La Gloire vous suit"—"You have vanquished the Invincible, and Glory follows you." The Dedication was written in 1748.

nimity, and disinterested zeal, whence the public has already reaped such signal benefits, may in all times prove equally successful in advancing the prosperity of Great Britain, is the ardent wish of, My Lord, Your Grace's most obedient, most devoted, and most humble servant,

RICHARD WALTER.

INTRODUCTION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great improvement of navigation within the last two centuries, a Voyage Round the World is still considered as an enterprise of a very singular nature; and the public have never failed to be extremely inquisitive about the various accidents and turns of fortune with which this uncommon attempt is generally attended. And though the amusement expected in a narration of this kind is doubtless one great source of this curiosity, and a strong incitement with the bulk of readers, yet the more intelligent part of mankind have always agreed that from these relations, if faithfully executed, the more important purposes of navigation, commerce, and national interest may be greatly promoted. For every authentic account of foreign coasts and countries will contribute to one or more of these great ends in proportion to the wealth, wants, or commodities of those countries, and our ignorance of those coasts; and therefore a Voyage Round the World promises a species of information of all others the most desirable and interesting, since great part of it is performed in seas and on coasts with which we are as yet but very imperfectly acquainted, and in the neighbourhood of a country renowned for the abundance of its wealth, though it is at the same time stigmatised for its poverty in the necessaries and conveniencies of a civilised life.

These considerations have occasioned the publication of the ensuing work, which, in gratifying the inquisitive turn of mankind, and contributing to the safety and success of future navigators and to the extension of our commerce and power, may doubtless vie with any narration of this kind hitherto made public. Since the circumstances of this undertaking already known to the world may be supposed to have strongly excited the general curiosity. For whether we consider the force of the squadron sent on this service, or the diversified distresses that each single ship was separately involved in, or the uncommon instances of various fortune which attended the whole enterprise, each part, I conceive, must, from its rude well-known outlines, appear worthy of a completer and more finished delineation.[1]

As there are hereafter occasionally interspersed some accounts of Spanish transactions, and many observations on the disposition of the American Spaniards, and on the condition of the countries bordering on the South Seas, and as herein I may appear to differ greatly from the opinions generally established, I think it incumbent on me particularly to recite the authorities I have been guided by on this occasion, that I may not be censured as having given way either to a thoughtless credulity on one hand, or, what would be a much more criminal imputation, to a wilful and deliberate misrepresentation on the other. Mr Anson, before he set sail upon this

[1] In the Introduction, and throughout the whole Narrative, all the descriptions and references which relate to the elaborate charts, plans, and drawings of the original edition, and which are cumbrous and unintelligible without them, have been omitted; as also many digressions of the Narrator on nautical, topographical, or historical points, which now serve little purpose but to delay the progress and enfeeble the interest of the main story. Those omissions, however, save where trivial in matter or in amount, have been mentioned in the notes.

expedition, besides the printed journals to those parts, took care to furnish himself with the best manuscript accounts he could procure of all the Spanish settlements upon the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico. These he carefully compared with the examinations of his prisoners, and the informations of several intelligent persons who fell into his hands in the South Seas. He had likewise the good fortune, in some of his captures, to possess himself of a great number of letters and papers of a public nature, many of them written by the Viceroy of Peru to the Viceroy of Santa Fé, to the Presidents of Panama and Chili, to Don Blas de Lezo, Admiral of the Galleons, and to divers other persons in public employments; and in these letters there was usually inserted a recital of those they were intended to answer; so that they contained a considerable part of the correspondence between these officers for some time previous to our arrival on that coast. We took besides many letters, sent from persons employed by the Government to their friends and correspondents, which were frequently filled with narrations of public business, and sometimes contained undisguised animadversions on the views and conduct of their superiors. From these materials those accounts of the Spanish affairs are taken which may at first sight appear the most exceptionable. In particular, the history of the various casualties which befell Pizarro's squadron is for the most part composed from intercepted letters: though indeed the relation of the insurrection of Orellana and his followers is founded on rather a less disputable authority, for it was taken from the mouth of an English gentleman then on board Pizarro, who often conversed with Orellana; and it was, on inquiry, confirmed in its principal circumstances by others who were in the ship at the same time: so that the fact, however extraordinary, is, I conceive, not to be contested.

And on this occasion I cannot but mention, that though I have endeavoured, with my utmost care, to adhere strictly to truth in every article of the ensuing narration, yet I am apprehensive that in so complicated a work some oversights must have been committed, by the inattention to which at times all mankind are liable. However, I know of none but literal mistakes: and if there are other errors which have escaped me, I flatter myself they are not of moment enough to affect any material transaction, and therefore I hope they may justly claim the reader's indulgence.[1]

If what has been said merits the attention of travellers of all sorts, it is, I think, more particularly applicable to the gentlemen of the Navy; since without drawing and planning neither chart nor views of lands can be taken; and without these it is sufficiently evident that navigation is at a full stand. It is doubtless from a persuasion of the utility of these qualifications, that his Majesty has established a drawing-master at Portsmouth, for the instruction of those who are presumed to be hereafter intrusted with the command of his royal navy. And though some have been so far misled as to suppose that the perfection of sea-officers consisted in a turn of mind and temper resembling the boisterous element they had to deal with, and have condemned all literature and science as effeminate, and derogatory to that ferocity which, they would falsely persuade us, was the most unerring characteristic of courage: yet it is to be hoped that such absurdities as these have at no time been authorised by the public opinion, and that the belief of them daily diminishes. . . . Indeed,

[1] A long passage is here omitted, in which the Author animates his countrymen to "the encouragement and pursuit of all kinds of nautical and geographical observations, and every species of mechanical and commercial information," and especially insists on the advantage and necessity of a traveller's being able to draw, and possessing an acquaintance with the general principles of surveying.

when the many branches of science are considered of which even the common practice of navigation is composed, and the many improvements which men of skill have added to this practice within these few years, it would induce one to believe that the advantages of reflection and speculative knowledge were in no profession more eminent than in that of a sea-officer. For, not to mention some expertness in geography, geometry, and astronomy, which it would be dishonourable for him to be without (as his journal and his estimate of the daily position of the ship are no more than the practice of particular branches of these arts), it may be well supposed that the management and working of a ship, the discovery of her most eligible position in the water (usually styled her trim), and the disposition of her sails in the most advantageous manner, are articles wherein the knowledge of mechanics cannot but be greatly assistant: and perhaps the application of this kind of knowledge to naval subjects may produce as great improvements in sailing and working a ship, as it has already done in many other matters conducive to the ease and convenience of human life. For when the fabric of a ship and the variety of her sails are considered, together with the artificial contrivances of adapting them to her different motions, as it cannot be doubted but these things have been brought about by more than ordinary sagacity and invention, so neither can it be doubted but that a speculative and scientific turn of mind may find out the means of directing and disposing this complicated mechanism much more advantageously than can be done by mere habit, or by a servile copying of what others may perhaps have erroneously practised in the like emergency. But it is time to finish this digression, and to leave the reader to the perusal of the ensuing work; which, with how little art soever it may be executed, will yet, from the importance of the subject, and the utility and excellence of the materials, merit some share of the public attention.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE squadron under the command of Mr Anson, of which I here propose to recite the most material proceedings, having undergone many changes in its destination, its force, and its equipment, in the ten months between its first appointment and its final sailing from St Helens, I conceive the history of these alterations is a detail necessary to be made public, both for the honour of those who first planned and promoted this enterprise, and for the justification of those who have been entrusted with its execution. Since it will from hence appear, that the accidents the expedition was afterwards exposed *to, and which* prevented it from producing all the national advantages, the strength of the squadron and the expectation of the public seemed to presage, were principally owing to a series of interruptions which delayed the commander in the course of his preparations, and which it exceeded his utmost industry either to avoid or to get removed.

When, in the latter end of the summer of the year 1739, it was foreseen that a war with Spain was inevitable,[1] it was the opinion of several

[1] A convention regulating the sum to be paid by Spain to England on account of damage sustained to English commerce through the arbitrary means taken by the Spaniards to protect their American trade, had been signed

considerable persons, then trusted with the administration of affairs, that the most prudent step the nation could take, on the breaking out of the war, was attacking that Crown in her distant settlements: for by this means (as at that time there was the greatest probability of success) it was supposed that we should cut off the principal resources of the enemy, and reduce them to the necessity of sincerely desiring a peace, as they would hereby be deprived of the returns of that treasure by which alone they could be enabled to carry on a war.[1] In pursuance of these sentiments, several projects were examined, and several resolutions taken in Council. And in these deliberations it was from the first determined that George Anson, Esq., then captain of the Centurion,[2] should be employed as commander-in-chief of an expedition of this kind; and he then being absent on a cruise, a vessel was dispatched to his station so early as the beginning of September, to order him to return with his ship to Portsmouth. And soon after he came there—that is, on the 10th of November following—he received a letter from Sir Charles Wager, ordering him to repair to London, and to attend the Board of Admiralty; where, when he arrived, he was informed by Sir Charles that two squadrons would be immediately fitted out for two secret expeditions, which, however, would have some connection with each other; that he, Mr Anson, was intended to command one of them, and Mr Cornwall (who has since lost his life gloriously in the defence of his country's honour) the other; that the squadron under Mr Anson was to take on board three independent companies of a hundred men each, and Bland's regiment of foot; that Colonel Bland was likewise to embark with his regiment, and to command the land forces; and that, as soon as this squadron could be fitted for the sea, they were to set sail, with express orders to touch at no place till they came to Java Head, in the East Indies; that there they were only to stop to take in water, and thence to proceed directly to the city of Manilla, situated on Luconia,[3] one of the Philippine Islands; that the other squadron was to be of equal force with this com-

---

at Madrid in January 1739. But the question of the Right of Search exercised by the Spanish Crown over English vessels trading to its western colonies, and other delicate subjects of dispute, were reserved for future negotiation; a fierce clamour of dissatisfaction with the Convention, and eagerness for war, arose among the British people and in Parliament; and Walpole, unable to stem the tide of popular desire, resolved on entering upon a conflict which he condemned and deplored. The War is sometimes known as that of "the Merchants," arising, as it did, purely out of trade disputes; it was declared in London, amid wild public rejoicing, on the 19th of October 1739.

[1] Compare the reasons assigned for Drake's fatal Puerto Rico expedition; *ante*, page 99.

[2] Earl Stanhope, in his "History of England," Chapter XXII., says of Anson: "George Anson deserves to be held forth as a model to British seamen of what may be accomplished by industry, by courage, by love of their profession. He was born of a family at that period new and obscure, nor had he the advantage of distinguished talents. After his expedition, it used to be said of him that he had been round the world but never in it: he was dull and unready on land, slow in business, and sparing of speech. But he had undaunted bravery, steady application, and cool judgment; he punctually followed his instructions, and zealously discharged his duty; and by these qualities—qualities within the attainment of all—did he rise to well-earned honours, and bequeath an unsullied renown."

[3] Or Luzon, the northernmost and largest of the group.

manded by Mr Anson, and was intended to pass round Cape Horn into the South Seas, and there to range along that coast; and after cruising upon the enemy in those parts, and attempting their settlements, this squadron in its return was to rendezvous at Manilla, and there to join the squadron under Mr Anson, where they were to refresh their men, and refit their ships, and perhaps receive further orders.[1]

This scheme was doubtless extremely well projected, and could not but greatly advance the public service, and at the same time the reputation and fortune of those concerned in its execution; for had Mr Anson proceeded for Manilla at the time and in the manner proposed by Sir Charles Wager, he would in all probability have arrived there before they had received any advice of the war between us and Spain, and consequently before they had been in the least prepared for the reception of an enemy, or had any apprehensions of their danger. The city of Manilla might be well supposed to have been at that time in the same defenceless condition with all the other Spanish settlements just at the breaking out of the war; that is to say, their fortifications neglected, and in many places decayed; their cannon dismounted, or useless by the mouldering of their carriages; their magazines, whether of military stores or provision, all empty; their garrisons unpaid, and consequently thin, ill-affected, and dispirited; and the royal chests in Peru, whence alone all these disorders could receive their redress, drained to the very bottom. This, from the intercepted letters of their Viceroys and Governors, is well known to have been the defenceless state of Panama and the other Spanish places on the coast of the South Seas, for near a twelvemonth after our declaration of war. And it cannot be supposed that the city of Manilla, removed still farther by almost half the circumference of the globe, should have experienced from the Spanish Government a greater share of attention and concern for its security than Panama, and the other important ports in Peru and Chili, on which their possession of that immense empire depends. Indeed, it is well known that Manilla was at that time incapable of making any considerable defence, and, in all probability, would have surrendered only on the appearance of our squadron before it. The consequence of this city, and the island it stands on, may be in some measure estimated from the healthiness of its air, the excellency of its port and bay, the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and the very extensive and beneficial[2] commerce which it carries on to the principal ports in the East Indies and China, and its exclusive trade to Acapulco, the returns for which,[3] being made in silver, are upon the lowest valuation not less than three millions of dollars per annum.

And on this scheme Sir Charles Wager was so intent, that in a few days after this first conference, that is, on November 18, Mr Anson received an order to take under his command the Argyle, Severn, Pearl, Wager, and Trial sloop; and other orders were issued to him in the same month, and in the December following, relating to the victualling of this squadron. But Mr Anson attending the Admiralty the beginning of January, he was informed by Sir Charles Wager that for reasons with which he, Sir Charles, was not acquainted, the expedition to Manilla was laid aside. It may be conceived that Mr Anson was extremely chagrined at losing the command of so infallible, so honourable, and in every respect so desirable an enterprise, especially, too, as he had already, at a very great expense, made the necessary provision for his own accommodation

[1] Ed. 1776: "And perhaps receive orders for other considerable enterprises."

[2] Profitable.

[3] That is, for the Acapulco trade alone.

in this voyage, which he had reason to expect would prove a very long one. However, Sir Charles, to render this disappointment in some degree more tolerable, informed him that the expedition to the South Seas was still intended; and that he, Mr Anson, and his squadron, as their first destination was now countermanded, should be employed in that service. And on the 10th of January [1740] he received his commission, appointing him commander-in-chief of the forementioned squadron, which (the Argyle being in the course of their preparation changed for the Gloucester) was the same he sailed with above eight months after from St Helens. On this change of destination, the equipment of the squadron was still prosecuted with as much vigour as ever; and the victualling, and whatever depended on the Commodore, was [soon] so far advanced, that he conceived the ships might be capable of putting to sea the instant he should receive his final orders, of which he was in daily expectation. And at last, on the 28th of June 1740, the Duke of Newcastle, Principal Secretary of State, delivered to him his Majesty's instructions, dated January 31, 1739, with an additional instruction from the Lords Justices, dated June 19, 1740. On the receipt of these, Mr Anson immediately repaired to Spithead, with a resolution to sail with the first fair wind, flattering himself that all his delays[1] were now at an end. For though he knew by the musters that his squadron wanted 300 seamen of their complement (a deficiency which, with all his assiduity, he had not been able to get supplied), yet as Sir Charles Wager informed him that an order from the Board of Admiralty was despatched to Sir John Norris to spare him the numbers which he wanted, he doubted not of his complying therewith. But on his arrival at Portsmouth he found himself greatly mistaken and disappointed in this persuasion; for, on his application, Sir John Norris told him he could spare him none, for he wanted men for his own fleet. This occasioned an inevitable and a very considerable delay; for it was the end of July before this deficiency was by any means supplied, and all that was then done was extremely short of his necessities and expectation. For Admiral Balchen, who succeeded to the command at Spithead after Sir John Norris had sailed to the westward, instead of 300 able sailors, which Mr Anson wanted of his complement, ordered on board the squadron 170 men only, of which thirty-two were from the hospital and sick quarters, thirty-seven from the Salisbury, with three officers of Colonel Lowther's regiment, and ninety-eight marines; and these were all that were ever granted to make up the forementioned deficiency.

But the Commodore's mortification did not end here. It has been already observed, that it was at first intended that Colonel Bland's regiment, and three independent companies of 100 men each, should embark as land forces on board the squadron. But this disposition was now changed, and all the land forces that were to be allowed were 500 invalids, to be collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea College. As these out-pensioners consist of soldiers, who, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, are incapable of service in marching regiments, Mr Anson was greatly chagrined at having such a decrepit detachment allotted to him; for he was fully persuaded that the greatest part of them would perish long before they arrived at the scene of action, since the delays he had already encountered necessarily confined his passage round Cape Horn to the most rigorous season of the year. Sir Charles Wager, too, joined in opinion with the Commodore that invalids were no ways proper for this service, and solicited strenuously to have them exchanged; but he was told, that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he or Mr Anson thought them the properest men that could be employed on this

[1] Ed. 1776: "His difficulties."

occasion.[1] And upon this determination they were ordered on board the squadron on the 5th of August; but instead of 500 there came on board no more than 259; for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth deserted, leaving behind them only such as were literally invalids, most of them being sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans; they were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprised of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were any ways proportioned, and where, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise they were engaged in, they would in all probability uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this, too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service.

And I cannot but observe, on this melancholy incident, how extremely unfortunate it was, both to this aged and diseased detachment, and to the expedition they were employed in, that amongst all the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, which were supposed to amount to 2000 men, the most crazy and infirm only should be culled out for so fatiguing and perilous an undertaking. For it was well known that, however unfit invalids in general might be for this service, yet by a prudent choice there might have been found amongst them 500 men who had some remains of vigour left. And Mr Anson fully expected that the best of them would have been allotted him; whereas the whole detachment that was sent to him seemed to be made up of the most decrepit and miserable objects that could be collected out of the whole body; and by the desertion abovementioned, [even] these were a second time cleared of that little health and strength which were to be found amongst them, and he was to take up with such as were much fitter for an infirmary than for any military duty.

And here it is necessary to mention another material particular in the equipment of this squadron. It was proposed to Mr Anson, after it was resolved that he should be sent to the South Seas, to take with him two persons under the denomination of agent-victuallers. Those who were mentioned for this employment had formerly been in the Spanish West Indies,[2] in the South Sea Company's service; and it was supposed that by their knowledge and intelligence on that coast, they might often procure provision for him by compact with the inhabitants, when it was not to be got by force of arms. These agent-victuallers were, for this purpose, to be allowed to carry to the value of £15,000 in merchandise on board the squadron; for they had represented that it would be much easier for them to procure provisions with goods, than with the value of the same goods in money. Whatever colours were given to this scheme, it was difficult to persuade the generality of mankind that it was not principally intended for the enrichment of the agents, by the beneficial commerce they proposed to carry on upon that coast. Mr Anson, from the beginning, objected both to the appoint-

[1] Sir John Barrow, in his Life of Anson, says—"The feelings of these excellent judges are not to be envied, when they were afterwards made acquainted with the fact, that not one of these unfortunate individuals, who went on the voyage, survived to reach their native land—every man had *perished.*"

[2] Ed. 1776: "In the Spanish American colonies."

ment of agent-victuallers, and the allowing them to carry a cargo on board the squadron. For he conceived that in those few amicable ports where the squadron might touch he needed not their assistance to contract for any provisions the place afforded; and on the enemy's coast he did not imagine that they could ever procure him the necessaries he should want, unless (which he was resolved not to comply with) the military operations of his squadron were to be regulated by the ridiculous views of their trading projects. All that he thought the Government ought to have done on this occasion was to put on board to the value of £2000 or £3000 only of such goods as the Indians, or the Spanish planters in the less cultivated part of the coast, might be tempted with; since it was in such places only that he imagined it would be worth while to truck with the enemy for provisions. And in these places, it was sufficiently evident, a very small cargo would suffice.

But though the Commodore objected both to the appointment of these officers, and to their project;[1] yet, as they had insinuated that their scheme, besides victualling the squadron might contribute to settling a trade upon that coast, which might be afterwards carried on without difficulty, and might thereby prove a very considerable national advantage, they were much listened to by some considerable persons. And of the £15,000, which was to be the amount of their cargo, the Government agreed to advance them £10,000 upon imprest,[2] and the remaining £5000 they raised on bottomry bonds; and the goods purchased with this [latter] sum were all that were taken to sea by the squadron, how much soever the amount of them might be afterwards magnified by common report. This cargo was at first shipped on board the Wager store-ship, and one of the victuallers; no part of it being admitted on board the men-of-war. But when the Commodore was at St Catherine's, he considered, that in case the squadron should be separated, it might be pretended that some of the ships were disappointed of provisions for want of a cargo to truck with; and therefore he distributed some of the least bulky commodities on board the men-of-war, leaving the remainder principally on board the Wager, where it was lost. And more of the goods perishing, by various accidents to be recited hereafter, and no part of them being disposed of upon the coast, the few that came home to England did not produce, when sold, above a fourth part of the original price. So true was the Commodore's prediction about the event of this project, which had been by many considered as infallibly productive of immense gains. But to return to the transactions at Portsmouth.

To supply the place of the 240 invalids which had deserted, as is mentioned above, there were ordered on board 210 marines detached from different regiments. These were raw and undisciplined men, for they were just raised, and had scarcely anything more of the soldier than their regimentals, none of them having been so far trained as to be permitted to fire. The last detachment of these marines came on board the 8th of August, and on the 10th the squadron sailed from Spithead to St Helens, there to wait for a wind to proceed on the expedition. But the delays we had already suffered had not yet spent all their influence, for we were now advanced into a season of the year when the westerly winds are usually very constant and very violent; and it was thought proper that we should put to sea in company with the fleet commanded by Admiral Balchen, and the expedition under Lord Cathcart.[3]

[1] Ed. 1776 adds: "Of the ill-success of which he had no question."

[2] "Prest money" is money advanced on condition that it shall be "ready" when the lender demands it back. French, "prêt;" that is, it is lent "on call."

[3] This expedition was designed to

And as we made up in all twenty-one men-of-war, and a 124 sail of merchantmen and transports, we had no hopes of getting out of the Channel with so large a number of ships, without the continuance of a fair wind for some considerable time. This was what we had every day less and less reason to expect, as the time of the equinox drew near; so that our golden dreams, and our ideal possession of the Peruvian treasures, grew each day more faint, and the difficulties and dangers of the passage round Cape Horn in the winter season filled our imaginations in their room. For it was forty days from our arrival at St Helens to our final departure from thence. And even then (having orders to proceed without Lord Cathcart) we tided it down the Channel with a contrary wind. But this interval of forty days was not free from the displeasing fatigue of often setting sail, and being as often obliged to return; nor exempt from dangers greater than have been sometimes experienced in surrounding the globe. For the wind coming fair for the first time on the 23d of August, we got under sail, and [Admiral] Balchen showed himself truly solicitous to have proceeded to sea; but the wind, soon returning to its old quarter, obliged us to put back to St Helens, not without considerable hazard, and some damage received by two of the transports, which, in tacking, ran foul of each other. Besides this, we made two or three more attempts to sail, but without any better success; and on the 6th of September, being returned to an anchor at St Helens, after one of these fruitless efforts, the wind blew so fresh that the whole fleet struck their yards and topmasts to prevent their driving. And, notwithstanding this precaution, the Centurion drove the next evening, and brought both cables ahead, and we were in no small danger of driving foul of the Prince Frederick, a seventy-gun ship, moored at a small distance under our stern, which we happily escaped, by her driving at the same time, and so preserving our distance; nor did we think ourselves secure till we at last let go the sheet anchor, which fortunately brought us up.

However, on the 9th of September we were in some degree relieved from this lingering vexatious situation by an order which Mr Anson received from the Lords Justices, to put to sea the first opportunity with his own squadron only if Lord Cathcart should not be ready. Being thus freed from the troublesome company of so large a fleet, our Commodore resolved to weigh and tide it down Channel as soon as the weather should become sufficiently moderate; and this might easily have been done with our own squadron alone full two months sooner had the orders of the Admiralty for supplying us with seamen been punctually complied with, and had we met with none of those other delays mentioned in this narration. It is true, our hopes of a speedy departure were even now somewhat damped by a subsequent order which Mr Anson received on the 12th of September, for by that he was required to take under his convoy the St Albans, with the Turkey fleet, and to join the Dragon and the Winchester, with the Straits and the American trade,[1] at Torbay or Plymouth, and to proceed with them to sea as far as their

reinforce Admiral Vernon, who had captured Porto Bello in the preceding November; but through various delays it did not sail till the end of October, and after joining Vernon, the united force attacked Carthagena, only to be repulsed. Lord Cathcart, before that miscarriage, had died from the effects of the climate, General Wentworth succeeding him in command of the troops.

[1] That is, the merchant vessels proceeding to the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar and to the American colonies; the collective word "trade" being aptly enough used to denote the gathering of all the ships bound for the one or the other destination, under the care of their armed convoys.

way and ours lay together. This encumbrance of a convoy gave us some uneasiness, as we feared it might prove the means of lengthening our passage to Madeira. However, Mr Anson, now having the command himself, resolved to adhere to his former determination, and to tide it down the Channel with the first moderate weather; and that the junction of his convoy might occasion as little loss of time as possible, he immediately sent directions to Torbay that the fleets he was there to take under his care might be in readiness to join him instantly on his approach. And at last, on the 18th of September, he weighed from St Helens; and though the wind was at first contrary, had the good fortune to get clear of the Channel in four days, as will be more particularly related in the ensuing Chapter.

Having thus gone through the respective steps taken in the equipment of this squadron, it is sufficiently obvious how different an aspect this expedition bore at its first appointment in the beginning of January from what it had in the latter end of September when it left the Channel; and how much its numbers, its strength, and the probability of its success, were diminished by the various incidents which took place in that interval. For instead of having all our old and ordinary seamen exchanged for such as were young and able (which the Commodore was at first promised), and having our numbers completed to their full complement, we were obliged to retain our first crews, which were very indifferent; and a deficiency of 300 men in our numbers was no otherwise made up to us than by sending us on board 170 men, the greatest part composed of such as were discharged from hospitals, or new-raised marines who had never been at sea before. And in the land forces allotted us the change was still more disadvantageous, for there, instead of three independent companies of 100 men each, and Bland's regiment of foot, which was an old one, we had only 470 invalids and marines—one part of them incapable for action by age and infirmities, and the other part useless by their ignorance of their duty. But the diminishing the strength of the squadron was not the greatest inconvenience which attended these alterations, for the contests, representations, and difficulties which they continually produced (as we have above seen, that in these cases the authority of the Admiralty was not always submitted to), occasioned a delay and waste of time which in its consequences was the source of all the disasters to which this enterprise was afterwards exposed. For by this means we were obliged to make our passage round Cape Horn in the most tempestuous season of the year, whence proceeded the separation of our squadron, the loss of numbers of our men, and the imminent hazard of our total destruction. And by this delay, too, the enemy had been so well informed of our designs that a person who had been employed in the South Sea Company's service, and arrived from Panama three or four days before we left Portsmouth, was able to relate to Mr Anson most of the particulars of the destination and strength of our squadron from what he had learned amongst the Spaniards before he left them. And this was afterwards confirmed by a more extraordinary circumstance; for we shall find that when the Spaniards (fully satisfied that our expedition was intended for the South Seas) had fitted out a squadron to oppose us, which had so far got the start of us as to arrive before us off the Island of Madeira, the commander of this squadron was so well instructed in the form and make of Mr Anson's broad pennant, and had imitated it so exactly that he thereby decoyed the Pearl, one of our squadron, within gun-shot of him before the captain of the Pearl was able to discover his mistake.

CHAPTER II.

On the 18th of September 1740, the squadron, as we have observed in the

preceding Chapter, weighed from St Helens with a contrary wind, the Commodore proposing to tide it down the Channel, as he dreaded less the inconveniences he should thereby have to struggle with than the risk he should run of ruining the enterprise by an uncertain and in all probability a tedious attendance for a fair wind.

The squadron allotted to this service consisted of five men-of-war, a sloop-of-war, and two victualling ships. They were the Centurion, of 60 guns, 400 men, George Anson, Esq., commander; the Gloucester, of 50 guns, 300 men, Richard Norris, commander; the Severn, of 50 guns, 300 men, the Honourable Edward Legg, commander; the Pearl, of 40 guns, 250 men, Matthew Mitchel, commander; the Wager, of 28 guns, 160 men, Dandy Kidd, commander; and the Trial sloop, of 8 guns, 100 men, the Honourable John Murray, commander. The two victuallers were pinks,[1] the largest about 400 and the other about 200 tons burthen; these were to attend us till the provisions we had taken on board were so far consumed as to make room for the additional quantity they carried with them, which when we had taken into our ships they were to be discharged. Besides the complement of men borne by the above-mentioned ships as their crews, there were embarked on board the squadron about 470 invalids and marines, under the denomination of land forces, as has been particularly mentioned in the preceding Chapter, which were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cracherode. With this squadron, together with the St Albans and the Lark, and the [Turkey] trade under their convoy, Mr Anson, after weighing from St Helens, tided it down the Channel for the first forty-eight hours; and on the 20th, in the morning, we discovered off the Ram Head the Dragon, Winchester, South Sea Castle, and Rye, with a number of merchantmen[2] under their convoy. These we joined about noon the same day, our Commodore having orders to see them (together with the [convoy of the] St Albans and Lark) as far into the sea as their course and ours lay together. When we came in sight of this last-mentioned fleet, Mr Anson first hoisted his broad pennant, and was saluted by all the men-of-war in company.

When we had joined this last convoy, we made up eleven men-of-war, about 150 sail of merchantmen, consisting of the Turkey, the Straits, and the American trade. Mr Anson, the same day, made a signal for all the captains of the men-of-war to come on board him, where he delivered them their fighting and sailing instructions; and then, with a fair wind, we all stood towards the south-west; and the next day at noon, being the 21st, we had run forty leagues from the Ram Head; and being now clear of the land, our Commodore, to render our view more extensive, ordered Captain Mitchel, in the Pearl, to make sail two leagues ahead of the fleet every morning, and to repair to his station every evening. Thus we proceeded till the 25th, when the Winchester and the American convoy made the concerted signal for leave to separate, which being answered by the Commodore, they left us, as the St Albans and the Dragon, with the Turkey and Straits convoy, did on the 29th. After which separation, there remained in company only our own squadron and our two victuallers, with which we kept on our course for the Island of Madeira. But the winds were so contrary, that we had the mortification to be forty days in our passage thither from St Helens, though it is known to be often done in ten or twelve. This delay was a most unpleasing circumstance, productive

[1] French, "*Pinque;*" originally applied to sailing ships of small size available for reconnoitring, spying, *or sounding purposes.*

[2] Nearly 200, according to Mr Parcoe Thomas, the mathematical master on board the Centurion, who wrote an account of the voyage, from which many notes in this edition are derived.

of much discontent and ill-humour amongst our people, of which those only can have a tolerable idea who have had the experience of a like situation. And besides the peevishness and despondency which foul and contrary winds, and a lingering voyage, never fail to create on all occasions, we in particular had very substantial reasons to be greatly alarmed at this unexpected impediment. For as we had departed from England much later than we ought to have done, we had placed almost all our hopes of success in the chance of retrieving in some measure at sea the time we had so unhappily wasted at Spithead and St Helens.[1] However, at last, on Monday, October the 25th, at five in the morning, we, to our great joy, made the land, and in the afternoon came to an anchor in Madeira Road in forty fathoms water—the Brazen-Head bearing from us E. by S., the Loo NNW., and the Great Church NNE. We had hardly let go our anchor when an English privateer sloop ran under our stern and saluted the Commodore with nine guns, which we returned with five; and the next day, the [English] Consul of the island coming to visit the Commodore, we saluted him with nine guns on his coming on board.

This Island of Madeira, where we are now arrived, is famous through all our American settlements for its excellent wines, which seem to be designed by Providence for the refreshment of the inhabitants of the torrid zone. It is situated in a fine climate, in the Latitude of 32° 27′ N.; and in the Longitude from London of, by our different reckonings, from 18° 30′ to 19° 30′ W., though laid down in the charts in 17°.[2] It is composed of one continued hill, of a considerable height, extending itself from east to west, the declivity of which, on the south side, is cultivated and interspersed with vineyards; and in the midst of this slope the merchants have fixed their country seats, which help to form an agreeable prospect. There is but one considerable town in the whole island, it is named Fonchiale [Funchal], and is seated on the south part of the island, at the bottom of a large bay. This is the only place of trade, and indeed the only one where it is possible for a boat to land. Fonchiale, towards the sea, is defended by a high wall, with a battery of cannon, besides a castle on the Loo, which is a rock standing in the water at a small distance from the shore. Even here the beach is covered with large stones, and a violent surf continually beats upon it: so that the Commodore did not care to venture the ships' long-boats to fetch the water off, as there was so much danger of their being lost; and therefore ordered the captains of the squadron to employ Portuguese boats on that service.

We continued about a week at this island, watering our ships, and providing the squadron with wine and other refreshments. And, on the 3d of November, Captain Richard Norris having signified by a letter to the Commodore his desire to quit his command on board the Gloucester, in order to return to England for the recovery of his health, the Commodore complied with his request; and thereupon was pleased to appoint Captain Matthew Mitchel to command the Gloucester in his room, and to remove Captain Kidd from the Wager to the Pearl, and Captain Murray from the Trial sloop to the Wager, giving the command of the Trial to Lieutenant Cheap. These promotions being

[1] Thomas mentions, that on the 13th of October the first man lost on the voyage died—a common sailor, named Philip Meritt; and that next day, by an order from the Commodore, the ship's company went on short allowance—that is, one-third of the allowance granted by Government was kept back, to make the provisions hold out the longer. Anson was evidently disquieted and stimulated to foresight by the unpromising commencement of his voyage.

[2] The charts, however, are right; the best most modern maps placing Madeira in 17°.

settled, with other changes in the lieutenancies, the Commodore, on the following day, gave to the captains their orders, appointing St Jago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, to be the first place of rendezvous in case of separation; and directing them, if they did not meet the Centurion there, to make the best of their way to the Island of St Catherine's on the coast of Brazil. The water for the squadron being the same day completed, and each ship supplied with as much wine and other refreshments as they could take in, we weighed anchor in the afternoon, and took our leave of the Island of Madeira. But, before I go on with the narration of our own transactions, I think it necessary to give some account of the proceedings of the enemy, and of the measures they had taken to render all our designs abortive.

When Mr Anson visited the Governor of Madeira, he received information from him, that for three or four days in the latter end of October there had appeared, to the westward of that island, seven or eight ships of the line, and a patache,[1] which last was sent every day close in to make the land. The Governor assured the Commodore, upon his honour, that none upon the island had either given them intelligence, or had in any sort communicated with them; but that he believed them to be either French or Spanish, but was rather inclined to think them Spanish. On this intelligence, Mr Anson sent an officer in a clean sloop[2] eight leagues to the westward, to reconnoitre them, and, if possible, to discover what they were. But the officer returned without being able to get a sight of them, so that we still remained in uncertainty. However, we could not but conjecture that this fleet was intended to put a stop to our expedition; which, had they cruised to the eastward of the island instead of the westward, they could not but have executed with great facility. For as, in that case, they must have certainly fallen in with us, we should have been obliged to throw overboard vast quantities of provision to clear our ships for an engagement; and this alone, without any regard to the event of the action, would have effectually prevented our progress. This was so obvious a measure, that we could not help imagining reasons which might have prevented them from pursuing it. And we therefore supposed, that this French or Spanish squadron was sent out upon advice of our sailing in company with Admiral Balchen and Lord Cathcart's expedition: and thence, from an apprehension of being overmatched, they might not think it advisable to meet with us till we had parted company, which they might judge would not happen before our arrival at this island. These were our speculations at that time; and from hence we had reason to suppose, that we might still fall in with them in our way to the Cape Verd Islands. And afterwards, in the course of our expedition, we were many of us persuaded that this was the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, which was sent out purposely to traverse the views and enterprises of our squadron, to which in strength they were greatly superior. As this Spanish armament then, was so nearly connected with our expedition, and as the catastrophe it underwent, though not effected by our force, was yet a considerable advantage to this nation produced in consequence of our equipment, I have, in the following Chapter, given a summary account of their proceedings, from their first setting out from Spain in the year 1740, till the Asia, the only ship which returned to Europe of the whole squadron, arrived at the Groyne [Corunna] in the beginning of the year 1746.

[1] See Note, page 191.

[2] Thomas, who put the suspicious squadron at sixteen or eighteen sail, and supposes that they were a junction of French and Spanish ships of war, says that Anson sent out "an English privateer which lay in the road."

CHAPTER III.

THE squadron fitted out by the Court of Spain to attend our motions, and traverse our projects, we supposed to have been the ships seen off Madeira, as mentioned in the preceding Chapter. And as this force was sent out particularly against our expedition, I cannot but imagine that the following history of the casualties it met with, as far as by intercepted letters and other information the same has come to my knowledge, is a very essential part of the present work. For by this it will appear we were the occasion that a considerable part of the naval power of Spain was diverted from the prosecution of the ambitious views of that Court in Europe; and the men and ships lost by the enemy in this undertaking were lost in consequence of the precautions they took to secure themselves against our enterprises. This squadron (besides two ships intended for the West Indies, which did not part company till after they had left Madeira) was composed of the following men-of-war, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro:

The Asia, of 66 guns, and 700 men: this was the Admiral's ship.

The Guipuscoa, of 74 guns, and 700 men.

The Hermiona, of 54 guns, and 500 men.

The Esperanza, of 50 guns, and 450 men.

The St Estevan, of 40 guns, and 350 men.

And a patache of 20 guns.

These ships, over and above their complement of sailors and marines, had on board an old Spanish regiment of foot, intended to reinforce the garrisons on the coast of the South Seas. When this fleet had cruised for some days to the leeward of Madeira, as is mentioned in the preceding Chapter, they left that station in the beginning of November, and steered for the River of Plate, where they arrived the 5th of January, O.S.; and coming to an anchor in the Bay of Maldonado, at the mouth of that river, their Admiral, Pizarro, sent immediately to Buenos Ayres for a supply of provisions; for they had departed from Spain with only four months' provisions on board. While they lay here expecting this supply, they received intelligence, by the treachery of the Portuguese Governor of St Catherine's, of Mr Anson's having arrived at that island on the 21st of December preceding, and of his preparing to put to sea again with the utmost expedition. Pizarro, notwithstanding his superior force, had his reasons (and as some say his orders likewise) for avoiding our squadron anywhere short of the South Seas. He was, besides, extremely desirous of getting round Cape Horn before us, as he imagined that step alone would effectually baffle all our designs; and therefore, on hearing that we were in his neighbourhood, and that we should soon be ready to proceed for Cape Horn, he weighed anchor with the five large ships (the patache being disabled and condemned, and the men taken out of her), after a stay of seventeen days only, and got under sail without his provisions, which arrived at Maldonado within a day or two after his departure. But notwithstanding the precipitation with which he departed, we put to sea from St Catherine's four days before him; and in some part of our passage to Cape Horn the two squadrons were so near together, that the Pearl, one of our ships, being separated from the rest, fell in with the Spanish Fleet, and mistaking the Asia for the Centurion, had got within gun-shot of Pizarro before she discovered her error, and narrowly escaped being taken.

It being the 22d of January when the Spaniards weighed from Maldonado, they could not expect to get into the latitude of Cape Horn before the equinox; and as they had reason to apprehend very tempestuous weather in doubling it at that season, and as the Spanish sailors, being for the most part accustomed to a fair-weather country, might be expected

to be very averse to so dangerous and fatiguing a navigation, the better to encourage them, some part of their pay was advanced to them in European goods, which they were to be permitted to dispose of in the South Seas; that so the hopes of the great profit each man was to make on his small venture might animate him in his duty, and render him less disposed to repine at the labour, the hardships, and the perils he would in all probability meet with before his arrival on the coast of Peru.

Pizarro with his squadron having, towards the latter end of February, run the length of Cape Horn, he then stood to the westward in order to double it; but in the night of the last day of February, O.S., while with this view they were turned to windward, the Guipuscoa, the Hermiona, and the Esperanza were separated from the Admiral. On the 6th of March following, the Guipuscoa was separated from the other two; and on the 7th (being the day after we had passed Straits le Maire) there came on a most furious storm at NW., which, in despite of all their efforts, drove the whole squadron to the eastward, and obliged them, after several fruitless attempts, to bear away for the River of Plate, where Pizarro in the Asia arrived about the middle of May, and a few days after him the Esperanza and the St Estevan. The Hermiona was supposed to founder at sea, for she was never heard of more; and the Guipuscoa was run ashore and sunk on the coast of Brazil. The calamities of all kinds which this squadron underwent in this unsuccessful navigation can only be paralleled by what we ourselves experienced in the same climate when buffeted by the same storms. There was indeed some diversity in our distresses, which rendered it difficult to decide whose situation was most worthy of commiseration. For to all the misfortunes we had in common with each other, as shattered rigging, leaky ships, and the fatigues and despondency which necessarily attend *these disasters*, there was superadded on board our squadron the ravage of a most destructive and incurable disease, and on board the Spanish squadron the devastation of famine.

For this squadron, either from the hurry of their outset,[1] their presumption of a supply at Buenos Ayres, or from other less obvious motives, departed from Spain, as has been already observed, with no more than four months' provision, and even that, as it is said, at short allowance only; so that, when by the storms they met with off Cape Horn their continuance at sea was prolonged a month or more beyond their expectation, they were thereby reduced to such infinite distress, that rats, when they could be caught, were sold for four dollars a-piece; and a sailor, who died on board, had his death concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions. In this dreadful situation they were alarmed (if their horrors were capable of augmentation) by the discovery of a conspiracy among the marines on board the Asia, the Admiral's ship. This had taken its rise chiefly from the miseries they endured. For though no less was proposed by the conspirators than the massacring the officers and the whole crew, yet their motive for this bloody resolution seemed to be no more than their desire of relieving their hunger, by appropriating the whole ship's provisions to themselves. But their designs were prevented, when just upon the point of execution, by means of one of their confessors, and three of their ringleaders were immediately put to death. However, though the conspiracy was suppressed, their other calamities admitted of no alleviation, but grew each day more and more destructive; so that by the complicated distress of fatigue, sickness, and hunger, the three ships which escaped lost the greatest part of their men. The Asia, their Admiral's ship, arrived

[1] Ed. 1776: "Outfit."

at Monte Video in the River of Plate, with half her crew only; the St Estevan had lost in like manner half her hands when she anchored in the Bay of Barragan. The Esperanza, a fifty-gun ship, was still more unfortunate, for of 450 hands which she brought from Spain, only fifty-eight remained alive; and the whole regiment of foot perished except sixty men.[1] . . .

The Asia having considerably suffered in this second unfortunate expedition (*see Note* 1), the Esperanza, which had been left behind at Monte Video, was ordered to be refitted, the command of her being given to Mindinuetta, who was captain of the Guipuscoa when she was lost. He, in the November of the succeeding year, that is, in November 1742, sailed from the River of Plate for the South Seas, and arrived safe on the coast of Chili, where his Commodore, Pizarro, passing overland from Buenos Ayres, met him. There were great animosities and contests between these two gentlemen at their meeting, occasioned principally by the claim of Pizarro to command the Esperanza, which Mindinuetta had brought round; for Mindinuetta refused to deliver her up to him, insisting that as he came into the South Seas alone, and under no superior, it was not now in the power of Pizarro to resume that authority which he had once parted with. However, the President of Chili interposing, and declaring for Pizarro, Mindinuetta, after a long and obstinate struggle, was obliged to submit.

But Pizarro had not yet completed the series of his adventures; for when he and Mindinuetta came back by land from Chili to Buenos Ayres, in the year 1745, they found at Monte Video the Asia, which near three years before they had left there. This ship they resolved, if possible, to carry to Europe, and with this view they refitted her in the best manner they could; but their great difficulty was to procure a sufficient number of hands to navigate her, for all the remaining sailors of the squadron to be met with in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres did not amount to 100 men. They endeavoured to supply this defect by pressing many of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, and putting on board besides all the English prisoners then in their custody, together with a number of Portuguese smugglers whom they had taken at different times, and some of the Indians of the country. Among these last there was a chief and ten of his followers, who had been surprised by a party of Spanish soldiers about three months before. The name of this chief was Orellana: he belonged to a very powerful tribe, which had committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. With this motley crew (all of them, except the European Spaniards, extremely averse to the voyage) Pizarro set sail from Monte Video in the River of Plate, about the beginning of November 1745; and the native Spaniards, being no strangers to the dissatisfaction of their forced men, treated both those, the English prisoners and the Indians, with great insolence and barbarity, but more particularly the Indians; for it was common for the meanest officers in the ship to beat

[1] The fate of the Guipuscoa was little better. On being separated from the Hermiona and Esperanza in a fog on March 6th, they met with a severe storm while SE. from Staten Island. They were driven out of their course, and did not reach the shore on the coast of Brazil till 24th April, when those on board were reduced to one ounce and a half of biscuit a man per day. Many died through the hardships of the voyage; the remainder of the crew, to the number of 400, got safely to land, when the vessel sank shortly afterwards. The three remaining ships of the squadron which got into the River Plate sent an advice boat to Rio Janeiro for provisions and help, and an express across the Continent to Santiago. An attempt was made to round Cape Horn, in the Asia, in October following, but they were driven back to the River Plate in great distress.

them most cruelly on the slightest pretences, and oftentimes only to exert their superiority. Orellana and his followers, though in appearance sufficiently patient and submissive, meditated a severe revenge for all these inhumanities. As he conversed very well in Spanish (these Indians having in time of peace a great intercourse with Buenos Ayres), he affected[1] to talk with such of the English as understood that language, and seemed very desirous of being informed how many Englishmen there were on board, and which they were. As he knew that the English were as much enemies to the Spaniards as himself, he had doubtless an intention of disclosing his purposes to them, and making them partners in the scheme he had projected for revenging his wrongs and recovering his liberty; but having sounded them at a distance, and not finding them so precipitate and vindictive as he expected, he proceeded no further with them, but resolved to trust alone to the resolution of his ten faithful followers. These, it should seem, readily engaged to observe his directions, and to execute whatever commands he gave them; and having agreed on the measures necessary to be taken, they first furnished themselves with Dutch knives sharp at the point, which, being the common knives used in the ship, they found no difficulty in procuring. Besides this, they employed their leisure in secretly cutting out thongs from raw hides, of which there were great numbers on board, and in fixing to each end of these thongs the double-headed shot of the small quarter-deck guns: this, when swung round their heads according to the practice of their country, was a most mischievous weapon, in the use of which the Indians about Buenos Ayres are trained from their infancy, and consequently are extremely expert. These particulars being in good forwardness, the execution of their scheme was perhaps precipitated by a particular outrage committed on Orellana himself. For one of the officers, who was a very brutal fellow, ordered Orellana aloft; which being what he was incapable of performing, the officer, under pretence of his disobedience, beat him with such violence that he left him bleeding on the deck, and stupefied for some time with his bruises and wounds. This usage undoubtedly heightened his thirst for revenge, and made him eager and impatient till the means of executing it were in his power; so that within a day or two after this incident he and his followers opened[2] their desperate resolves in the ensuing manner.

It was about nine in the evening, when many of the principal officers were on the quarter-deck indulging in the freshness of the night air; the waist of the ship was filled with live cattle, and the forecastle was manned with its customary watch. Orellana and his companions, under cover of the night, having prepared their weapons, and thrown off their trousers and the more cumbrous part of their dress, came all together on the quarter-deck, and drew towards the door of the great cabin. The boatswain immediately reprimanded them, and ordered them to be gone. On this Orellana spoke to his followers in his native language, when four of them drew off, two towards each gangway, and the chief and the six remaining Indians seemed to be slowly quitting the quarter-deck. When the detached Indians had taken possession of the gangways, Orellana placed his hands hollow to his mouth, and bellowed out the war-cry used by those savages, which is said to be the harshest and most terrifying sound known in nature. This hideous yell was the signal for beginning the massacre: for on this the [Indians] all drew their knives, and brandished their prepared double-headed shot, and the six, with their chief, who remained on the quarter-deck, immediately fell on the Spaniards who were inter-

[1] "Affect" is here used, not in the sense of making an ostentatious pretence or show, but in that of preferring *or making a practice* of something.

[2] Ed. 1776: "Began to execute."

mingled with them, and laid near forty of them at their feet, of whom above twenty were killed on the spot, and the rest disabled. Many of the officers, in the beginning of the tumult, pushed into the great cabin, where they put out the lights, and barricaded the door. And of the others, who had avoided the first fury of the Indians, some endeavoured to escape along the gangways into the forecastle; but the Indians placed there on purpose stabbed the greatest part of them as they attempted to pass by, or forced them off the gangways into the waist. Others threw themselves voluntarily over the barricades into the waist, and thought themselves happy to lie concealed amongst the cattle; but the greatest part escaped up the main-shrouds, and sheltered themselves either in the tops or rigging. And though the Indians attacked only the quarter-deck, yet the watch in the forecastle finding their communication cut off, and being terrified by the wounds of the few who, not being killed on the spot, had strength sufficient to force their passage along the gangways, and not knowing either who their enemies were or what were their numbers, they likewise gave all over for lost, and in great confusion ran up into the rigging of the foremast and bowsprit.

Thus these eleven Indians, with a resolution perhaps without example, possessed themselves almost in an instant of the quarter-deck of a ship mounting sixty-six guns, with a crew of nearly 500 men, and continued in peaceable possession of this post a considerable time: for the officers in the great cabin (amongst whom were Pizarro and Mindinuetta), the crew between decks, and those who had escaped into the tops and rigging, were only anxious for their own safety, and were for a long time incapable of forming any project for suppressing the insurrection and recovering the possession of the ship. It is true, the yells of the Indians, the groans of the wounded, and the confused clamours of the crew, all heightened by the obscurity of the night, had at first greatly magnified their danger, and had filled them with the imaginary terrors which darkness, disorder, and an ignorance of the real strength of an enemy never fail to produce. For as the Spaniards were sensible of the disaffection of their pressed hands, and were also conscious of their barbarity to their prisoners, they imagined the conspiracy was general, and considered their own destruction as infallible; so that, it is said, some of them had once taken the resolution of leaping into the sea, but were prevented by their companions.

However, when the Indians had entirely cleared the quarter-deck, the tumult in a great measure subsided; for those who had escaped were kept silent by their fears, and the Indians were incapable of pursuing them to renew the disorder. Orellana, when he saw himself master of the quarter-deck, broke open the arm chest, which, on a slight suspicion of mutiny, had been ordered there a few days before, as to a place of the greatest security. Here, he took it for granted, he should find cutlasses sufficient for himself and his companions, in the use of which weapon they were all extremely skilful, and with these, it was imagined, they proposed to have forced the great cabin; but on opening the chest there appeared nothing but fire-arms, which to them were of no use. There were indeed cutlasses in the chest, but they were hid by the fire-arms being laid over them. This was a sensible disappointment to them, and by this time Pizarro and his companions in the great cabin were capable of conversing aloud, through the cabin windows and port-holes, with those in the gun-room and between decks; and from hence they learned that the English (whom they principally suspected) were all safe below, and had not intermeddled in this mutiny; and by other particulars they at last discovered that none were concerned in it but Orellana and his people. On this Pizarro and the officers resolved to attack them on the quarter-deck,

before any of the discontented on board should so far recover their first surprise as to reflect on the facility and certainty of seizing the ship by a junction with the Indians in the present emergency. With this view Pizarro got together what arms were in the cabin, and distributed them to those who were with him; but there were no other fire-arms to be met with but pistols, and for these they had neither powder nor ball. However, having now settled a correspondence with the gun-room, they lowered down a bucket out of the cabin window, into which the gunner, out of one of the gun-room ports, put a quantity of pistol cartridges. When they had thus procured ammunition, and had loaded their pistols, they set the cabin-door partly open, and fired some shot amongst the Indians on the quarter-deck, at first without effect. But at last Mindinuetta, whom we have often mentioned, had the good fortune to shoot Orellana dead on the spot; on which his faithful companions, abandoning all thoughts of further resistance, instantly leaped into the sea, where they every man perished. Thus was this insurrection quelled, and the possession of the quarter-deck regained, after it had been full two hours in the power of this great and daring chief and his gallant and unhappy countrymen.

Pizarro, having escaped this imminent peril, steered for Europe, and arrived safe on the coast of Gallicia in the beginning of the year 1746, after having been absent between four and five years, and having, by his attendance on our expedition, diminished the naval power of Spain by above 3000 hands (the flower of their sailors) and by four considerable ships of war and a patache. For we have seen that the Hermiona foundered at sea; the Guipuscoa was stranded and sunk on the coast of Brazil; the St Estevan was condemned and broken up in the River of Plate; and the Esperanza, being left in the South Seas, is doubtless by this time incapable of returning to Spain. So that the Asia only, with less than 100 hands, may be considered as all the remains of that squadron with which Pizarro first put to sea. And whoever attends to the very large proportion which this squadron bore to the whole navy of Spain, will, I believe, confess that had our undertaking been attended with no other advantages than that of ruining so great a part of the sea force of so dangerous an enemy, this alone would be a sufficient equivalent for our equipment, and an incontestable proof of the service which the nation has thence received. Having thus concluded this summary of Pizarro's adventures, I shall now return again to the narration of our own transactions.

CHAPTER IV.

I HAVE already mentioned, that on the 3d of November we weighed from Madeira, after orders had been given to the captains to rendezvous at Santiago, one of the Cape Verd Islands, in case the squadron was separated. But the next day, when we were got to sea, the Commodore, considering that the season was far advanced, and that touching at Santiago would create a new delay, he for this reason thought proper to alter his rendezvous, and to appoint the Island of St Catherine's, on the coast of Brazil, to be the first place to which the ships of the squadron were to repair in case of separation. In our passage to the Island of St Catherine's, we found the direction of the trade-winds to differ considerably from what we had reason to expect, both from the general histories given of these winds, and the experience of former navigators.[1]

On the 16th of November, one of our victuallers made a signal to speak with the Commodore, and we shortened sail for her to come up with us. The master came on board, and ac-

[1] Omission is here made of some technical and obsolete observations on the trade-winds.

quainted Mr Anson that he had complied with the terms of his charter-party, and desired to be unloaded and dismissed. Mr Anson, on consulting the captains of the squadron, found all the ships had still such quantities of provision between their decks, and were withal so deep, that they could not without great difficulty take in their several proportions of brandy from the Industry pink, one of the victuallers only; and consequently he was obliged to continue the other of them, the Anna pink, in the service of attending the squadron. And the next day the Commodore made a signal for the ships to bring to, and to take on board their shares of the brandy from the Industry pink; and in this the long-boats of the squadron were employed the three following days, that is, till the 19th in the evening, when the pink being unloaded, she parted company with us, being bound for Barbadoes, there to take in a freight for England. Most of the officers of the squadron took the opportunity of writing to their friends at home by this ship; but she was afterwards, as I have been since informed, unhappily taken by the Spaniards.

On the 20th of November, the captains of the squadron represented to the Commodore that their ships' companies were very sickly, and that it was their own opinion as well as their surgeons' that it would tend to the preservation of the men to let in more air between decks; but that their ships were so deep they could not possibly open their lower ports. On this representation the Commodore ordered six air-scuttles to be cut in each ship, in such places where they would least weaken it. . . .

We crossed the Equinoctial, with a fine fresh gale at SE., on Friday the 28th of November, at four in the morning, being then in the Longitude of 27° 59′ W. from London. And on the 2d of December, in the morning, we saw a sail in the NW. quarter, and made the Gloucester's and Trial's signals to chase; and half-an-hour after we let [out] our reefs and chased with the squadron; and about noon a signal was made for the Wager to take our remaining victuallar, the Anna pink, in tow. But at seven in the evening, finding we did not near the chase, and that the Wager was very far astern, we shortened sail, and made a signal for the cruisers to join the squadron. The next day but one we again discovered a sail, which, on the nearer approach, we judged to be the same vessel. We chased her the whole day, and though we rather gained upon her, yet night came on before we could overtake her, and obliged us to give over the chase, to collect our scattered squadron. We were much chagrined at the escape of this vessel, as we then apprehended her to be an advice boat sent from Old Spain to Buenos Ayres with notice of our expedition. But we have since learned that we were deceived in this conjecture, and that it was our East India Company's packet bound to St Helena.

On the 10th of December, being by our accounts in the Latitude of 20° S., and 36° 30′ Longitude W. from London, the Trial fired a gun to denote soundings. We immediately sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, the bottom coarse ground with broken shells. The Trial, being ahead of us, had at one time thirty-seven fathoms, which afterwards increased to ninety: and then she found no bottom, which happened to us too at our second trial, though we sounded with 150 fathoms of line. This is the shoal which is laid down in most charts by the name of the Abrollos;[1] and it appeared we were upon the very edge of it; perhaps farther in it may be extremely dangerous. We were then, by our different accounts, from ninety to sixty leagues east of the coast of Brazil. The next day but one we spoke with a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Janeiro, bound to Bahia de todos los Santos, who informed us that we were sixty-four leagues from Cape St Thomas, and forty leagues from Cape Frio, which last bore from us

[1] The Abrolhos; a small group of islets or reefs off the coast of Brazil, in about Lat. 18° S., Long. 39° W.

WSW. By our accounts we were near eighty leagues from Cape Frio; and though, on the information of this brigantine, we altered our course and stood more to the southward, yet by our coming in with the land afterwards we were fully convinced that our reckoning was much correcter than our Portuguese intelligence. We found a considerable current setting to the southward after we had passed the Latitude of 16° S. And the same took place all along the coast of Brazil, and even to the southward of the River of Plate, it amounting sometimes to thirty miles in twenty-four hours, and once to above forty miles. . . .

We now began to grow impatient for a sight of land, both for the recovery of our sick, and for the refreshment and security of those who as yet continued healthier. When we departed from St Helens, we were in so good a condition, that we lost but two men on board the Centurion in our long passage to Madeira. But in this present run between Madeira and St Catherine's we have been very sickly, so that many died, and great numbers were confined to their hammocks, both in our own ship and in the rest of the squadron; and several of these past all hopes of recovery. The disorders they in general labour under are such as are common to the hot climates, and what most ships bound to the southward experience in a greater or less degree. These are those kind of fevers which they usually call calentures: a disease which was not only terrible in its first instance, but even the remains of it often proved fatal to those who considered themselves as recovered from it. For it always left them in a very weak and helpless condition, and usually afflicted with fluxes and tenesmuses. And by our continuance at sea all our complaints were every day increasing, so that it was with great joy that we discovered the coast of Brazil on the 18th of December, at seven in the morning.

The coast of Brazil appeared high and mountainous land, extending *from W. to WSW.*, and when we first saw it, it was about seventeen leagues distant. At noon we perceived a low double land bearing WSW., about ten leagues distant, which we took to be the Island of St Catherine's. That afternoon and the next morning, the wind being NNW., we gained very little to windward, and were apprehensive of being driven to the leeward of the island; but a little before noon the next day the wind came about to the southward, and enabled us to steer in between the north point of St Catherine's and the neighbouring Island of Alvoredo. As we stood in for the land, we had regular soundings, gradually decreasing from thirty-six to twelve fathoms, all muddy ground. In this last depth of water we let go our anchor at 5 o'clock in the evening of the 19th, the north-west point of the Island of St Catherine's bearing SSW. distant three miles; and the Island Alvoredo NNE. distant two leagues. Here we found the tide to set SSE. and NNW., at the rate of two knots, the tide of flood coming from the southward. We could from our ships observe two fortifications at a considerable distance within us, which seemed designed to prevent the passage of an enemy between the Island of St Catherine's and the main. And we could soon perceive that our squadron had alarmed the coast, for we saw the two forts hoist their colours, and fire several guns, which we supposed to be intended for assembling the inhabitants. To prevent any confusion, the Commodore immediately sent a boat with an officer on shore, to compliment the Governor, and to desire a pilot to carry us into the road. The Governor returned a very civil answer, and ordered us a pilot. On the morning of the 20th we weighed and stood in, and towards noon the pilot came on board us, who the same afternoon brought us to an anchor in five fathoms and a half, in a large commodious bay on the continent side, called by the French Bon Port. In standing from our last anchorage to this place, we everywhere found an oozy bottom, with a depth of water first regularly

decreasing to five fathoms, and then increasing to seven, after which we had six and five fathoms alternately. The next morning we weighed again with the squadron, in order to run above the two fortifications we have mentioned, which are called the castles of Santa Cruz and St Juan. And now the soundings between the island and the main were four, five, and six fathoms, with muddy ground. As we passed by the castle of Santa Cruz, we saluted it with eleven guns, and were answered by an equal number; and at one in the afternoon the squadron came to an anchor in five fathoms and a half, the Governor's Island bearing NNW., St Juan's castle NE. half E., and the Island of St Antonio S. In this position we moored at the Island of St Catherine's on Sunday the 21st of December, the whole squadron being, as I have already mentioned, sickly and in great want of refreshments: both which inconveniencies we hoped to have soon removed at this settlement, celebrated by former navigators for its healthiness and its [abundance of] provisions, and for the freedom, indulgence, and friendly assistance there given to the ships of all European nations in amity with the Crown of Portugal.

CHAPTER V.[1]

Our first care, after having moored our ships, was to send our sick men on shore, each ship being ordered by the Commodore to erect two tents for that purpose; one of them for the reception of the diseased, and the other for the accommodation of the surgeon and his assistants. We sent about eighty sick from the Centurion, and the other ships I believe sent nearly as many in proportion to the number of their hands. As soon as we had performed this necessary duty, we scraped our decks, and gave our ship a thorough cleansing; then smoked it between decks, and after all washed every part well with vinegar. These operations were extremely necessary for correcting the noisome stench on board, and destroying the vermin: for from the number of our men, and the heat of the climate, both these nuisances had increased upon us to a very loathsome degree, and, besides being most intolerably offensive, they were doubtless in some sort productive of the sickness we had laboured under for a considerable time before our arrival at this island. Our next employment was wooding and watering our squadron, calking our ships' sides and decks, overhauling our rigging, and securing our mast against the tempestuous weather we were, in all probability, to meet with in our passage round Cape Horn in so advanced and inconvenient a season. . . .

When we first arrived at St Catherine's we were employed in refreshing our sick on shore, in wooding and watering the squadron, cleansing our ships, and examining and securing our masts and rigging, as I have already observed in the foregoing Chapter. At the same time, Mr Anson gave directions that the ships' companies should be supplied with fresh meat, and that they should be victualled with whole allowance of all kinds of provision. In consequence of these orders, we had fresh beef sent on board us continually for our daily expense,[2] and what was wanting to make up our allowance we received from our victualler, the Anna pink, in order to preserve the provisions on board our squadron entire for our future service.[3] The season of the

[1] The description of the island, except one passage of political interest, and the account of Brazil, is here omitted, as needlessly hindering the course of the narrative.

[2] Consumption.

[3] Thomas says that "the agents for victualling, of which we had two with us, were ordered to procure what fresh provisions we could expend during our stay here, which they accordingly did; but though their meat, which is altogether beef, was both cheap and plenty, it was for the

year growing each day less favourable for our passage round Cape Horn, Mr Anson was very desirous of leaving this place as soon as possible; and we were at first in hopes that our whole business would be done, and we should be in readiness to sail in about a fortnight from our arrival; but, on examining the Trial's masts, we, to our no small vexation, found inevitable employment for twice that time. For, on a survey, it was found that the mainmast was sprung at the upper woulding,[1] though it was thought capable of being secured by a couple of fishes; but the foremast was reported to be unfit for service, and thereupon the carpenters were sent into the woods to endeavour to find a stick proper for a foremast. But after a search of four days they returned without having been able to meet with any tree fit for the purpose. This obliged them to come to a second consultation about the old foremast, when it was agreed to endeavour to secure it by casing it with three fishes; and in this work the carpenters were employed till within a day or two of our sailing. In the meantime, the Commodore, thinking it necessary to have a clean vessel on our arrival in the South Seas, ordered the Trial to be hove down, as this would not occasion any loss of time, but might be completed while the carpenters were refitting her masts, which was done on shore.

On the 27th of December we discovered a sail in the offing; and not knowing but she might be a Spaniard, the eighteen-oared boat was manned and armed, and sent under the command of our second lieutenant to examine her before she arrived within the protection of the forts. She proved to be a Portuguese brigantine from Rio Grande. And though our officer, as it appeared on inquiry, had behaved with the utmost civility to the master, and had refused to accept a calf which the master would have forced on him as a present, yet the Governor took great offence at our sending our boat, and talked of it in a high strain, as a violation of the peace subsisting between the Crowns of Great Britain and Portugal. We at first imputed this ridiculous blustering to no deeper a cause than Don Jose's insolence; but as we found he proceeded so far as to charge our officer with behaving rudely and opening letters, and particularly with an attempt to take out of the vessel by violence the very calf which we knew he had refused to receive as a present (a circumstance which we were satisfied the Governor was well acquainted with), we had hence reason to suspect that he purposely sought this quarrel, and had more important motives for engaging in it than the mere captious bias of his temper. What these motives were, it was not so easy for us to determine at that time; but as we afterwards found, by letters which fell into our hands in the South Seas, that he had despatched an express to Buenos Ayres, where Pizarro then lay, with an account of our squadron's arrival at St Catherine's, together with the most ample and circumstantial intelligence of our force and condition, we thence conjectured that Don Jose had raised this groundless clamour only to prevent our visiting the brigantine when she should put to sea again, lest we might there find proofs of his perfidious behaviour, and perhaps at the same time discover the secret of his smuggling correspondence with his neighbouring Governors, and the Spaniards at Buenos Ayres.

---

greatest part miserably bad, and scarce fit to be eaten. The men throughout the whole squadron began now to drop off apace with fevers and fluxes, occasioned, I believe, by the violent heat of the climate, and the bad air; the country being so very woody that the air must thereby be stagnated, and rendered unhealthful."

[1] Or "woolding;" explained in Bailey—"The winding of ropes hard about a yard or mast of a ship, after it hath been strengthened by some piece of timber nailed thereto." Young's "Nautical Dictionary," *sub voce*, also suggests the idea of previous "fishing" or repair.

It was near a month before the Trial was refitted; for not only her lower masts were defective, as has been already mentioned, but her main-topmast and foreyard were likewise decayed and rotten. While this work was carrying on, the other ships of the squadron fixed new standing rigging, and set up a sufficient number of preventer shrouds to each mast to secure them in the most effectual manner. And in order to render the ships stiffer, and to enable them to carry more sail abroad, and to prevent their labouring in hard gales of wind, each captain had orders given him to strike down some of their great guns into the hold. These precautions being complied with, and each ship having taken in as much wood and water as there was room for, the Trial was at last completed, and the whole squadron was ready for the sea; on which the tents on shore were struck, and all the sick were received on board. And here we had a melancholy proof how much the healthiness of this place had been overrated by former writers, for we found that though the Centurion alone had buried no less than twenty-eight men since our arrival, yet the number of our sick was in the same interval increased from eighty to ninety-six.

And now our crews being embarked, and everything prepared for our departure, the Commodore made a signal for all captains, and delivered them their orders, containing the successive places of rendezvous from hence to the coast of China.[1] And then on the next day, being the 18th of January 1741, the signal was made for weighing, and the squadron put to sea, leaving without regret this Island of St Catherine's, where we had been so extremely disappointed in our refreshments, in our accommodations, and in the humane and friendly offices which we had been taught to expect in a place which has been so much celebrated for its hospitality, freedom, and conveniency.

[1] Ed. 1776: "Chili;" an obvious blunder, as the opening paragraph of Chapter VI. shows.

CHAPTER VI.

In leaving St Catherine's, we left the last amicable port we proposed to touch at, and were now proceeding to an hostile, or at best a desert and inhospitable coast. And as we were to expect a more boisterous climate to the southward than any we had yet experienced, not only our danger of separation would by this means be much greater than it had been hitherto, but other accidents of a more pernicious nature were likewise to be apprehended, and as much as possible to be provided against. And therefore Mr Anson, in appointing the various stations at which the ships of the squadron were to rendezvous, had considered that it was possible his own ship might be disabled from getting round Cape Horn, or might be lost; and had given proper directions that even in that case the expedition should not be abandoned. For the orders delivered to the captains the day before we sailed from St Catherine's, were, that in case of separation —which they were with the utmost care to endeavour to avoid—the first place of rendezvous should be the Bay of Port St Julian, describing the place from Sir John Narborough's account of it. There they were to supply themselves with as much salt as they could take in, both for their own use and the use of the squadron; and if, after a stay there of ten days, they were not joined by the Commodore, they were then to proceed through Straits le Maire round Cape Horn into the South Seas, where the next place of rendezvous was to be the Island of Nuestra Señora del Socoro,[2] in the Latitude of 45° S., and Longitude from the Lizard, 71° 12′ W. They were to bring this island to bear ENE., and to cruise from five to twelve leagues distance from it, as long as their store of wood and water would permit, both which they were to ex-

[2] One of the smaller outer islands of the Chonos Archipelago, on the western coast of Patagonia.

pend with the utmost frugality. And when they were under an absolute necessity of a fresh supply, they were to stand in, and endeavour to find out an anchoring-place; and in case they could not, and the weather made it dangerous to supply their ships by standing off and on, they were then to make the best of their way to the Island of Juan Fernandez, in the Latitude of 33° 37′ S. And as soon as they had recruited their wood and water, they were to continue cruising off the anchoring-place of that island for fifty-six days, in which time, if they were not joined by the Commodore, they might conclude that some accident had befallen him; and they were forthwith to put themselves under the command of the senior officer, who was to use his utmost endeavours to annoy the enemy both by sea and land. That with these views their new Commodore was to continue in those seas as long as his provisions lasted, or as long as they were recruited by what he should take from the enemy, reserving only a sufficient quantity to carry him and the ships under his command to Macao at the entrance of the River Tigris, near Canton on the coast of China, where, having supplied himself with a new stock of provisions, he was thence without delay to make the best of his way to England. And as it was found impossible as yet to unload our victualler, the Anna pink, the Commodore gave the master of her the same rendezvous, and the same orders to put himself under the command of the remaining senior officer.

Under these orders the squadron sailed from St Catherine's on Sunday the 18th of January, as has been already mentioned in the preceding Chapter. The next day we had very squally weather, attended with rain, lightning, and thunder; but it soon became fair again, with light breezes, and continued thus till Wednesday evening, when it blew fresh again; and increasing all night, by eight the next morning it became a most violent storm, and we had with it so thick a *fog* that it was impossible to see at the distance of two ships' lengths, so that the whole squadron disappeared.[1] On this a signal was made by firing guns, to bring to with the larboard tacks, the wind being then due east. We ourselves immediately handed the topsails, bunted the mainsail, and lay to under a reefed mizzen till noon, when the fog dispersed; and we soon discovered all the ships of the squadron, except the Pearl, which did not join us till near a month afterwards. The Trial sloop was a great way to leeward, having lost her mainmast in this squall, and having been obliged, for fear of bilging, to cut away the raft.[2] We bore down with the squadron to her relief, and the Gloucester was ordered to take her in tow, for the weather did not entirely abate till the day after, and even then a great swell continued from the eastward in consequence of the preceding storm. After this accident we stood to the southward with little interruption, and here we experienced the same setting of the current which we had observed before our arrival at St Catherine's, that is, we generally found ourselves to the southward of our reckoning by about twenty miles each day. This error continued, with a little variation, till we had passed the Latitude of the River of Plate; and even then we found that the same current, however difficult to be accounted for, did yet undoubtedly take place, for we were not satisfied in deducing it from the error in our reckoning, but we actually tried it more than once when a calm made it practicable.

When we had passed the Latitude of the River of Plate we had soundings all along the coast of Patagonia. These soundings, when well ascertained, being of great use in determining the position of the ship, and we having tried them more frequently in greater depths, and with more attention than I believe had been done before us, I

[1] That is, was lost sight of by the Centurion, on board of which the Narrator sailed.

[2] Ed. 1776: "The wreck."

shall recite our observations as succinctly as I can. In the Latitude of 36° 52′ we had sixty fathoms of water, with a bottom of fine black and grey sand; from thence to 39° 55′ we varied our depths from fifty to eighty fathoms, though we had constantly the same bottom as before; between the last-mentioned Latitude and 43° 16′ we had only fine grey sand, with the same variation of depths, except that we once or twice lessened our water to forty fathoms. After this we continued in forty fathoms for about half a degree, having a bottom of coarse sand and broken shells, at which time we were in sight of land, and not above seven leagues from it. As we edged from the land we met with variety of soundings; first black sand, then muddy, and soon after rough ground with stones; but then increasing our water to forty-eight fathoms we had a muddy bottom to the Latitude of 46° 10′. We then returned again into thirty-six fathoms, and kept shoaling our water, till at length we came into twelve fathoms, having constantly small stones and pebbles at the bottom. Part of this time we had a view of Cape Blanco, which lies in about the Latitude of 46° 52′, and Longitude W. from London 66° 43′. This is the most remarkable land upon the coast. Steering from hence S. by E. nearly, we, in a run of about thirty leagues, deepened our water to fifty fathoms without once altering the bottom; and then drawing towards the shore with a SW. course, varying rather to the westward, we had everywhere a sandy bottom, till our coming into thirty fathoms, where we had again a sight of land distant from us about eight leagues, lying in the Latitude of 48° 31′. We made this land on the 17th of February, and at five in the afternoon we came to an anchor upon the same bottom in the Latitude of 48° 58′, the southernmost land then in view bearing SSW., the northernmost N. half E., a small island NW., and the westernmost hummock WSW. In this station we found the tide to set S. by W.

Weighing again at five the next morning, we an hour afterwards discovered a sail, upon which the Severn and Gloucester were both directed to give chase; but we soon perceived it to be the Pearl, which separated from us a few days after we left St Catherine's; and on this we made a signal for the Severn to rejoin the squadron, leaving the Gloucester alone in the pursuit. And now we were surprised to see that, on the Gloucester's approach, the people on board the Pearl increased their sail and stood from her. However, the Gloucester came up with them, but found them with their hammocks in their nettings, and everything ready for an engagement. At two in the afternoon the Pearl joined us, and running up under our stern, Lieutenant Salt hailed the Commodore, and acquainted him that Captain Kidd died on the 31st of January. He likewise informed him that he had seen five large ships on the 10th instant, which he for some time imagined to be our squadron: that he suffered the commanding ship, which wore a red broad pennant exactly resembling that of the Commodore, at the main-topmast head, to come within gun-shot of him before he discovered his mistake; but then, finding it not to be the Centurion, he hauled close upon the wind, and crowded from them with all his sail, and standing across a rippling,[1] where they hesitated to follow him, he happily escaped. He made them [out] to be five Spanish men-of-war, one of them exceedingly like the Gloucester, which was the occasion of his apprehensions when the Gloucester chased him. By their appearance he thought they consisted of two ships of 70 guns, two of 50, and one of 40 guns. The whole squadron continued in chase of him all that day, but at night, finding they could not get near him, they gave over the chase, and directed their course to the southward.

And now, had it not been for the

[1] A broken piece of water, due to a current, a violent tide, or some other perturbing cause.

necessity we were under of refitting the Trial, this piece of intelligence would have prevented our making any stay at St Julian; but as it was impossible for that sloop to proceed round the Cape in her present condition, some stay there was inevitable; and therefore the same evening we came to an anchor again in twenty-five fathoms water, the bottom a mixture of mud and sand, and the high hummock bearing SW. by W. And weighing at nine in the morning, we soon after sent the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and Severn in shore to discover the harbour of St Julian, while the ships kept standing along the coast at about the distance of a league from the land. At 6 o'clock we anchored in the Bay of St Julian,[1] in nineteen fathoms, the bottom muddy ground with sand, the northernmost land in sight bearing N. and by E., the southernmost S. half E., and the high hummock—to which Sir John Narborough formerly gave the name of Wood's Mount—WSW. Soon after the cutters returned on board, having discovered the harbour, which did not appear to us in our situation, the northernmost point shutting in upon the southernmost, and in appearance closing the entrance.

Being come to an anchor in this bay of St Julian, principally with a view of refitting the Trial, the carpenters were immediately employed in that business, and continued so during our whole stay at the place. The Trial's mainmast having been carried away about twelve feet below the cap, they contrived to make the remaining part of the mast serve again; and the Wager was ordered to supply her with a spare main-topmast, which the carpenters converted into a new foremast. And I cannot help observing, that this accident to the Trial's mast, which gave us so much uneasiness at that time on account of the delay it occasioned, was in all probability the means of preserving the sloop and all her crew: for before this her masts, how well soever proportioned to a better climate, were much too lofty for these high southern latitudes; so that had they weathered the preceding storm, it would have been impossible for them to have stood against those seas and tempests we afterwards encountered in passing round Cape Horn; and the loss of masts in that boisterous climate would scarcely have been attended with less than the loss of the vessel and of every man on board her, since it would have been impracticable for the other ships to have given them any relief during the continuance of those impetuous storms.

While we stayed at this place, the Commodore appointed the Honourable Captain Murray to succeed to the Pearl, and Captain Cheap to the Wager; and he promoted Mr Charles Saunders, his first lieutenant, to the command of the Trial sloop. But Captain Saunders lying dangerously ill of a fever on board the Centurion, and it being the opinion of the surgeons that the removing him on board his own ship in his present condition might tend to the hazard of his life, Mr Anson gave an order to Mr Saumarez, first lieutenant of the Centurion, to act as master and commander of the Trial during the illness of Captain Saunders. Here the Commodore, too, in order to ease the expedition of all unnecessary expense, held a further consultation with his captains about unloading and discharging the Anna pink; but they represented to him that they were so far from being in a condition of taking any part of her loading on board, that they had still great quantities of provisions in the way of their guns between decks, and that their ships were withal so very deep[2] that they were not fit for action without being cleared. This put the Commodore under a necessity of retaining the

[1] So called by Drake. It was the scene of Doughty's trial and execution; "whence," Thomas says, "a small island within the harbour is to this day called the Island of True *Justice.*" (See *ante*, p. 52.)

[2] Ed. 1776: "And so lumbered."

pink in the service; and as it was apprehended we should certainly meet with the Spanish squadron in passing the Cape, Mr Anson thought it advisable to give orders to the captains to put all their provisions which were in the way of their guns on board the Anna pink, and to remount such of their guns as had formerly, for the ease of their ships, been ordered into the hold.[1] . . .

We, on our first arrival [at St Julian[2]] sent an officer on shore to a salt pond, in order to procure a quantity of salt for the use of the squadron; Sir John Narborough having observed, when he was here, that the salt produced in that place was very white and good, and that in February there was enough of it to fill a thousand ships. But our officer returned with a sample which was very bad, and he told us that even of this there was but little to be got; I suppose the weather had been more rainy than ordinary, and had destroyed it.[3]

CHAPTER VII.

THE Trial being nearly refitted, which was our principal occupation at this Bay of St Julian, and the sole occasion of our stay, the Commodore thought it necessary, as we were now directly bound for the South Seas and the enemy's coasts, to regulate the plan of his future operations. And therefore, on the 24th of February, a signal was made for all captains, and a council of war was held on board the Centurion, at which were present the Honourable Edward Legg, Captain Matthew Mitchel, the Honourable George Murray, Captain David Cheap, together with Colonel Mordaunt Cracherode, commander of the land forces. At this council Mr Anson proposed that their first attempt, after their arrival in the South Seas, should be the attack of the town and harbour of Baldivia, the principal frontier [place] of the district of Chili; Mr Anson informing them, at the same time,[4]

[1] Thomas naïvely remarks with reference to their stay in the Bay of St Julian: "Sir John Narborough and some others write that they have often seen and conversed with the inhabitants in this and other parts of Patagonia, and have given wonderful descriptions of them; but as we saw none of them, I have nothing to say of that sort, nor indeed do I think there is anything in this wild part of the world worthy of the least notice."

[2] The district round Port St Julian is described as destitute of wood, Sir John Narborough, in the time of Charles the Second, making the sweeping assertion that he never saw a stick of wood in the country large enough to make the handle of a hatchet. It is, however, good pasture land, feeding immense herds of cattle, of which many thousands are annually slain by the hunters there for the hides and tallow alone. The method of taking them alive is by the *lasso*, in the use of which the native Indians and Spaniards are very dexterous. The plains also abound with wild horses and Peruvian sheep. The lengthy account of the above is here omitted.

[3] Ed. 1776: "Or prevented its fermentation." Thomas adds some particulars of interest with regard to the doings at St Julian: "Having lost the hopes of a supply of water here, we were put to the allowance of one quart a man for one day, and three pints for another, alternately; but, considering our passage had hitherto proved extremely stormy and cold, and a dead time of the year coming on very fast, it was thought proper, in order to keep the people in as good heart as possible, to give them whole allowance of all other provisions, which was ordered accordingly. Here we further secured our lower deck guns, by nailing quoins under the trucks, in case the tackles, breechings, or iron-work, might give way, or fail in the stormy weather which we had much reason to expect."

[4] Ed. 1776: "As an inducement for this enterprise."

that it was an article contained in his Majesty's instructions to him, to endeavour to secure some port in the South Seas where the ships of the squadron might be careened and refitted. To this proposition made by the Commodore, the council unanimously and readily agreed; and in consequence of this resolution new instructions were given to the captains of the squadron, by which, though they were still directed, in case of separation, to make the best of their way to the Island of Nuestra Señora del Socoro, yet (notwithstanding the orders they had formerly given them at St Catherine's) they were to cruise off that island only ten days; from whence, if not joined by the Commodore, they were to proceed and cruise off the harbour of Baldivia, making the land between the Latitudes of 40° and 40° 30′, and taking care to keep to the southward of the port; and if in fourteen days they were not joined by the rest of the squadron, they were then to quit this station, and to direct their course to the Island of Juan Fernandez, after which they were to regulate their further proceedings by their former orders. The same directions were also given to the master of the Anna pink, and he was particularly instructed to be very careful in answering the signals made by any ship of the squadron, and likewise to destroy his papers and orders if he should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the enemy. And as the separation of the squadron might prove of the utmost prejudice to his Majesty's service, each captain was ordered to give it in charge to the respective officers of the watch not to keep their ship at a greater distance from the Centurion than two miles, as they would answer it at their peril; and if any captain should find his ship beyond the distance specified, he was to acquaint the Commodore with the name of the officer who had thus neglected his duty.

These necessary regulations being established, and the Trial sloop completed, the squadron weighed on Friday the 27th of February, at seven in the morning, and stood to sea; the Gloucester indeed found a difficulty in purchasing her anchor, and was left a considerable way astern, so that in the night we fired several guns as a signal to her captain to make sail, but he did not come up to us till the next morning, when we found that they had been obliged to cut their cable and leave their best bower behind them. At ten in the morning, the day after our departure, Weod's Mount, the high land over St Julian, bore from us N. by W., distant ten leagues, and we had fifty-two fathoms of water. And now, standing to the southward, we had great expectation of falling in with Pizarro's squadron; for during our stay at Port St Julian there had generally been hard gales between the WNW. and SW., so that we had reason to conclude the Spaniards had gained no ground upon us in that interval. And it was the prospect of meeting with them that had occasioned our Commodore to be so very solicitous to prevent the separation of our ships; for had we been solely intent on getting round Cape Horn in the shortest time, the properest method for this purpose would have been to have ordered each ship to have made the best of her way to the rendezvous, without waiting for the rest.

From our departure from St Julian to the 4th of March we had little wind, with thick, hazy weather and some rain; and our soundings were generally from forty to fifty fathoms, with a bottom of black and grey sand, sometimes intermixed with pebble stones. On the 4th of March we were in sight of Cape Virgin Mary, and not more than six or seven leagues distant from it. This is the northern cape of the Straits of Magellan; it lies in the Latitude of 52° 21′ S., and Longitude from London 71° 44′ W., and seems to be a low, flat land, ending in a point. Off this cape our depth of water was from thirty-five to forty-eight fathoms. The afternoon of this day was very bright and clear, with small breezes of wind, in-

clinable to a calm; and most of the captains took the opportunity of this favourable weather to pay a visit to the Commodore; but while they were in company together, they were all greatly alarmed by a sudden flame, which burst out on board the Gloucester, and which was succeeded by a cloud of smoke. However, they were soon relieved from their apprehensions by receiving information that the blast was occasioned by a spark of fire from the forge, lighting on some gunpowder and other combustibles which an officer on board was preparing for use in case we should fall in with the Spanish fleet; and that it had been extinguished without any damage to the ship.

We here found, what was constantly verified by all our observations in these high [southern] latitudes, that fair weather was always of an exceeding short duration, and that when it was remarkably fine it was a certain presage of a succeeding storm; for the calm and sunshine of our afternoon ended in a most turbulent night, the wind freshening from the SW. as the night came on, and increasing its violence continually till nine in the morning the next day, when it blew so hard that we were obliged to bring to with the squadron, and to continue under a reefed mizzen till eleven at night, having in that time from forty-three to fifty-seven fathoms water, with black sand and gravel; and by an observation we had at noon, we concluded a current had set us twelve miles to the southward of our reckoning. Towards midnight, the wind abating, we made sail again; and steering south, we discovered in the morning for the first time the land called Tierra del Fuego, stretching from the S. by W. to the SE. half E. This indeed afforded us but a very uncomfortable prospect, it appearing of a stupendous height, covered everywhere with snow.[1] We steered along this shore[2] all day, having soundings from forty to fifty fathoms, with stones and gravel. And as we intended to pass through Straits Le Maire next day, we lay to at night that we might not overshoot them, and took this opportunity to prepare ourselves for the tempestuous climate we were soon to be engaged in; with which view we employed ourselves good part of the night in bending an entire new suit of sails to the yards. At four the next morning, being the 7th of March, we made sail, and at eight saw the land; and soon after we began to open the straits, at which time Cape St James bore from us ESE., Cape St Vincent SE. half E., the middlemost of the Three Brothers S. by W., Montegorda S., and Cape St Bartholomew, which is the southernmost point of Staten Land, ESE. Though Tierra del Fuego had an aspect extremely barren and desolate, yet this Island of Staten Land far surpasses it in the wildness and horror of its appearance; it seeming to be entirely composed of inaccessible rocks, without the least mixture of earth or mould between them. These rocks terminate in a vast number of ragged points, which spire up to a prodigious height, and are all of them covered with everlasting snow; the points themselves are on every side surrounded with frightful precipices, and often overhang in a most astonishing manner; and the hills which bear them are generally separated from each other by narrow clefts, which appear as if the country had been rent by earthquakes; for these chasms are nearly perpendicular, and extend through the substance of the main rocks, almost to their very bottoms; so that nothing can be imagined more savage and gloomy than the whole aspect of this coast.

I have above mentioned, that on the 7th of March, in the morning, we opened Straits Le Maire; and soon

[1] "So that the whole," says Thomas, "may not improperly be termed the Land of Desolation; and I much question whether a more dreary aspect is to be seen in any other part of the habitable earth."

[2] Ed. 1776: "This uncouth and rugged coast."

after, or about 10 o'clock, the Pearl and the Trial being ordered to keep ahead of the squadron, we entered them with fair weather and a brisk gale, and were hurried through by the rapidity of the tide in about two hours though they are between seven and eight leagues in length. As these Straits are often considered as the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and as we presumed we had nothing now before us but an open sea, till we arrived on those opulent coasts where all our hopes and wishes centred, we could not help flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulty of our passage was now at an end, and that our most sanguine dreams were upon the point of being realised; and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were heightened by the brightness of the sky, and the serenity of the weather, which was indeed most remarkably pleasing; for though the winter was now advancing apace, yet the morning of this day, in its brilliancy and mildness, gave place to none we had seen since our departure from England. Thus animated by these delusions, we traversed these memorable Straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending, and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated never to unite again; and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy.

CHAPTER VIII.

We had scarcely reached the southern extremity of the Straits of Le Maire, when our flattering hopes were instantly lost in the apprehensions of immediate destruction. For before the sternmost ships of the squadron were clear of the Straits, the serenity of the sky was suddenly changed, and gave us all the presages of an impending storm; and immediately the wind shifted to the southward, and blew in such violent squalls, that we were obliged to hand our topsails and reef our mainsail. The tide, too, which had hitherto favoured us, now turned against us,[1] and drove us to the eastward with prodigious rapidity, so that we were in great anxiety for the Wager and the Anna pink, the two sternmost vessels, fearing they would be dashed to pieces against the shore of Staten Land. Nor were our apprehensions without foundation, for it was with the utmost difficulty they escaped. And now the whole squadron, instead of pursuing their intended course to the SW., were driven to the eastward by the united force of the storm and of the currents; so that next day in the morning we found ourselves near seven leagues to the eastward of Staten Land, which then bore from us NW. The violence of the current, which had set us with so much precipitation to the eastward, together with the force and constancy of the westerly winds, soon taught us to consider the doubling of Cape Horn as an enterprise that might prove too mighty for our efforts; though some amongst us had lately treated the difficulties which former voyagers were said to have met with in this undertaking as little better than chimerical, and had supposed them to arise rather from timidity and unskilfulness than from the real embarrassments of the winds and seas. But we were severely convinced that these censures were rash and ill-grounded: for the distresses with which we struggled during the three succeeding months will not easily be paralleled in the relation of any former naval expedition. This will, I doubt not, be readily allowed by those who shall carefully peruse the ensuing narration.

From the storm which came on before we had well got clear of Straits Le Maire, we had a continual succes-

[1] Ed. 1776: "Turned furiously adverse."

sion of such tempestuous weather as surprised the oldest and most experienced mariners on board, and obliged them to confess, that what they had hitherto called storms were inconsiderable gales compared with the violence of these winds, which raised such short and at the same time such mountainous waves as greatly surpassed in danger all seas known in any other part of the globe. And it was not without great reason that this unusual appearance filled us with continual terror; for had any one of these waves broke fairly over us, it must in all probability have sent us to the bottom. Nor did we escape with terror only; for the ship, rolling incessantly gunwale-to, gave us such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual danger of being dashed to pieces against the decks or sides of the ship. And though we were extremely careful to secure ourselves from these shocks by grasping some fixed body, yet many of our people were forced from their hold, some of whom were killed, and others greatly injured; in particular, one of our best seamen was canted overboard and drowned, another dislocated his neck, a third was thrown into the mainhold and broke his thigh, and one of our boatswain's mates broke his collar-bone twice; not to mention many other accidents of the same kind.

It was on the 7th of March, as has been already observed, that we passed Straits Le Maire, and were immediately afterwards driven to the eastward by a violent storm and the force of the current which set that way. For the four or five succeeding days we had hard gales of wind from the same quarter, with a most prodigious swell; so that though we stood, during all that time, towards the SW., yet we had no reason to imagine we had made any way to the westward. In this interval we had frequent squalls of rain and snow, and shipped great quantities of water; after which for three or four days, though the seas ran mountains high, yet the weather was rather more moderate. But, on the 18th, we had again strong gales of wind with extreme cold, and at midnight the main-topsail split, and one of the straps of the main dead-eyes broke. From hence to the 23d the weather was more favourable, though often intermixed with rain and sleet, and some hard gales: but as the waves did not subside, the ship, by labouring in this lofty sea, was now grown so loose in her upper works that she let in the water at every seam; so that every part within board was constantly exposed to the sea-water, and scarcely any of the officers ever lay in dry beds. Indeed it was very rare that two nights ever passed without many of them being driven from their beds by the deluge of water that came upon them.

On the 23d we had a most violent storm of wind, hail, and rain, with a very great sea; and though we handed the main-topsail before the height of the squall, yet we found the yard sprung; and soon after, the foot-rope of the mainsail breaking, the mainsail itself split instantly to rags, and in spite of our endeavours to save it, much the greater part of it was blown overboard. On this the Commodore made the signal for the squadron to bring to; and, the storm at length flattening to a calm, we had an opportunity of getting down our main-topsail yard to put the carpenters at work upon it, and of repairing our rigging; after which, having bent a new mainsail, we got under sail again with a moderate breeze. But in less than twenty-four hours we were attacked by another storm still more furious than the former; for it proved a perfect hurricane, and reduced us to the necessity of lying to under our bare poles. As our ship kept the wind better than any of the rest, we were obliged in the afternoon to wear ship, in order to join the squadron to the leeward, which otherwise we should have been in danger of losing in the night; and as we dared not venture any sail abroad, we were obliged to make use of an expedient which answered our purpose; this was putting the helm a-weather, and manning the fore-shrouds.

But though this method proved successful for the end intended, yet in the execution of it one of our ablest seamen was canted overboard; and notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of the waves, we perceived that he swam very strong, and it was with the utmost concern that we found ourselves incapable of assisting him; and we were the more grieved at his unhappy fate, since we lost sight of him struggling with the waves, and conceived from the manner in which he swam that he might continue sensible for a considerable time longer of the horror attending his irretrievable situation.[1]

Before this last-mentioned storm was quite abated, we found two of our main shrouds and one mizzen-shroud broken, all which we knotted and set up immediately; and from hence we had an interval of three or four days less tempestuous than usual, but accompanied with a thick fog, in which we were obliged to fire guns almost every half hour, to keep our squadron together. On the 31st we were alarmed by a gun fired from the Gloucester, and a signal made by her to speak with the Commodore. We immediately bore down to her, and were prepared to hear of some terrible disaster; but we were apprised of it before we joined her, for we saw that her mainyard was broke in the slings. This was a grievous misfortune to us all at this juncture; as it was obvious it would prove an hindrance to our sailing, and would detain us the longer in these inhospitable latitudes. But our future success and safety were not to be promoted by repining, but by resolution and activity; and therefore, that this unlucky incident might delay us as little as possible, the Commodore ordered several carpenters to be put on board the Gloucester from the other ships of the squadron, in order to repair her damage with the utmost expedition. And the captain of the Trial complaining at the same time that his pumps were so bad, and the sloop made so great a quantity of water, that he was scarcely able to keep her free, the Commodore ordered him a pump ready fitted from his own ship. It was very fortunate for the Gloucester and the Trial that the weather proved more favourable this day than for many days both before and after; since by this means they were enabled to receive the assistance which seemed essential to their preservation, and which they could scarcely have had at any other time, as it would have been extremely hazardous to have ventured a boat on board.[2]

The next day, that is, on the 1st of April, the weather returned again to its customary bias, the sky looked dark and gloomy, and the wind began to

[1] With reference to this affecting circumstance, Cowper composed his verses on "The Castaway." One is as follows:

"He long survives, who lives an hour
In ocean, self-upheld:
And so long he, with unspent power,
His destiny repell'd:
And ever, as the minutes flew,
Entreated help, or cried—'Adieu.'"

[2] Under this date, March 31st, Anson's Official Report of his voyage makes the first mention of the scurvy: "Men falling down every day with scorbutic complaints." Thomas also now notes, with some graphic details, the outbreak of the scurvy, which Mr Walter, with a sad want of dramatic instinct, defers to a period of comparatively trivial elemental peril: "And now, as it were to add the finishing stroke to our misfortunes, our people began to be universally afflicted with that most terrible, obstinate, and, at sea, incurable disease, the scurvy, which quickly made a most dreadful havoc among us, beginning at first to carry off two or three a day, but soon increasing, and at last carrying off eight or ten; and as most of the living were very ill of the same distemper, and the little remainder who preserved their healths better, in a manner quite worn out with incessant labour, I have sometimes seen four or five dead bodies, some sewn up in their hammocks, others not, washing about the decks, for want of help to bury them in the sea."

freshen and to blow in squalls; however, it was not yet so boisterous as to prevent our carrying our topsails close reefed; but its appearance was such as plainly prognosticated that a still severer tempest was at hand. And accordingly, on the 8d of April, there came on a storm which both in its violence and continuation (for it lasted three days) exceeded all that we had hitherto encountered. In its first onset, we received a furious shock from the sea which broke upon our larboard quarter, where it stove in the quarter gallery, and rushed into the ship like a deluge; our rigging, too, suffered extremely, for one of the straps of the main dead-eyes was broke, as was also a mainshroud and futtock-shroud, so that to ease the stress upon the masts and shrouds we lowered both our main and fore yards, and furled all our sails, and in this posture we lay to for three days, when, the storm somewhat abating, we ventured to make sail under our courses only. But even this we could not do long, for the next day, which was the 7th, we had another hard gale of wind, with lightning and rain, which obliged us to lie to again all night. It was wonderful that, notwithstanding the hard weather we had endured, no extraordinary accident had happened to any of the squadron since the breaking of the Gloucester's mainyard: but this wonder soon ceased;[1] for at three the next morning several guns were fired to leeward as signals of distress. And the Commodore making a signal for the squadron to bring to, we at daybreak saw the Wager a considerable way to leeward of any of the other ships; and we soon perceived that she had lost her mizzenmast and maintopsail yard. We immediately bore down to her, and found this disaster had arisen from the badness of her ironwork; for all the chain-plates to windward had given way upon the ship's fetching a deep roll. This proved the more unfortunate to the Wager, as her carpenter had been on board the Gloucester ever since the 31st of March, and the weather was now too severe to permit him to return. Nor was the Wager the only ship of the squadron that had suffered in the late tempest; for the next day a signal of distress was made by the Anna pink, and, upon speaking with the master, we learned that they had broken their forestay and the gammon of the bowsprit, and were in no small danger of having all the masts come by the board; so that we were obliged to bear away until they had made all fast, after which we hauled upon a wind again. . . .

By the latitude of the land we [next] fell in with, it was agreed to be a part of Tierra del Fuego, near the southern outlet described in Frazier's chart of the Straits of Magellan, and was supposed to be that point called by him Cape Noir. It was indeed most wonderful that the currents should have driven us to the eastward with such strength; for the whole squadron esteemed themselves upwards of ten degrees more westerly than this land, so that in running down, by our account, about nineteen degrees of longitude, we had not really advanced above half that distance. And now, instead of having our labours and anxieties relieved by approaching a warmer climate and more tranquil seas, we were [forced] to steer again to the southward, and again to combat those western blasts which had so often terrified us; and this, too, when we were weakened by our men falling sick and dying apace, and when our spirits, dejected by a long continuance at sea, and by our late disappointment, were much less capable of supporting us in the various difficulties which we could not but expect in this new [and arduous] undertaking. Add to all this, too, the discouragement we received by the diminution of the strength of the squadron; for three days before this we lost sight of the Severn and the Pearl in the morning; and though we spread our ships, and beat about for some time, yet we never saw them more; whence we had apprehensions that they too might have fallen in with this land in the night, and, being

[1] Ed. 1776: "This good fortune now no longer attended us."

less favoured by the wind and the moon than we were, might have run on shore and have perished. Full of these dejected thoughts and gloomy presages, we stood away to the SW., prepared by our late disaster to suspect, that how large soever an allowance we made in our westing for the drift of the eastern current, we might still upon a second trial perhaps find it insufficient.

CHAPTER IX.[1]

The improper season of the year in which we attempted to double Cape Horn, and to which is to be imputed the disappointment recited in the foregoing Chapter in falling in with Tierra del Fuego, when we reckoned ourselves at least a hundred leagues to the westward of that whole coast, and consequently well advanced into the Pacific Ocean; this unseasonable navigation, I say, to which we were necessitated by our too late departure from England, was the fatal source of all the misfortunes we afterwards encountered. For from hence proceeded the separation of our ships, the destruction of our people, the ruin of our project on Baldivia and of all our other views on the Spanish places, and the reduction of our squadron from the formidable condition in which it passed Straits Le Maire to a couple of shattered, half-manned cruisers, and a sloop, so far disabled that in many climates they scarcely durst have put to sea.

[1] This Chapter, of twenty pages in the original, is almost entirely devoted to "Observations and Directions for facilitating the Passage of our Future Cruisers round Cape Horn." But as its matter is purely technical, and, however curious as casting light on the state of nautical science a century and a quarter ago, possesses not the smallest popular interest now-a-days, the Chapter is omitted, with the exception of one or two introductory sentences which bear on the actual narrative.

CHAPTER X.

After the mortifying disappointment of falling in with the coast of Tierra del Fuego, when we esteemed ourselves ten degrees to the westward of it; after this disappointment, I say, recited in the eighth Chapter, we stood away to the SW. till the 22d of April, when we were in upwards of 60° S., and by our account near six degrees to the westward of Cape Noir. And in this run we had a series of as favourable weather as could well be expected in that part of the world, even in a better season; so that this interval, setting the inquietude of our thoughts aside, was by far the most eligible of any we enjoyed from Straits Le Maire to the west coast of America. This moderate weather continued with little variation till the 24th; but on the 24th in the evening the wind began to blow fresh, and soon increased to a prodigious storm; and the weather being extremely thick, about midnight we lost sight of the other ships of the squadron, which, notwithstanding the violence of the preceding storms, had hitherto kept in company with us. Nor was this our sole misfortune; for the next morning, endeavouring to hand the topsails, the clewlines and buntlines broke, and, the sheets being half-flown, every seam in the topsails was soon split from top to bottom, and the main-topsail shook so strongly in the wind, that it carried away the top lantern, and endangered the head of the mast. However, at length some of the most daring of our men ventured upon the yard, and cut the sail away close to the reefs, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. At the same time, the foretopsail beat about the yard with so much fury, that it was soon blown to pieces; and that we might have full employment, the mainsail blew loose, which obliged us to lower down the yard to secure the sail; and the fore-yard being likewise lowered, we lay to under a mizzen. And besides the loss of our topsails, we had much of our other

rigging broke, and lost a main studding-sail boom out of the chains.

On the 25th, about noon, the weather became more moderate, which enabled us to sway up our yards, and to repair, in the best manner we could, our shattered rigging; but still we had no sight of the rest of our squadron, nor indeed were we joined by any of them again till after our arrival at Juan Fernandez, nor did any two of them, as we have since learned, continue in company together. And this total separation was the more wonderful, as we had hitherto kept together for seven weeks, through all the reiterated tempests of this turbulent climate. It must indeed be owned that this separation gave us room to expect that we might make our passage in a shorter time than if we had continued together, because we could now make the best of our way without being retarded by the misfortunes of the other ships; but then we had the melancholy reflection that we ourselves were hereby deprived of the assistance of others, and our safety would depend upon our single ship. So that, if a plank started, or any other accident of the same nature should take place, we must all irrecoverably perish; or, should we be driven on shore, we had the uncomfortable prospect of ending our days on some desolate coast, without any reasonable hope of ever getting away; whereas, with another ship in company, all these calamities are much less formidable, since in every kind of danger there would be some probability that one ship at least might escape, and might be capable of preserving or relieving the crew of the other.

The remaining part of this month of April we had generally hard gales, although we had been every day since the 22d edging to the northward; however, on the last day of the month we flattered ourselves with the hopes of soon terminating all our sufferings, for we that day found ourselves in the Latitude of 52° 13′, which, being to the northward of the Straits of Magellan, we were assured that we had completed our passage, and had arrived in the confines of the Southern Ocean; and this Ocean being nominated Pacific, from the equability of the seasons which are said to prevail there, and the facility and security with which navigation is there carried on, we doubted not but we should be speedily cheered with the moderate gales, the smooth water, and the temperate air, for which that tract of the globe has been so renowned. And under the influence of these pleasing circumstances we hoped to experience some kind of compensation for the complicated miseries which had so constantly attended us for the last eight weeks. But here we were again disappointed; for in the succeeding month of May our sufferings rose to a much higher pitch than they had ever yet done, whether we consider the violence of the storms, the shattering of our sails and rigging, or the diminishing and weakening of our crew by deaths and sickness, and the probable prospect of our total destruction. All this will be sufficiently evident from the following circumstantial account of our diversified misfortunes.

Soon after our passing Straits Le Maire, the scurvy began to make its appearance amongst us; and our long continuance at sea, the fatigue we underwent, and the various disappointments we met with, had occasioned its spreading to such a degree, that at the latter end of April there were but few on board who were not in some degree afflicted with it; and in that month no less than forty-three died of it on board the Centurion. But though we thought that the distemper had then risen to an extraordinary height, and were willing to hope that as we advanced to the northward its malignity would abate; yet we found, on the contrary, that in the month of May we lost nearly double that number. And as we did not get to land till the middle of June, the mortality went on increasing, and the disease extended itself so prodigiously, that after the loss of above 200 men we could not at last

muster more than six foremast men in a watch capable of duty.

This disease, so frequently attending all long voyages, and so particularly destructive to us, is surely the most singular and unaccountable of any that affects the human body. For its symptoms are inconstant and innumerable, and its progress and effects extremely irregular; for scarcely any two persons have the same complaints, and where there has been found some conformity in the symptoms the order of their appearance has been totally different. However, though it frequently puts on the form of many other diseases, and is therefore not to be described by any exclusive and infallible criterions; yet there are some symptoms which are more general than the rest, and, therefore, occurring the oftenest, deserve a more particular enumeration. These common appearances are large discoloured spots dispersed over the whole surface of the body, swelled legs, putrid gums, and above all, an extraordinary lassitude of the whole body, especially after any exercise however inconsiderable; and this lassitude at last degenerates into a proneness to swoon[1] on the least exertion of strength, or even on the least motion. This disease is likewise usually attended with a strange dejection of the spirits, and with shiverings, tremblings, and a disposition to be seized with the most dreadful terrors on the slightest accident. Indeed it was most remarkable, in all our reiterated experience of this malady, that whatever discouraged our people, or at any time damped their hopes, never failed to add new vigour to the distemper; for it usually killed those who were in the last stage of it, and confined those to their hammocks who were before capable of some kind of duty; so that it seemed as if alacrity of mind and sanguine thoughts were no contemptible preservatives from its fatal malignity.

But it is not easy to complete the long roll of the various concomitants of this disease; for it often produced putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and violent rheumatic pains, and sometimes it occasioned an obstinate costiveness, which was generally attended with a difficulty of breathing; and this was esteemed the most deadly of all the scorbutic symptoms. At other times the whole body, but more especially the legs, were subject to ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and such a luxuriance of fungus flesh, as yielded to no remedy. But a most extraordinary circumstance, and what would be scarcely credible upon any single evidence, is, that the scars of wounds which had been for many years healed were forced open again by this virulent distemper. Of this there was a remarkable instance in one of the invalids on board the Centurion, who had been wounded above fifty years before at the battle of the Boyne; for though he was cured soon after, and had continued well for a great number of years past, yet, on his being attacked by the scurvy, his wounds, in the progress of his disease, broke out afresh, and appeared as if they had never been healed. Nay, what is still more astonishing, the callus of a broken bone, which had been completely formed for a long time, was found to be hereby dissolved, and the fracture seemed as if it had never been consolidated. Indeed, the effects of this disease were in almost every instance wonderful; for many of our people, though confined to their hammocks, appeared to have no inconsiderable share of health, for they ate and drank heartily, were cheerful, and talked with much seeming vigour and with a loud, strong tone of voice; and yet on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that in their hammocks, they have immediately expired; and others who have confided in their seeming strength, and have resolved to get out of their hammocks, have died before they could well reach the deck; and it was no uncommon thing for those who were able to walk the deck, and

[1] *Ed. 1776*: "And even to die."

to do some kind of duty, to drop down dead in an instant, on any endeavours to act with their utmost vigour, many of our people having perished in this manner during the course of this voyage.

With this terrible disease we struggled the greatest part of the time of our beating round Cape Horn; and though it did not then rage with its utmost violence, yet we buried no less than forty-three men on board the Centurion in the month of April, as has been already observed. We still entertained hopes, that when we should have once secured our passage round the Cape, we should put a period to this and all the other evils which had so constantly pursued us. But it was our misfortune to find, that the Pacific Ocean was to us less hospitable than the turbulent neighbourhood of Tierra del Fuego and Cape Horn;[1] for being arrived, on the 8th of May, off the Island of Socoro, which was the first rendezvous appointed for the squadron, and where we hoped to have met with some of our companions, we cruised for them in that station several days. And here we were not only disappointed in our hopes of being joined by our friends, and thereby induced to favour the gloomy suggestions of their having all perished; but we were likewise perpetually alarmed with the fears of being driven on shore upon this coast, which appeared too craggy and irregular to give us the least hopes that in such a case any of us could possibly escape immediate destruction. For the land had indeed a most tremendous aspect; the most distant part of it, and which appeared far within the country, being the mountains usually called the Andes or Cordilleras, was extremely high, and covered with snow; and the coast itself seemed quite rocky and barren, and the water's edge skirted with precipices. In some places, indeed, there appeared several deep bays running into the land, but the entrance into them was generally blocked up by numbers of little islands; and though it was not improbable but there might be convenient shelter in some of those bays, and proper channels leading thereto; yet, as we were utterly ignorant of the coast, had we been driven ashore by the western winds which blew almost constantly there, we did not expect to have avoided the loss of our ship and of our lives.

And this continued peril, which

[1] Thomas dwells far more impressively on this disappointment: "Friday, May 8, at seven in the morning, saw the main land of Patagonia appearing in high mountains covered mostly with snow. We likewise saw several islands, one of which we took to be the Island del Soccoro, so called by Sir John Narborough, in his account of his voyage into those parts; and from the fine description this gentleman had given of this island (having been there in the very height of summer), this place was appointed for our first general rendezvous in the South Seas. An unhappy appointment it was in its consequences; for when the people, already reduced to the last extremity, found this to be the place of rendezvous, where they had hoped to meet the rest of their companions with joy, and what a miserable part of the world it appeared to be, their grief gave way to despair; they saw no end of their sufferings, nor any door open to their safety. Those who had hitherto been well and in heart, now full of despondency, fell down, sickened, and died; and, to sum up this melancholy part, I verily believe, that our touching on this coast, the long stay we made here, and our hindrance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to Juan Fernandez, lost us at least sixty or seventy of as stout and able men as any in the navy. This unspeakable distress was still aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship, as the scurvy had by this time destroyed no less than 200 of our men, and had in some degree affected almost the whole crew."

lasted for above a fortnight, was greatly aggravated by the difficulties we found in working the ship; as the scurvy had by this time destroyed so great a part of our hands, and had in some degree affected almost the whole crew.[1] Nor did we, as we hoped, find the winds less violent as we advanced to the northward; for we had often prodigious squalls, which split our sails, greatly damaged our rigging, and endangered our masts. Indeed, during the greatest part of the time we were upon this coast, the wind blew so hard, that in another situation where we had sufficient sea-room we should certainly have lain to; but in the present exigency we were necessitated to carry both our courses and topsails, in order to keep clear of this lee-shore. In one of these squalls, which was attended by several violent claps of thunder, a sudden flash of fire darted along our decks, which, dividing, exploded with a report like that of several pistols, and wounded many of our men and officers as it passed, marking them in different parts of the body. This flame was attended with a strong sulphurous stench, and was doubtless of the same nature with the larger and more violent blasts of lightning which then filled the air.

It were endless to recite minutely the various disasters, fatigues, and terrors which we encountered on this coast; all these went on increasing till the 22d of May, at which time the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to be combined, and to have conspired our destruction. In this hurricane almost all our sails were split, and great part of our standing rigging broken; and, about eight in the evening, a mountainous overgrown sea took us upon our starboard quarter, and gave us so prodigious a shock, that several of our shrouds broke with the jerk, by which our masts were greatly endangered; our ballast and stores, too, were so strangely shifted, that the ship heeled afterwards two streaks to port. Indeed, it was a most tremendous blow, and we were thrown into the utmost consternation from the apprehension of instantly foundering; and though the wind abated in a few hours, yet, as we had no more sails left in a condition to bend to our yards, the ship laboured very much in a hollow sea, rolling gunwale-to, for want of sail to steady her: so that we expected our masts, which were now very slenderly supported, to come by the board every moment. However, we exerted ourselves the best we could to stirrup our shrouds, to reeve new halyards, and to mend our sails; but while these necessary operations were carrying on, we ran great risk of being driven on shore on the Island of Chiloe, which was not far distant from us; but in the midst of our peril the wind happily shifted to the southward, and we steered off the land with the mainsail only, the master and myself undertaking the management of the helm, while every one else on board was busied in securing the masts, and bending the sails as fast as they could be repaired. This was the last effort of that stormy climate; for in a day or two after we got clear of the land, and found the weather more moderate than we had yet experienced since our passing Straits Le Maire. And now having cruised in vain for more than a fortnight in quest of the other ships of the squadron, it was resolved to take advantage of the present favourable season, and the offing we had made from this terrible coast, and to make the best of our way for the Island of Juan Fernandez. For though our next rendezvous was appointed off the harbour of Baldivia, yet as we had hitherto seen none of our companions at this first rendezvous, it was not to be supposed that any of them would be found at the second; indeed, we had the greatest reason to suspect that all but ourselves had perished. Besides, we

[1] Anson himself writes in his Official Report, under date May 8th, that he "had not men able to keep the deck sufficient to take in a topsail, all being violently afflicted with the scurvy, and every day lessening our number by six, eight, or ten."

were by this time reduced to so low a condition, that, instead of attempting to attack the places of the enemy, our utmost hopes could only suggest to us the possibility of saving the ship, and some part of the remaining enfeebled crew, by our speedy arrival at Juan Fernandez; for this was the only road in that part of the world where there was any probability of our recovering our sick, or refitting our vessel, and consequently our getting thither was the only chance we had left to avoid perishing at sea.

Our deplorable situation, then, allowing no room for deliberation, we stood for the Island of Juan Fernandez: and to save time, which was now extremely precious (our men dying four, five, and six in a day), and likewise to avoid being engaged again with a lee-shore, we resolved if possible to hit the island upon a meridian. And on the 28th of May, being nearly in the parallel upon which it is laid down, we had great expectations of seeing it; but not finding it in the position in which the charts had taught us to expect it, we began to fear that we had got too far to the westward; and therefore, though the Commodore himself was strongly persuaded that he saw it on the morning of the 28th, yet his officers believing it to be only a cloud, to which opinion the haziness of the weather gave some kind of countenance, it was on a consultation resolved to stand to the eastward in the parallel of the island; as it was certain that by this course we should either fall in with the island, if we were already to the westward of it, or should at least make the mainland of Chili, whence we might take a new departure, and assure ourselves, by running to the westward afterwards, of not missing the island a second time.

On the 30th of May we had a view of the continent of Chili, distant about twelve or thirteen leagues; the land made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white; what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow. Though by this view of the land we ascertained our position, yet it gave us great uneasiness to find that we had so needlessly altered our course when we were, in all probability, just upon the point of making the island; for the mortality amongst us was now increased to a most dreadful degree, and those who remained alive were utterly dispirited by this new disappointment and the prospect of their longer continuance at sea. Our water, too, began to grow scarce, so that a general dejection prevailed amongst us, which added much to the virulence of the disease, and destroyed numbers of our best men; and to all these calamities there was added this vexatious circumstance, that when, after having got a sight of the main, we tacked and stood to the westward in quest of the island, we were so much delayed by calms and contrary winds, that it cost us nine days to regain the westing which, when we stood to the eastward, we ran down in two. In this desponding condition, with a crazy ship, a great scarcity of fresh water, and a crew so universally diseased that there were not above ten foremast men in a watch capable of doing duty, and even some of these lame, and unable to go aloft: under these disheartening circumstances, I say, we stood to the westward; and, on the 9th of June, at daybreak, we at last discovered the long-wished-for Island of Juan Fernandez. And with this discovery I shall close this Chapter, and the First Book, after observing (which will furnish a very strong image of our unparalleled distresses) that by our suspecting ourselves to be to the westward of the island on the 28th of May, and, in consequence of this, standing in for the main, we lost between seventy and eighty of our men, whom we should doubtless have saved had we made the island that day, which, had we kept on our course for a few hours longer, we could not have failed to have done.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

ON the 9th of June, at daybreak, as is mentioned in the preceding Chapter, we first descried the Island of Juan Fernandez, bearing N. by E. half E., at eleven or twelve leagues' distance. And though, on this view, it appeared to be a mountainous place, extremely ragged and irregular; yet, as it was land, and the land we sought for, it was to us a most agreeable sight. For at this place only we could hope to put a period to those terrible calamities we had so long struggled with, which had already swept away above half our crew, and which, had we continued a few days longer at sea, would inevitably have completed our destruction. For we were by this time reduced to so helpless a condition, that out of 200 and odd men who remained alive, we could not, taking all our watches together, muster hands enough to work the ship on an emergency, though we included the officers, their servants, and the boys.

The wind being northerly when we first made the island, we kept plying all that day, and the next night, in order to get in with the land; and wearing the ship in the middle watch, we had a melancholy instance of the almost incredible debility of our people; for the lieutenant could muster no more than two quarter-masters and six foremast men capable of working; so that without the assistance of the officers, servants, and boys, it might have proved impossible for us to have reached the island after we had got sight of it; and even with this assistance they were two hours in trimming the sails. To so wretched a condition was a sixty-gun ship reduced, which had passed Straits Le Maire but three months before, with between 400 and 500 men, almost all of them in health and *vigour.*

However, on the 10th, in the afternoon, we got under the lee of the island, and kept ranging along it at about two miles' distance, in order to look out for the proper anchorage, which was described to be in a bay on the north side. And now, being nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods; and that between them there were everywhere interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades; no valley, of any extent, being unprovided of its proper rill. The water, too, as we afterwards found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear; so that the aspect of this country would at all times have been extremely delightful, but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions (an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea-scurvy), it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were then in sight; and particularly for the water, for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance for a considerable time, and had then but five tons remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near 100 feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper,

though they had long been confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect. Thus we coasted the shore, fully employed in the contemplation of this diversified landscape, which still improved upon us the farther we advanced. But at last the night closed upon us before we had satisfied ourselves which was the proper bay to anchor in; and therefore we resolved to keep in soundings all night (we having then from sixty-four to seventy fathoms), and to send our boat next morning to discover the road. However, the current shifted in the night, and set us so near the land, that we were obliged to let go the best bower in fifty-six fathoms, not half-a-mile from the shore. At four in the morning the cutter was despatched with our third lieutenant to find out the bay we were in search of, who returned again at noon with the boat laden with seals and grass; for though the island abounded with better vegetables, yet the boat's crew, in their short stay, had not met with them; and they well knew that even grass would prove a dainty, and, indeed, it was all soon and eagerly devoured. The seals, too, were considered as fresh provision; but as yet were not much admired, though they grew afterwards into more repute; for what rendered them less valuable at this juncture was the prodigious quantity of excellent fish which the people on board had taken during the absence of the boat.

The cutter, in this expedition, had discovered the bay where we intended to anchor, which we found was to the westward of our present station; and the next morning, the weather proving favourable, we endeavoured to weigh, in order to proceed thither. But though, on this occasion, we mustered all the strength we could, obliging even the sick, who were scarce able to keep on their legs, to assist us, yet the capstan was so weakly manned, that it was near four hours before we hove the cable right up and down; after which, with our utmost efforts, and with many surges and some purchases we made use of to increase our power, we found ourselves incapable of starting the anchor from the ground. However, at noon, as a fresh gale blew towards the bay, we were induced to set the sails, which fortunately tripped the anchor; on which we steered along shore till we came abreast of the point that forms the eastern part of the bay. On opening the bay, the wind, that had befriended us thus far, shifted, and blew from thence in squalls; but by means of the headway we had got, we luffed close in, till the anchor brought us up in fifty-six fathoms.[1] Soon after we had thus got to our new berth, we discovered a sail, which we made no doubt was one of our squadron; and on its nearer approach, we found it to be the Trial sloop. We immediately sent some of our hands on board her, by whose assistance she was brought to an anchor between us and the land. We soon found that the sloop had not been exempted from those calamities which we had so severely felt; for her commander, Captain Saunders, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that out of his small complement he had buried thirty-four of his men; and those that remained were so universally afflicted with the scurvy, that only himself, his lieutenant, and three of his men, were able to stand by the sails.

The Trial came to an anchor within us on the 12th about noon, and we carried our hawsers on board her, in order to moor ourselves nearer in shore; but the wind, coming off the land in violent gusts, prevented our mooring in the berth we intended, especially as our principal attention was now employed on business rather of more importance. For we were

[1] "To our inexpressible joy," says Thomas, "having been from St Catherine's, in the Brazils, to this place 148 days, on such a dreadful and fatal a passage, as, I believe, very few persons ever experienced."

now extremely occupied in sending on shore materials to raise tents for the reception of the sick, who died apace on board; and doubtless the distemper was considerably augmented by the stench and filthiness in which they lay; for the number of the diseased was so great, and so few could be spared from the necessary duty of the sails to look after them, that it was impossible to avoid a great relaxation in the article of cleanliness, which had rendered the ship extremely loathsome between decks. But notwithstanding our desire of freeing the sick from their hateful situation, and their own extreme impatience to get on shore, we had not hands enough to prepare the tents for their reception before the 16th; but on that and the two following days we sent them all on shore, amounting to 167 persons, besides at least a dozen who died in the boats on their being exposed to the fresh air. The greatest part of our sick were so infirm, that we were obliged to carry them out of the ship in their hammocks, and to convey them afterwards in the same manner from the water-side to their tents, over a stony beach. This was a work of considerable fatigue to the few who were healthy; and therefore the Commodore, with his accustomed humanity, not only assisted herein with his own labour, but obliged his officers, without distinction, to give their helping hand. The extreme weakness of our sick may in some measure be collected from the numbers who died after they had got on shore; for it had generally been found that the land, and the refreshments it produces, very soon recover most stages of the sea-scurvy; and we flattered ourselves that those who had not perished on this first exposure to the open air, but had lived to be placed in their tents, would have been speedily restored to their health and vigour. But, to our great mortification, it was near twenty days after their landing before the mortality was tolerably ceased; and for the first ten or twelve days we buried *rarely less than* six each day, and many of those who survived recovered by very slow and insensible degrees. Indeed, those who were well enough, at their first getting on shore, to creep out of their tents and crawl about, were soon relieved, and recovered their health and strength in a very short time; but in the rest the disease seemed to have acquired a degree of inveteracy which was altogether without example.[1]

The excellence of the climate and the looseness of the soil render this place extremely proper for all kinds of vegetation; for if the ground be anywhere accidentally turned up it is immediately overgrown with turnips and Sicilian radishes; and therefore Mr Anson having with him garden seeds of all kinds, and stones of different sorts of fruits, he, for the better accommodation of his countrymen who should hereafter touch here, sowed both lettuces, carrots, and other garden plants, and set in the woods a great variety of plum, apricot, and peach stones. And these last, he has been informed, have since thriven to a very remarkable degree; for some gentlemen, who in their passage from Lima to Old Spain were taken and brought to England, having procured leave to wait upon Mr Anson to thank him for his generosity and humanity to his prisoners, some of whom were their relations, they in casual discourse with him about his transactions in the South Seas, particularly asked him if he had not planted a great number of fruit-stones on the Island of Juan Fernandez; for they told him their late navigators had discovered there numbers of peach trees and apricot trees, which being fruits before unobserved in that place,

[1] The Narrator here goes into a long and minute description of Juan Fernandez, for the advantage of future British cruisers in those seas; but the island has been described in Dampier's Voyage (page 158), and the Editor has omitted those parts of Mr Walter's account which do not bear on the actual proceedings of the squadron.

they concluded them to be produced from kernels set by him.

The spot where the Commodore pitched his tent, and which he made choice of for his own residence, was a small lawn that lay on a little ascent, at the distance of about half-a-mile from the sea.[1] In the front of his tent there was a large avenue cut through the woods to the seaside, which sloping to the water, with a gentle descent, opened a prospect of the bay and the ships at anchor. This lawn was screened behind by a tall wood of myrtle sweeping round it in the form of a theatre, the ground on which the wood stood rising with a much sharper ascent than the lawn itself, though not so much but that the hills and precipices within land towered up considerably above the tops of the trees, and added to the grandeur of the view. There were, besides, two streams of crystal water which ran on the right and left of the tent, within 100 yards' distance, and were shaded by the trees which skirted the lawn on either side, and completed the symmetry of the whole.

It remains now only that we speak of the animals and provisions which we met with at this place. Former writers have related that this island abounded with vast numbers of goats; and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances—one of a Mosquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the Duke and Duchess privateers, of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage. His manner of life during his solitude was in most particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumstance he relates which was so strangely verified by our own observation, that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, among other things, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at the island. Now it happened that the first goat that was killed by our people at their landing had his ears slit; whence we concluded that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was indeed an animal of a most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age.

I remember we had once an opportunity of observing a remarkable dispute betwixt a herd of these animals and a number of dogs, for going in our boat into the eastern bay, we saw some dogs running very eagerly upon the foot, and being willing to discover what game they were after, we lay upon our oars some time to view them; and at last we saw them take to a hill, and looking a little farther we observed upon the ridge of it a herd of goats which seemed drawn up for their reception; there was a very narrow path, skirted on each side by precipices, on which the master of the herd posted himself fronting the enemy, the rest of the goats being all behind him, where the ground was more open. As this spot was inaccessible

[1] And was probably, as Thomas suggests, the very spot on which Shelvocke pitched his tent after his shipwreck on the island in May 1720. Shelvocke, as quoted in Kerr's Collection of Voyages, Part I., Book IV., chap. 12, sec. 22, says: "I now took some pains to find out a convenient place in which to set up my tent, and at length found a commodious spot of ground not half-a-mile from the sea, having a fine stream of water on each side, with trees close at hand for firing, and building our huts."

by any other path excepting where this champion had placed himself, the dogs, though they ran up-hill with great alacrity, yet when they came within about twenty yards of him durst not encounter him (for he would infallibly have driven them down the precipice), but gave over the chase, and quietly laid themselves down, panting at a great rate. The dogs, which, as I have mentioned, are masters of all the accessible parts of the island, are of various kinds, but some of them very large, and are multiplied to a prodigious degree. They sometimes came down to our habitations at night and stole our provision, and once or twice they set upon single persons, but assistance being at hand, they were driven off without doing any mischief. As at present it is rare for goats to fall in their way, we conceived that they lived principally upon young seals; and indeed some of our people had the curiosity to kill dogs sometimes and dress them, and they seemed to agree that they had a fishy taste.

Goats' flesh, as I have mentioned, being scarce, we rarely being able to kill above one a day, and our people growing tired of fish (which abounds at this place), they at last condescended to eat seals, which by degrees they came to relish, and called it lamb. The seal, numbers of which haunt this island, has been so often described by former writers that it is unnecessary to say anything particular about them in this place. But there is another amphibious creature to be met with here, called a sea-lion, that bears some resemblance to a seal, though it is much larger. This, too, we ate, under the denomination of beef. They are in size, when arrived at their full growth, from twelve to twenty feet in length, and from eight to fifteen in circumference; they are extremely fat, so that after having cut through the skin, which is about an inch in thickness, there is at least a foot of fat before you can come at either lean or bones; and we experienced more than once that the fat of some of the largest afforded *us a butt of oil.* They are likewise very full of blood, for if they are deeply wounded in a dozen places, there will instantly gush out as many fountains of blood, spouting to a considerable distance; and to try what quantity of blood they contained, we shot one first, and then cut its throat; and measuring the blood that came from him, we found that, besides what remained in the vessels—which, to be sure, was considerable—we got at least two hogsheads. . . . We killed many of them for food, particularly for their hearts and tongues, which we esteemed exceeding good eating, and preferable even to those of bullocks. And in general there was no difficulty in killing them, for they were incapable either of escaping or resisting, their motion being the most unwieldy that can be conceived, their blubber, all the time they are moving, being agitated in large waves under their skins. However, a sailor one day being carelessly employed in skinning a young sea-lion, the female from which he had taken it came upon him unperceived, and getting his head in her mouth, she with her teeth scored his skull in notches in many places, and thereby wounded him so desperately that, though all possible care was taken of him, he died in a few days.

But that which furnished us with the most delicious repasts at this island remains still to be described. This was the fish with which the whole bay was most plentifully stored, and with the greatest variety. For we found here cod of a prodigious size; and by the report of some of our crew, who had been formerly employed in the Newfoundland fishery, not in less plenty than is to be met with on the banks of that island. We caught also cavillies, gropers, large breams, maids, silver-fish, congers of a peculiar kind, and above all, a black fish which we most esteemed, called by some a chimney-sweeper, in shape resembling a carp. Indeed the beach is everywhere so full of rocks and loose stones that there is no possibility of hauling the seyne; but with hooks and lines we caught what numbers we pleased,

so that a boat with two or three lines would return loaded with fish in about two or three hours' time. The only interruption we ever met with arose from great quantities of dog-fish and large sharks, which sometimes attended our boats and prevented our sport. Besides the fish we have already mentioned, we found here one delicacy in greater perfection, both as to size, flavour, and quantity, than is perhaps to be met with in any other part of the world. This was sea craw-fish; they generally weighed eight or nine pounds a-piece, were of an excellent taste, and lay in such abundance near the water's edge that the boat-hooks often struck into them in putting the boat to and from the shore.

These are the most material articles relating to the accommodations, soil, vegetables, animals, and other productions of the Island of Juan Fernandez.[1] By which it must appear how properly that place was adapted for recovering us from the deplorable situation to which our tedious and unfortunate navigation round Cape Horn had reduced us. And having thus given the reader some idea of the site and circumstances of this place, which was to be our residence for three months, I shall now proceed in the next Chapter to relate all that occurred to us in that interval, resuming my narration from the 18th day of June, being the day on which the Trial sloop, having by a squall been driven out to sea three days before, came again to her moorings, the day in which we finished the sending our sick on shore, and about eight days after our first anchoring at this island.

CHAPTER II.

The arrival of the Trial sloop at this island, so soon after we came there ourselves [in the Centurion], gave us great hopes of being speedily joined by the rest of the squadron; and we were for some days continually looking out, in expectation of their coming in sight. But near a fortnight being elapsed without any of them having appeared, we began to despair of ever meeting them again; as we knew that, had our ship continued so much longer at sea, we should every man of us have perished, and the vessel, occupied by dead bodies only, would have been left to the caprice of the winds and waves: and this we had great reason to fear was the fate of our consorts, as each hour added to the probability of these desponding suggestions.

But, on the 21st of June, some of our people, from an eminence on shore, discerned a ship to leeward,

[1] Thomas adds, in somewhat enthusiastic terms, another and a pleasant feature of the island: "It is astonishing, that among all the voyagers who have visited this fortunate island before us, and who have obliged the world with descriptions of it, none of them have mentioned a charming little bird that, with its wild, various, and irregular notes, enchants the ear, and makes the woods resound with its melody. This untutored chorister is somewhat less in size than the goldfinch, its plumage beautifully intermixed with red and other vivid colours, and the golden crown upon its head so bright and glowing when seen in the full light of the sun that it surpasses all description. These little birds are far from being uncommon or unfamiliar, for they perched upon the branches of the myrtle-trees so near us, and sung so cheerfully, as if they had been conscious we were strangers, and came to give us welcome. There is, besides the above, another little bird unnoticed by any former writer, and which seems likewise peculiar to the island, and consequently without a name; it is still less than the former in size, but not inferior in beauty, though not so musical; the back, wings, and head, are of a lively green, intermixed with fine shining golden spots, and the belly a snow-white ground, with ebony-coloured spots, so elegantly varied as no art can imitate."

with her courses even with the horizon; and they at the same time particularly observed, that she had no sail abroad except her courses and her main-topsail. This circumstance made them conclude that it was one of our squadron, which had probably suffered in her sails and rigging as severely as we had done: but they were prevented from forming more definite conjectures about her; for, after viewing her for a short time, the weather grew thick and hazy, and they lost sight of her. On this report, and no ship appearing for some days, we were all under the greatest concern, suspecting that her people were in the utmost distress for want of water, and so diminished and weakened by sickness as not to be able to ply up to windward; so that we feared that, after having been in sight of the island, her whole crew would notwithstanding perish at sea. However, on the 26th, towards noon, we discerned a sail in the NE. quarter, which we conceived to be the very same ship that had been seen before, and our conjectures proved true; and about 1 o'clock she approached so near that we could distinguish her to be the Gloucester. As we had no doubt of her being in great distress, the Commodore immediately ordered his boat to her assistance, laden with fresh water, fish, and vegetables, which was a very seasonable relief to them: for our apprehensions of their calamities appeared to be but too well grounded, as perhaps there never was a crew in a more distressed situation. They had already thrown overboard two-thirds of their complement, and of those that remained alive scarcely any were capable of doing duty, except the officers and their servants. They had been a considerable time at the small allowance of a pint of fresh water to each man for twenty-four hours; and yet they had so little left, that, had it not been for the supply we sent them, they must soon have died of thirst.

The ship plied in within three miles of the bay; but, the winds and currents being contrary, she could not reach the road. However, she continued in the offing the next day, but had no chance of coming to an anchor unless the wind and current shifted; and therefore the Commodore repeated his assistance, sending to her the Trial's boat manned with the Centurion's people, and a further supply of water and other refreshments. Captain Mitchel, the captain of the Gloucester, was under a necessity of detaining both this boat and that sent the preceding day; for without the help of their crews he had no longer strength enough to navigate the ship. In this tantalising situation the Gloucester continued for near a fortnight, without being able to fetch the road, though frequently attempting it, and at sometimes bidding very fair for it. On the 9th of July we observed her stretching away to the eastward at a considerable distance, which we supposed was with a design to get to the southward of the island; but as we soon lost sight of her, and she did not appear for near a week, we were prodigiously concerned, knowing that she must be again in extreme distress for want of water. After great impatience about her, we discovered her again on the 16th, endeavouring to come round the eastern point of the island; but the wind, still blowing directly from the bay, prevented her getting nearer than within four leagues of the land. On this Captain Mitchel made signals of distress; and our long-boat was sent to him with a store of water, and plenty of fish and other refreshments. And the long-boat being not to be spared, the cockswain had positive orders from the Commodore to return again immediately: but the weather proving stormy the next day, and the boat not appearing, we much feared she was lost, which would have proved an irretrievable misfortune to us all. But, the third day after, we were relieved from this anxiety by the joyful sight of the long-boat's sails upon the water; and we sent the cutter immediately to her assistance, which towed her alongside in a few hours. The crew of our long-boat had taken in six of the

Gloucester's sick men to bring them on shore, two of whom had died in the boat. And now we learned that the Gloucester was in a most dreadful condition, having scarcely a man in health on board, except those they received from us; and numbers of their sick dying daily, we found that, had it not been for the last supply sent by our long-boat, both the healthy and diseased must have all perished together for want of water. And these calamities were the more terrifying, as they appeared to be without remedy: for the Gloucester had already spent a month in her endeavours to fetch the bay, and she was now no farther advanced than at the first moment she made the island; on the contrary, the people on board her had worn out all their hopes of ever succeeding in it, by the many experiments they had made of its difficulty. Indeed, the same day her situation grew more desperate than ever; for after she had received our last supply of refreshments, we again lost sight of her; so that we in general despaired of her ever coming to an anchor.

Thus was this unhappy vessel bandied about within a few leagues of her intended harbour, whilst the neighbourhood of that place, and of those circumstances which could alone put an end to the calamities they laboured under, served only to aggravate their distress, by torturing them with a view of the relief it was not in their power to reach. But she was at last delivered from this dreadful situation, at a time when we least expected it; for, after having lost sight of her for several days, we were pleasingly surprised, on the morning of the 23d of July, to see her open the NW. point of the bay with a flowing sail; when we immediately despatched what boats we had to her assistance, and in an hour's time from our first perceiving her she anchored safe within us in the bay. And now we were more particularly convinced of the importance of the assistance and refreshments we so often sent them, and how impossible it would have been for a man of them to have survived had we given less attention to their wants; for notwithstanding the water, the greens, and fresh provisions which we supplied them with, and the hands we sent them to navigate the ship, by which the fatigue of their own people was diminished, their sick relieved, and the mortality abated: notwithstanding this indulgent care of the Commodore, they yet buried three-fourths of their crew, and a very small proportion of the remainder were capable of assisting in the duty of the ship. On their coming to an anchor, our first care was to assist them in mooring, and our next to send the sick on shore. These were now reduced by deaths to less than fourscore, of which we expected to lose the greatest part; but whether it was that those farthest advanced in the distemper were all dead, or that the greens and fresh provisions we had sent on board had prepared those who remained for a more speedy recovery, it happened, contrary to our expectations, that their sick were in general relieved and restored to their strength in a much shorter time than our own had been when we first came to the island, and very few of them died on shore.

I have thus given an account of the principal events relating to the arrival of the Gloucester, in one continued narration; I shall only add, that we never were joined by any other of our ships, except our victualler, the Anna pink, which came in about the middle of August, and whose history I shall more particularly relate hereafter.[1] . . .

[1] The sick were put ashore here and the Centurion was cleansed from the effects of the recent distress on board, and the water was filled. In addition to supplies of vegetables and fresh fish, new bread was also baked in order to revive the health of the crew. As soon as the health of the men was tolerably recovered, the strongest of them were employed in cutting down trees, and splitting them into billets; while the smiths had their forge sent ashore to mend the chain plates and other broken and decayed iron-work. A large tent was also set up on the

The occupations of cleaning and watering the ship (which was by this time pretty well completed), the attendance on our sick, and the frequent relief sent to the Gloucester, were the principal transactions of our infirm crew till the arrival of the Gloucester at an anchor in the bay. And then Captain Mitchel, waiting on the Commodore, informed him, that he had been forced by the winds, in his last absence, as far as the small island called Mas-a-fuera, lying about twenty-two leagues to the westward of Juan Fernandez; and that he endeavoured to send his boat on shore at this place for water, of which he could observe several streams, but the wind blew so strong upon the shore, and occasioned such a surf, that it was impossible for the boat to land; though the attempt was not altogether useless, as they returned with a boat-load of fish. This island had been represented by former navigators as a barren rock; but Captain Mitchel assured the Commodore that it was almost everywhere covered with trees and verdure, and was near four miles in length; and added that it appeared to him far from impossible but some small bay might be found on it, which might afford sufficient shelter for any ship desirous of refreshing there.

As four ships of our squadron were missing, this description of the Island of Mas-a-fuera gave rise to a conjecture that some of them might possibly have fallen in with that island, and have mistaken it for the true place of our rendezvous; and this suspicion was the more plausible, as we had no draught of either island that could be relied on. In consequence of this reasoning, Mr Anson determined to send the Trial sloop thither, as soon as she could be fitted for the sea, in order to examine all its bays and creeks, that we might be satisfied whether any of our missing ships were there or not. For this purpose, some of our best hands were sent on board the Trial the next morning, to overhaul and fix her rigging; and our long-boat was employed in completing her water; and whatever stores and necessaries she wanted were immediately supplied either from the Centurion or the Gloucester. But it was the 4th of August before the Trial was in readiness to sail, when having weighed, it soon after fell calm, and the tide set her very near the eastern shore. Captain Saunders hung out lights, and fired several guns to acquaint us with his danger; upon which all the boats were sent to his relief, who towed the sloop into the bay; where she anchored until the next morning, and then weighing again proceeded on her cruise with a fair breeze.

And now after the Gloucester's arrival we were employed in earnest in examining and repairing our rigging; but in stripping our foremast we were alarmed by discovering it was sprung just above the partners of the upper deck. The spring was two inches in depth and twelve in circumference; but the carpenters, inspecting it, gave it as their opinion that fishing it with two leaves of an anchor-stock would render it as secure as ever. But our greatest difficulty in refitting was the want of cordage and canvas; for though we had taken to sea much greater quantities of both than had ever been done before, yet the continued bad weather we met with had occasioned such a consumption of these stores, that we were driven to great straits. For after working up all our junk and old shrouds, to make twice-laid cordage, we were at last obliged to unlay a cable to work into running rigging; and with all the canvas, and remnants of old sails, that could be mustered, we could only make up one complete suit.

Towards the middle of August, our men being indifferently recovered, they were permitted to quit their sick tents, and to build separate huts for themselves; as it was imagined that by living apart they would be much cleanlier, and consequently likely to recover their strength the sooner; but at the same time particular orders were given, that on the firing of a gun from the ship they should instantly repair to

beach for the use of the sail-makers in *their repairs of* the sails and rigging.

the waterside. Their employment on shore was now either the procuring of refreshments, the cutting of wood, or the making of oil from the blubber of the sea-lions. This oil served us for several uses, as burning in lamps, or mixing with pitch to pay the ship's sides, or, when mixed with wood-ashes, to supply the use of tallow, of which we had none left, to give the ship boot-hose tops.[1] Some of the men, too, were occupied in salting cod; for there being two Newfoundland fishermen in the Centurion, the Commodore made use of them in laying in a considerable quantity of salted cod for a sea-store; but very little of it was made use of, as it was afterwards thought to be as productive of the scurvy as any other kind of salt provisions.

I have before mentioned that we had a copper oven on shore to bake bread for the sick; but it happened that the greatest part of the flour for the use of the squadron was embarked on board our victualler, the Anna pink. And I should have mentioned that the Trial sloop, at her arrival, had informed us that on the 9th of May she had fallen in with our victualler not far distant from the continent of Chili, and had kept company with her for four days, when they were parted in a hard gale of wind. This gave us some room to hope that she was safe, and that she might soon join us; but all June and July being past without any news of her, we suspected she was lost; and at the end of July the Commodore ordered all the ships to a short allowance of bread. And it was not in our bread only that we feared a deficiency; for since our arrival at this island we discovered that our former purser had neglected to take on board large quantities of several kinds of provisions which the Commodore had expressly ordered him to receive; so that the supposed loss of our victualler was on all accounts a mortifying consideration. However, on Sunday the 16th of August, about noon, we espied a sail in the northern quarter, and a gun was immediately fired from the Centurion to call off the people from shore, who readily obeyed the summons, and repaired to the beach, where the boats waited to carry them on board. And now being prepared for the reception of this ship in view, whether friend or enemy, we had various speculations about her. At first many imagined it to be the Trial sloop returned from her cruise; but as she drew nearer this opinion was confuted by observing she was a vessel with three masts. And then other conjectures were eagerly canvassed, some judging it to be the Severn, others the Pearl, and several affirming that it did not belong to our squadron. But about three in the afternoon our disputes were ended by an unanimous persuasion that it was our victualler, the Anna pink. This ship, though, like the Gloucester, she had fallen in to the northward of the island, had yet the good fortune to come to an anchor in the bay at five in the afternoon. Her arrival gave us all the sincerest joy; for each ship's company was now restored to its full allowance of bread, and we were now freed from the apprehensions of our provisions falling short before we could reach some amicable port—a calamity which in these seas is of all others the most irretrievable. This was the last ship that joined us; and the dangers she encountered, and the good fortune which she afterwards met with, being matters worthy of a separate narration, I shall refer them, together with a short account of the other ships of the squadron, to the ensuing Chapter.

[1] Boot-topping in those days denoted the scraping of a ship's bottom, or that part of its side near the surface of the water, and paying it over with a mixture of tallow, sulphur, resin, &c., as a temporary protection to the plank from worms.

CHAPTER III.

On the first appearance of the Anna pink it seemed wonderful to us how

the crew of a vessel which came to this rendezvous two months after us should be capable of working their ship in the manner they did, with so little appearance of debility and distress. But this difficulty was soon solved when she came to an anchor; for we then found that they had been in harbour since the middle of May, which was near a month before we arrived at Juan Fernandez: so that their sufferings (the risk they had run of shipwreck only excepted) were greatly short of what had been undergone by the rest of the squadron. It seems, on the 16th of May, they fell in with the land, which was then but four leagues distant, in the Latitude of 45° 15′ S. On the first sight of it they wore ship and stood to the southward; but their foretopsail splitting, and the wind being WSW., they drove towards the shore; and the captain at last, either unable to clear the land, or, as others say, resolved to keep the sea no longer, steered for the coast with a view of discovering some shelter amongst the many islands which then appeared in sight. And about four hours after the first view of the land, the pink had the good fortune to come to an anchor to the eastward of the Island of Inchin; but as they did not run sufficiently near to the east shore of that island, and had not hands to veer away the cable briskly, they were soon driven to the eastward, deepening their water from twenty-five fathoms to thirty-five, and still continuing to drive, they, the next day, the 17th of May, let go their sheet anchor; which though it brought them up for a short time, yet on the 18th they drove again, till they came into sixty-five fathoms water, and were now within a mile of the land, and expected to be forced on shore every moment, in a place where the coast was so very high and steep, that there was not the least prospect of saving the ship or cargo. And their boats being very leaky, and there being no appearance of a landing-place, the whole crew, consisting *of sixteen* men and boys, gave themselves over for lost; for they apprehended that if any of them by some extraordinary chance should get on shore, they would in all probability be massacred by the savages on the coast: for these knowing no other Europeans but Spaniards, it might be expected they would treat all strangers with the same cruelty which they had so often and so signally exerted against their Spanish neighbours. Under these terrifying circumstances the pink drove nearer and nearer to the rocks which formed the shore; but at last, when the crew expected each instant to strike, they perceived a small opening in the land, which raised their hopes; and immediately cutting away their two anchors, they steered for it, and found it to be a small channel betwixt an island and the main, which led them into a most excellent harbour, which, for its security against all winds and swells, and the smoothness of its waters, may perhaps compare with any in the known world. And this place being scarcely two miles distant from the spot where they deemed their destruction inevitable, the horrors of shipwreck and of immediate death which had so long and so strongly possessed them vanished almost instantaneously, and gave place to the more joyous ideas of security, repose, and refreshment. In this harbour, discovered in this almost miraculous manner, the pink came to an anchor in twenty-five fathoms water, with only a hawser and a small anchor of about three hundred-weight; and here she continued for near two months, refreshing her people, who were many of them ill of the scurvy, but were soon restored to perfect health by the fresh provisions of which they procured good store, and the excellent water with which the adjacent shore abounded.[1] . . .

[1] Anna Pink Bay is laid down in modern maps to the extreme north of the peninsula of Tres Montes, between that land and the southernmost island of the Chonos Archipelago, off the western coast of Patagonia.

It may be expected that I should relate the discoveries made by the [Anna's] crew on the adjacent coast, and the principal incidents during their stay there. But here I must observe, that being only a few in number, they did not dare to detach any of their people on distant discoveries; for they were perpetually terrified with the apprehension that they should be attacked either by the Spaniards or the Indians; so that their excursions were generally confined to that tract of land which surrounded the port, and where they were never out of view of the ship. But even had they at first known how little foundation there was for these fears, yet the country in the neighbourhood was so grown up with wood, and traversed with mountains, that it appeared impracticable to penetrate it; so that no account of the inland parts could be expected from them. Indeed, they were able to disprove the relations given by Spanish writers, who had represented this coast as inhabited by a fierce and powerful people; for they were certain that no such inhabitants were there to be found, at least during the winter season; since all the time they continued there they saw no more than one Indian family, which came into the harbour in a periagua about a month after the arrival of the pink, and consisted of an Indian near forty years old, his wife, and two children, one three years of age and the other still at the breast. They seemed to have with them all their property, which was a dog, a cat, a fishing-net, a hatchet, a knife, a cradle, some bark of trees intended for covering a hut, a reel, some worsted, a flint and steel, and a few roots of a yellow hue and a very disagreeable taste, which served them for bread. The master of the pink, as soon as he perceived them, sent his yawl, which brought them on board; and fearing lest they might discover him if they were permitted to go away, he took, as he conceived, proper precautions for securing them, but without any mixture of ill-usage or violence. For in the day-time they were permitted to go where they pleased about the ship, but at night were locked up in the forecastle. As they were fed in the same manner with the rest of the crew, and were often indulged with brandy, which they seemed greatly to relish, it did not at first appear that they were much dissatisfied with their situation; especially as the master took the Indian on shore when he went a-shooting (who always seemed extremely delighted when the master killed his game), and as all the crew treated them with great humanity. But it was soon perceived, that though the woman continued easy and cheerful, yet the man grew pensive and restless at his confinement. He seemed to be a person of good natural parts; and, though not capable of conversing with the pink's people otherwise than by signs, was yet very curious and inquisitive, and showed great dexterity in the manner of making himself understood. In particular, seeing so few people on board such a large ship, he let them know that he supposed they were once more numerous; and to represent to them what he imagined was become of their companions, he laid himself down on the deck, closing his eyes, and stretching himself out motionless, to imitate the appearance of a dead body. But the strongest proof of his sagacity was the manner of his getting away; for after being in custody on board the pink eight days, the scuttle of the forecastle, where he and his family were locked up every night, happened to be [left] unnailed, and the following night being extremely dark and stormy, he contrived to convey his wife and children through the unnailed scuttle, and then over the ship's side into the yawl; and, to prevent being pursued, he cut away the long-boat and his own periagua, which were towing astern, and immediately rowed ashore. All this he conducted with so much diligence and secrecy, that though there was a watch on the quarter-deck with loaded arms, yet he was not discovered by them till the noise of his oars in the

water, after he had put off from the ship, gave them notice of his escape; and then it was too late either to prevent him or pursue him, for their boats being all adrift, it was a considerable time before they could contrive the means of getting on shore themselves to search for their boats. The Indian, too, by this effort, besides the recovery of his liberty, was in some sort revenged on those who had confined him, both by the perplexity they were involved in from the loss of their boats, and by the terror he threw them into at his departure; for on the first alarm of the watch, who cried out "The Indians!" the whole ship was in the utmost confusion, believing themselves to be boarded by a fleet of armed periaguas.

The resolution and sagacity with which the Indian behaved upon this occasion, had they been exerted on a more extensive object than retrieving the freedom of a single family, might perhaps have immortalised the exploit, and have given him a rank amongst the illustrious names of antiquity. Indeed, his late masters did so much justice to his merit as to own that it was a most gallant enterprise, and that they were grieved they had ever been necessitated, by their attention to their own safety, to abridge the liberty of a person of whose prudence and courage they had now such a distinguished proof. And as it was supposed by some of them that he still continued in the woods in the neighbourhood of the port, where it was feared he might suffer for want of provisions, they easily prevailed upon the master to leave a quantity of such food as they thought would be most agreeable to him, in a particular part where they imagined he would be likely to find it; and there was reason to conjecture that this piece of humanity was not altogether useless to him, for on visiting the place some time after, it was found that the provision was gone, and in a manner that made them conclude it had fallen into his hands.

But, however, though many of *them were satisfied* that this Indian still continued near them, yet others would needs conclude that he was gone to the Island of Chiloe, where they feared he would alarm the Spaniards, and would soon return with a force sufficient to surprise the pink. And on this occasion the master of the pink was prevailed on to omit firing the evening gun; for it must be remembered (and there is a particular reason hereafter for attending to this circumstance) that the master, from an ostentatious imitation of the practice of men-of-war, had hitherto fired a gun every evening at the setting of the watch. This, he pretended, was to awe the enemy, if there was any within hearing, and to convince them that the pink was always on her guard; but it being now represented to him that his great security was his concealment, and that the evening-gun might possibly discover him and serve to guide the enemy to him, he was prevailed on, as has been mentioned, to omit it for the future. And his crew being now well refreshed, and their wood and water sufficiently replenished, he, in a few days after the escape of the Indian, put to sea, and had a fortunate passage to the rendezvous at the Island of Juan Fernandez, where he arrived on the 16th of August, as has been already mentioned in the preceding Chapter.

This vessel, the Anna pink, was, as I have observed, the last that joined the Commodore at Juan Fernandez. The remaining ships of the squadron were the Severn, the Pearl, and the Wager store-ship. The Severn and Pearl parted company with the squadron off Cape Noir, and, as we afterwards learned, put back to the Brazils; so that of all the ships which came into the South Seas the Wager, Captain Cheap, was the only one that was missing. This ship had on board some field-pieces mounted for land service, together with some cohorn mortars, and several kinds of artillery, stores, and tools, intended for the operations on shore. And, therefore, as the enterprise on Baldivia had been resolved on for the first undertaking of the squadron, Captain Cheap

was extremely solicitous that these materials, which were in his custody, might be ready before Baldivia; that if the squadron should possibly rendezvous there (as he knew not the condition they were then reduced to) no delay nor disappointment might be imputed to him.

But whilst the Wager, with these views, was making the best of her way to her first rendezvous off the Island of Socoro, whence (as there was little probability of meeting any of the squadron there) she proposed to steer directly for Baldivia, she made the land on the 14th of May, about the Latitude of 47° S.; and the captain exerting himself on this occasion, in order to get clear of it, he had the misfortune to fall down the after-ladder, and thereby dislocated his shoulder, which rendered him incapable of acting. This accident, together with the crazy condition of the ship, which was little better than a wreck, prevented her from getting off to sea, and entangled her more and more with the land; so that the next morning, at daybreak, she struck on a sunken rock, and soon after bilged, and grounded between two small islands, at about a musket-shot from the shore. In this situation the ship continued entire a long time, so that all the crew had it in their power to get safe on shore; but a general confusion taking place, numbers of them, instead of consulting their safety, or reflecting on their calamitous condition, fell to pillaging the ship, arming themselves with the first weapons that came to hand, and threatening to murder all who should oppose them. This frenzy was greatly heightened by the liquors they found on board, with which they got so extremely drunk, that some of them tumbling down between decks, were drowned as the water flowed in, being incapable of getting up and retreating to other places where the water had not yet entered. And the captain, having done his utmost to get the whole crew on shore, was at last obliged to leave these mutineers behind him, and to follow his officers and such as he had been able to prevail on; but he did not fail to send back the boats to persuade those who remained to have some regard to their preservation, though all his efforts were for some time without success. However, the weather next day proving stormy, and there being great danger of the ship's parting, they[1] began to be alarmed with the fears of perishing, and were desirous of getting to land; but it seems their madness had not yet left them, for the boat not appearing to fetch them off so soon as they expected, they at last pointed a four-pounder, which was on the quarter-deck, against the hut where they knew the captain resided on shore, and fired two shots, which passed but just over it.

From this specimen of the behaviour of part of the crew, it will not be difficult to frame some conjecture of the disorder and anarchy which took place when they at last got all on shore. For the men conceived that by the loss of the ship the authority of the officers was at an end; and, they being now on a desolate coast, where scarcely any other provisions could be got except what should be saved out of the wreck, this was another insurmountable source of discord. For as the working upon the wreck, and the securing the provisions, so that they might be preserved for future exigencies as much as possible, and the taking care that what was necessary for immediate subsistence might be sparingly and equally distributed, were matters not to be brought about but by discipline and subordination; the mutinous disposition of the people, stimulated by the impulses of immediate hunger, rendered every regulation made for this purpose ineffectual. So that there were continual concealments, frauds, and thefts, which animated each man against his fellow, and produced infinite feuds and contests. And hence there was constantly kept on foot a perverse and malevolent turn of tem-

[1] Ed. 1776: "The refractory part of the crew."

per, which rendered them utterly ungovernable.[1]

But besides these heart-burnings, occasioned by petulance and hunger, there was another important point, which set the greatest part of the people at variance with the captain. This was their differing with him in opinion on the measures to be pursued in the present exigency; for the captain was determined, if possible, to fit up the boats in the best manner he could, and to proceed with them to the northward. For having with him above 100[2] men in health, and having got some fire-arms and ammunition from the wreck, he did not doubt but they could master any Spanish vessel they should meet with in those seas; and he thought he could not fail of meeting with one in the neighbourhood of Chiloe or Baldivia, in which, when he had taken her, he intended to proceed to the rendezvous at Juan Fernandez; and he further insisted, that should they meet with no prize by the way, yet the boats alone would easily carry them there. But this was a scheme that, however prudent, was no ways relished by the generality of his people; for, being quite jaded with the [fatigues,] distresses, and dangers they had already run through, they could not think of prosecuting an enterprise further which had hitherto proved so disastrous; and therefore the common resolution was to lengthen the long-boat, and with that and the rest of the boats, to steer to the southward, to pass through the Straits of Magellan, and to range along the east side of South America, till they should arrive at Brazil, where they doubted not to be well received, and to procure a passage to Great Britain. This project was at first sight infinitely more hazardous and tedious than what was proposed by the captain; but as it had the air of returning home, and flattered them with the hopes of bringing them once more to their native country, this circumstance alone rendered them inattentive to all its inconveniences, and made them adhere to it with insurmountable obstinacy; so that the captain himself, though he never changed his opinion, was yet obliged to give way to the torrent, and in appearance to acquiesce in this resolution, whilst he endeavoured underhand to give it all the obstruction he could, particularly in the lengthening of the long-boat, which he contrived should be of such a size, that though it might serve to carry them to Juan Fernandez, would yet, he hoped, appear incapable of so long a navigation as that to the coast of Brazil.

But the captain, by his steady opposition at first to this favourite project, had much embittered the people against him; to which, likewise, the following unhappy accident greatly contributed. There was a midshipman, whose name was Cozens, who had appeared the foremost in all the refractory proceedings of the crew. He had involved himself in brawls with most of the officers who had adhered to the captain's authority, and had even treated the captain himself with great abuse and insolence. As his turbulence and brutality grew every day more and more intolerable, it was not in the least doubted but there were some violent measures in agitation in which Cozens was engaged as the ringleader; for which reason the captain, and those about him, constantly kept themselves on their guard. But at last the purser, having, by the captain's order, stopped the allowance of a fellow who would not work, Cozens, though the man did not com-

[1] Sir John Barrow, in his "Life of Anson," states that "it was in consequence of the mutinous and bad conduct of the shipwrecked seamen of the Wager, that Anson, in 1748, when he had the management of the Admiralty, in the absence of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Sandwich, got an Act passed (21 George II.) for extending the discipline of the navy to the crews of His Majesty's ships, wrecked, lost, or taken, and continuing to them their wages upon certain conditions."

[2] *Ed.* 1776: "Above 200."

plain to him, intermeddled in the affair with great eagerness; and grossly insulting the purser, who was then delivering our provisions just by the captain's tent, and was himself sufficiently violent, the purser, enraged by his scurrility, and perhaps piqued by former quarrels, cried out—"A mutiny!" adding "that the dog had pistols," and then himself fired a shot at Cozens, which, however, missed him. But the captain, on this outcry and the report of the pistol, rushed out of his tent; and, not doubting but it had been fired by Cozens as the commencement of a mutiny, he immediately shot him in the head without further deliberation, and though he did not kill him on the spot, yet the wound proved mortal, and he died about fourteen days after.

This incident, however displeasing to the people, did yet for a considerable time awe them to their duty, and rendered them more submissive to the captain's authority. But at last, when towards the middle of October the long-boat was nearly completed, and they were preparing to put to sea, the additional provocation he gave them by covertly traversing their project of proceeding through the Straits of Magellan, and their fears that he might at length engage a party sufficient to overturn this favourite measure, made them resolve to make use of the death of Cozens as a reason for depriving him of his command, under pretence of carrying him a prisoner to England to be tried for murder; and he was accordingly confined under a guard. But they never intended to carry him with them, as they too well knew what they had to apprehend on their return to England if their commander should be present to confront them; and therefore, when they were just ready to put to sea, they set him at liberty, leaving him, and the few who chose to take their fortunes with him, no other embarkation but the yawl; to which the barge was afterwards added by the people on board her being prevailed on to return back.

When the ship was wrecked, there remained alive on board the Wager near 130 persons; of these, above thirty died during their stay upon the place, and near eighty went off in the long-boat and the cutter to the southward: so that there remained with the captain, after their departure, no more than nineteen persons, which, however, was as many as the barge and the yawl—the only embarkations left them—could well carry off. It was on the 13th of October, five months after the shipwreck, that the long-boat, converted into a schooner, weighed and stood to the southward, giving the captain, who, with Lieutenant Hamilton of the land forces, and the surgeon, was then on the beach, three cheers at their departure. It was the 29th of January following before they arrived at Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil; and having, by various accidents, left about twenty of their people on shore at the different places they touched at; and a greater number having perished by hunger during the course of their navigation, there were no more than thirty of them left when they arrived in that port. Indeed the undertaking of itself was a most extraordinary one, for, not to mention the length of the run, the vessel was scarcely able to contain the number that first put to sea in her; and their stock of provisions (being only what they had saved out of the ship) was extremely slender; and the cutter, the only boat they had with them, soon broke away from the stern and was staved to pieces; so that when their provision and their water failed them, they had frequently no means of getting on shore to search for a fresh supply.

When the long-boat and cutter were gone, the captain and those who were left with him proposed to pass to the northward in the barge and yawl; but the weather was so bad, and the difficulty of subsisting so great, that it was two months after the departure of the long-boat before he was able to put to sea. It seems the place where the Wager was cast away was not a part of the continent, as was first

imagined, but an island at some distance from the main, which afforded no other sorts of provision but shell-fish and a few herbs; and as the greatest part of what they had got from the ship was carried off in the long-boat, the captain and his people were often in great necessity, especially as they chose to preserve what little sea-provisions remained for their store when they should go to the northward. During their residence at this island, which was by the seamen denominated Wager Island,[1] they had now and then a straggling canoe or two of the Indians, which came and bartered their fish and other provisions with our people. This was indeed some little succour, and at another season might perhaps have been greater; for as there were several Indian huts on the shore, it was supposed that in some years, during the height of summer, many of these savages might resort thither to fish. And, from what has been related in the account of the Anna pink, it should seem to be the general practice of those Indians to frequent this coast in the summer time for the benefit of fishing, and to retire in the winter into a better climate more to the northward. And on this mention of the Anna pink, I cannot but observe how much it is to be lamented that the Wager's people had no knowledge of her being so near them on the coast; for as she was not above thirty leagues distant from them, and came into their neighbourhood about the same time the Wager was lost, and was a fine roomy ship, she could easily have taken them all on board and have carried them to Juan Fernandez. Indeed, I suspect she was still nearer to them than what is here estimated, for several of the Wager's people, at different times, heard the report of a cannon, which I conceive could be no other than the evening gun fired from the Anna pink, especially as what was heard at Wager Island was about the same time of the day. But to return to Captain Cheap.

Upon the 14th of December the captain and his people embarked in the barge and the yawl in order to proceed to the northward, taking on board with them all the provisions they could amass from the wreck of the ship; but they had scarcely been an hour at sea when the wind began to blow hard, and the sea ran so high that they were obliged to throw the greatest part of their provisions overboard to avoid immediate destruction. This was a terrible misfortune in a part of the world where food is so difficult to be got; however, they still persisted in their design, putting on shore as often as they could to seek subsistence. But, about a fortnight after, another dreadful accident befell them, for the yawl sank at an anchor, and one of the men in her was drowned; and as the barge was incapable of carrying the whole company, they were now reduced to the hard necessity of leaving four marines behind them on that desolate shore. But they still kept on their course to the northward, struggling with their disasters, and greatly delayed by the perverseness of the winds and the frequent interruptions which their search after food occasioned; till at last, about the end of January, having made three unsuccessful attempts to double a headland which they supposed to be what the Spaniards called Cape Tres Montes, it was unanimously resolved to give over this expedition, the difficulties of which appeared insuperable, and to return again to Wager Island, where they got back about the middle of February, quite disheartened and dejected with their reiterated disappointments, and almost perishing with hunger and fatigue.

However, on their return they had the good luck to meet with several pieces of beef which had been washed out of the ship, and were swimming in the sea. This was a most seasonable relief to them after the hardships they had endured; and, to complete

[1] A small island just north of Wellington Island on the western coast of Patagonia, and divided from the peninsula of Tres Montes, lying to the *northward still*, by the Gulf of Penas.

their good fortune, there came in a short time two canoes of Indians, amongst whom was a native of Chiloe who spoke a little Spanish; and the surgeon who was with Captain Cheap understanding that language, he made a bargain with the Indian, that if he would carry the captain and his people to Chiloe in the barge he should have her, and all that belonged to her, for his pains. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, the eleven persons, to which the company was now reduced, embarked in the barge on this new expedition; but after having proceeded for a few days, the captain and four of his principal officers being on shore, the six, who together with an Indian remained in the barge, put off with her to sea and did not return.

By this means there were left on shore Captain Cheap, Mr Hamilton, lieutenant of marines; the Honourable Mr Byron[1] and Mr Campbell, midshipmen; and Mr Elliot, the surgeon. One would have thought their distresses had long before this time been incapable of augmentation, but they found, on reflection, that their present situation was much more dismaying than anything they had yet gone through, being left on a desolate coast without any provision, or the means of procuring any, for their arms, ammunition, and every convenience they were masters of, except the tattered habits they had on, were all carried away in the barge. But when they had sufficiently revolved in their own minds the various circumstances of this unexpected calamity, and were persuaded that they had no relief to hope for, they perceived a canoe at a distance, which proved to be that of the Indian who had undertaken to carry them to Chiloe, he and his family being then on board it. He made no difficulty of coming to them, for it seems he had left Captain Cheap and his people a little before to go a-fishing, and had in the meantime committed them to the care of the other Indian, whom the sailors had carried to sea in the barge. But when he came on shore and found the barge gone and his companion missing, he was extremely concerned, and could with difficulty be persuaded that the other Indian was not murdered; but being at last satisfied with the account that was given him, he still undertook to carry them to the Spanish settlements, and (as the Indians are well skilled in fishing and fowling) to procure them provisions by the way.

About the middle of March, Captain Cheap and the four who were left with him set out for Chiloe, the Indian having procured a number of canoes, and got many of his neighbours together for that purpose. Soon after they embarked, Mr Elliot the surgeon died, so that there now remained only four of the whole company. At last, after a very complicated passage by land and water, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Campbell, arrived in the beginning of June at the Island of Chiloe, where they were received by the Spaniards with great humanity; but, on account of some quarrel among the Indians, Mr Hamilton did not get thither till two months after. Thus, above a twelvemonth after the loss of the Wager, ended this fatiguing peregrination, which by a variety of misfortunes had diminished the company from twenty to no more than four, and those too, brought so low, that had their distresses continued but a few days longer, in all probability none of them would have survived. For the captain himself was with difficulty recovered; and the rest were so reduced by the severity of the weather, their labour, and their want of all kinds of necessaries, that it was wonderful how they supported themselves so long. After some stay at

[1] The Honourable John Byron, who left a well-written narrative of his sufferings and adventures; as Commodore, he commanded an expedition of discovery to the southern parts of South America in 1764-1766, and circumnavigated the globe partly in the same track as his former commander. He afterwards rose to the rank of Admiral, and survived till 1798. Lord Byron, the poet, was his grandson.

Chiloe, the captain and the three who were with him were sent to Valparaiso, and thence to Santiago, the capital of Chili, where they continued above a year: but on the advice of a cartel being settled betwixt Great Britain and Spain, Captain Cheap, Mr Byron, and Mr Hamilton were permitted to return to Europe on board a French ship. The other midshipman, Mr Campbell, having changed his religion whilst at Santiago, chose to go back [overland] to Buenos Ayres with Pizarro and his officers, with whom he went afterwards to Spain on board the Asia; and there having failed in his endeavours to procure a commission from the Court of Spain, he returned to England, and attempted to get reinstated in the British navy; and has since published a narration of his adventures, in which he complains of the injustice that had been done him, and strongly disavows his ever being in the Spanish service. But as the change of his religion, and his offering himself to the Court of Spain (though not accepted), are matters which, he is conscious, are capable of being incontestably proved; on these two heads he has been entirely silent. And now, after this account of the accidents which befell the Anna pink, and the catastrophe of the Wager, I shall again resume the thread of our own story.

CHAPTER IV.

ABOUT a week after the arrival of our victualler, the Trial sloop, that had been sent to the Island of Mas-a-fuera, returned to an anchor at Juan Fernandez, after having been round that island without meeting any part of our squadron. . . .

The latter part of the month of August was spent in unloading the provisions from the Anna pink; and here we had the mortification to find that great quantities of our provisions, as bread, rice, groats, &c., were decayed and unfit for use. This was owing to the water the pink had made by her working and straining in bad weather; for thereby several of her casks had rotted, and her bags were soaked through.[1] . . . . The thorough refitting of the Anna pink, proposed by the carpenters, was, in our present situation, impossible to be complied with, as all the plank and iron in the squadron was insufficient for that purpose. And now the master, finding his own sentiments confirmed by the opinion of all the carpenters, offered a petition to the Commodore in behalf of his owners, desiring that, since it appeared he was incapable of leaving the island, Mr Anson would please to purchase the hull and furniture of the pink for the use of the squadron. Hereupon the Commodore ordered an inventory to be taken of every particular belonging to the pink, with its just value; and as by this inventory it appeared that there were many stores which would be useful in refitting the other ships, and which were at present very scarce in the squadron by reason of the great quantities that had been already expended, he agreed with Mr Gerard to purchase the whole together for £300. The pink being thus broken up, Mr Gerard, with the hands belonging to the pink, were sent on board the Gloucester; as that ship had buried the greatest number of men in proportion to her complement. But afterwards one or two of them were received on board the Centurion on their own petition, they being extremely averse to sailing in the same ship with their old master, on account of some particular ill-usage they conceived they had suffered from him.

This transaction brought us down to the beginning of September, and our people by this time were so far recovered of the scurvy that there was little danger of burying any more at present; and therefore I shall now sum up the total of our loss since our departure from England, the better to convey some idea of our past suffer-

[1] The Anna pink was here discharged from the service of the squadron, and on examination was found to be un-seaworthy.

ings and of our present strength. We had buried on board the Centurion since our leaving St Helens 292, and had now remaining on board 214. This will doubtless appear a most extraordinary mortality; but yet on board the Gloucester it had been much greater, for out of a much smaller crew than ours they had buried the same number, and had only eighty-two remaining alive. It might be expected that on board the Trial the slaughter would have been the most terrible, as her decks were almost constantly knee-deep in water; but it happened otherwise, for she escaped more favourably than the rest, since she only buried forty-two, and had now thirty-nine remaining alive. The havoc of this disease had fallen still severer on the invalids and marines than on the sailors; for on board the Centurion, out of fifty invalids and seventy-nine marines there remained only four invalids, including officers, and eleven marines; and on board the Gloucester every invalid perished, and out of forty-eight marines only two escaped. From this account it appears that the three ships together departed from England with 961 men on board, of whom 626 were dead before this time; so that the whole of our remaining crews, which were now to be distributed amongst three ships, amounted to no more than 335 men and boys, a number greatly insufficient for manning the Centurion alone, and barely capable of navigating all the three with the utmost exertion of their strength and vigour. This prodigious reduction of our men was still the more terrifying as we were hitherto uncertain of the fate of Pizarro's squadron, and had reason to suppose that some part of it at least had got round into these seas. Indeed we were satisfied from our own experience that they must have suffered greatly in their passage; but then every port in the South Seas was open to them, and the whole power of Chili and Peru would doubtless be united in refreshing and refitting them, and recruiting the numbers they had lost. Besides, we had some obscure knowledge of a force to be fitted out from Callao; and, however contemptible the ships and sailors of this part of the world may have been generally esteemed, it was scarcely possible for anything bearing the name of a ship of force to be feebler or less considerable than ourselves. And had there been nothing to be apprehended from the naval power of the Spaniards in this part of the world, yet our enfeebled condition would nevertheless give us the greatest uneasiness, as we were incapable of attempting any of their considerable places; for the risking of twenty men, weak as we then were, was risking the safety of the whole. So that we conceived we should be necessitated to content ourselves with what few prizes we could pick up at sea before we were discovered, after which we should in all probability be obliged to depart with precipitation, and esteem ourselves fortunate to regain our native country, leaving our enemies to triumph on the inconsiderable mischief they had received from a squadron whose equipment had filled them with such dreadful apprehensions. This was a subject on which we had reason to imagine the Spanish ostentation would remarkably exert itself; though the causes of our disappointment and their security were neither to be sought for in their valour nor our misconduct. Such were the desponding reflections which at that time arose on the review and comparison of our remaining strength with our original numbers. Indeed our fears were far from being groundless or disproportioned to our feeble and almost desperate situation. It is true the final event proved more honourable than we had foreboded; but the intermediate calamities did likewise greatly surpass our most gloomy apprehensions, and could they have been predicted to us at this Island of Juan Fernandez, they would doubtless have appeared insurmountable.

In the beginning of September, as has been already mentioned, our men were tolerably well recovered; and now the time of navigation in this climate drawing near, we exerted

ourselves in getting our ships in readiness for the sea. We converted the foremast of the victualler into a mainmast for the Trial sloop; and, still flattering ourselves with the possibility of the arrival of some other ships of our squadron, we intended to leave the mainmast of the victualler to make a mizzenmast for the Wager. Thus all hands being employed in forwarding our departure, we on the 8th, about eleven in the morning, espied a sail to the NE., which continued to approach us till her courses appeared even with the horizon. In this interval we all had hopes she might prove one of our own squadron; but at length, finding she steered away to the eastward, without hauling in for the island, we concluded she must be a Spaniard. And now great disputes were set on foot about the possibility of her having discovered our tents on shore, some of us strongly insisting that she had doubtless been near enough to have perceived something that had given her a jealousy of an enemy, which had occasioned her standing to the eastward without hauling in; but, leaving these contests to be settled afterwards, it was resolved to pursue her; and the Centurion being in the greatest forwardness, we immediately got all our hands on board, set up our rigging, bent our sails, and by five in the afternoon got under sail. We had at this time very little wind, so that all the boats were employed to tow us out of the bay; and even what wind there was lasted only long enough to give us an offing of two or three leagues, when it flattened to a calm. The night coming on, we lost sight of the chase, and were extremely impatient for the return of daylight, in hopes to find that she had been becalmed as well as we; though I must confess that her greater distance from the land was a reasonable ground for suspecting the contrary, as we indeed found in the morning, to our great mortification; for though the weather continued perfectly clear, we had no sight of the ship from the *mast*-head. But as we were now satisfied that it was an enemy, and the first we had seen in these seas, we resolved not to give over the search lightly; and a small breeze springing up from the WNW., we got up our top-gallant masts and yards, set all the sails, and steered to the SE., in hopes of retrieving our chase, which we imagined to be bound to Valparaiso. We continued on this course all that day and the next; and then, not getting sight of our chase, we gave over the pursuit, conceiving that by that time she must in all probability have reached her port.

And now we prepared to return to Juan Fernandez, and hauled up to the SW. with that view, having but very little wind till the 12th, when, at three in the morning, there sprang up a fresh gale from the WSW., and we tacked and stood to the NW.; and at daybreak we were agreeably surprised with the sight of a sail on our weather-bow, between four and five leagues distant. On this we crowded all the sail we could, and stood after her, and soon perceived it not to be the same ship we originally gave chase to. She at first bore down upon us, showing Spanish colours, and making a signal as to her consort; but observing that we did not answer her signal, she instantly luffed close to the wind and stood to the southward. Our people were now all in spirits, and put the ship about with great alacrity; and as the chase appeared to be a large ship, and had mistaken us for her consort, we conceived that she was a man-of-war, and probably one of Pizarro's squadron. This induced the Commodore to order all the officers' cabins to be knocked down and thrown overboard, with several casks of water and provisions which stood between the guns; so that we had soon a clear ship, ready for an engagement. About 9 o'clock we had thick, hazy weather, and a shower of rain, during which we lost sight of the chase; and we were apprehensive, if the weather should continue, that by going upon the other tack, or by some other artifice, she might escape us; but it clearing

up in less than an hour, we found that we had both weathered and fore-reached upon her considerably, and now we were near enough to discover that she was only a merchantman, without so much as a single tier of guns. About half-an-hour after twelve, being then within a reasonable distance of her, we fired four shot amongst her rigging; on which they lowered their topsails and bore down to us, but in very great confusion, their top-gallant-sails and stay-sails all fluttering in the wind. This was owing to their having let run their sheets and halyards just as we fired at them; after which not a man amongst them had courage enough to venture aloft (for there the shot had passed but just before) to take them in.

As soon as the vessel came within hail of us, the Commodore ordered them to bring to under his lee-quarter, and then hoisted out the boat and sent Mr Saumarez, his first lieutenant, to take possession of the prize, with directions to send all the prisoners on board the Centurion, but first the officers and passengers. When Mr Saumarez came on board them, they received him at the side with the strongest tokens of the most abject submission; for they were all of them (especially the passengers, who were twenty-five in number) extremely terrified, and under the greatest apprehensions of meeting with very severe and cruel usage. But the lieutenant endeavoured, with great courtesy, to dissipate their fright, assuring them that their fears were altogether groundless, and that they would find a generous enemy in the Commodore, who was not less remarkable for his lenity and humanity than for his resolution and courage. The prisoners who were first sent on board the Centurion informed us that our prize was called Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo, and was commanded by Don Manuel Zamorra. Her cargo consisted chiefly of sugar, and great quantities of blue cloth made in the province of Quito, somewhat resembling our English coarse broad-cloths, but inferior to them. They had, besides, several bales of a coarser sort of cloth, of different colours, somewhat like Colchester baize, called by them Pannia da Tierra, with a few bales of cotton, and tobacco, which though strong was not ill flavoured. These were the principal goods on board her; but we found, besides, what was to us much more valuable than the rest of the cargo. This was some trunks of wrought plate, and twenty-three serons[1] of dollars, each weighing upwards of 200 lbs. avoirdupois. The ship's burthen was about 450 tons; she had fifty-three sailors on board, both whites and blacks. She came from Callao, and had been twenty-seven days at sea before she fell into our hands. She was bound to the port of Valparaiso, in the kingdom of Chili,[2] and proposed to have returned thence loaded with corn and Chili wine, some gold, dried beef, and small cordage, which at Callao they convert into larger rope. Our prize had been built upwards of thirty years; yet as they lie in harbour all the winter months, and the climate is favourable, they esteemed it no very great age. Her rigging was very indifferent, as were likewise her sails, which were made of cotton. She had only three 4-pounders, which were altogether unserviceable, their carriages being scarcely able to support them; and

[1] A seron or seroon is a species of packet made and used in Spanish America, consisting of a piece of raw bullock's hide, with the hair on, formed while wet into the shape of a small trunk, and sewed together. In Kerr's Collection of Voyages, the quantity of dollars taken on this occasion is estimated at between £70,000 and £80,000.

[2] Thomas says that those ships annually trade to Valparaiso, exchanging silver in return for gold and coin, the latter being very scarce in Peru. Some of the prisoners said that if the ship had been taken on the return from Chili to Peru, the captors would have found in her as much gold as they had now found silver.

there were no small arms on board, except a few pistols belonging to the passengers. The prisoners informed us that they left Callao in company with two other ships, which they had parted with some days before, and that at first they conceived us to be one of their company; and by the description we gave them of the ship we had chased from Juan Fernandez, they assured us she was of their number, but that the coming in sight of that island was directly repugnant to the merchants' instructions, who had expressly forbid it, as knowing that if any English squadron was in those seas, the Island of Fernandez was most probably the place of their rendezvous.

And now, after this short account of the ship and her cargo, it is necessary that I should relate the important intelligence which we met with on board her, partly from the information of the prisoners, and partly from the letters and papers which fell into our hands. We here first learned with certainty the force and destination of that squadron which cruised off Madeira at our arrival there, and afterwards chased the Pearl in our passage to Port St Julian. This we now knew was a squadron composed of five large Spanish ships, commanded by Admiral Pizarro, and purposely fitted out to traverse our designs, as has been already more amply related in the Third Chapter of the First Book. And we had, at the same time, the satisfaction to find that Pizarro, after his utmost endeavours to gain his passage into these seas, had been forced back again into the River of Plate, with the loss of two of his largest ships; and besides this disappointment of Pizarro, which, considering our great debility, was no unacceptable intelligence, we further learned that an embargo had been laid upon all shipping in these seas by the Viceroy of Peru, in the month of May preceding, on a supposition that about that time we might arrive upon the coast. But on the account sent overland by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they *knew we must* have encountered, as we were at sea during the same time, and on their having no news of us in eight months after we were known to set sail from St Catherine's, they were fully persuaded that we were either shipwrecked, or had perished at sea, or at least had been obliged to put back again; for it was conceived impossible for any ships to continue at sea during so long an interval: and therefore, on the application of the merchants, and the firm persuasion of our having miscarried, the embargo had been lately taken off.[1]

This last article made us flatter ourselves that, as the enemy was still a stranger to our having got round Cape Horn, and the navigation of

[1] Thomas makes a curiously different report of Pizarro's despatch, and one much more flattering to English pride. Pizarro, he says, told the Viceroy of Peru "that, though he himself had been forced back in such a miserable condition, not having above 80 or 100 of his men living, and his ships in so ill a state, that, till sufficient reinforcements could come to him from Old Spain, he could not possibly come into those seas, yet as the English were a stubborn and resolute people, and daring enough to persist obstinately in the most desperate undertakings, he did believe some of us might possibly get round; but as he experimentally knew what of necessity we must have suffered in that dreadful passage, he made no doubt but we should be in a very weak and defenceless condition; he therefore advised the Viceroy to fit out all the strength of shipping he could, and send them to cruise at the Island of Juan Fernandez, where we must of necessity touch to refresh our people, and to repair our ships; and further advised, that, in case of meeting us, they should not stand to fight or cannonade at a distance, in which possibly we might have the advantage, or make our escape, but should board us at once sword in hand; which must, if well executed, in our weak condition, infallibly prove the means of taking us."

these seas was restored, we might meet with some considerable captures, and might thereby indemnify ourselves for the incapacity we were now under of attempting any of their considerable settlements on shore. And thus much we were certain of, from the information of our prisoners, that whatever our success might be as to the prizes we might light on, we had nothing to fear, weak as we were, from the Spanish force in this part of the world; though we discovered that we had been in most imminent peril from the enemy when we least apprehended it, and when our other distresses were at the greatest height. For we learned from the letters on board, that Pizarro, in the express he despatched to the Viceroy of Peru after his return to the River of Plate, had intimated to him that it was possible some part at least of the English squadron might get round; but that, as he was certain from his own experience that if they did arrive in those seas it must be in a very weak and defenceless condition, he advised the Viceroy, in order to be secure at all events, to fit out what ships of force he had, and send them to the southward, where in all probability they would intercept us singly and before we had an opportunity of touching anywhere for refreshment; in which case he doubted not but we should prove an easy conquest. The Viceroy of Peru approved of this advice, and immediately fitted out four ships of force from Callao; one of 50 guns, two of 40 guns, and one of 24 guns. Three of them were stationed off the Port of Conception, and one of them at the Island of Juan Fernandez; and in these stations they continued cruising for us till the 6th of June, when, not seeing anything of us, and conceiving it to be impossible that we could have kept the seas so long, they quitted their cruise and returned to Callao, fully satisfied that we had either perished or at least had been driven back. As the time of their quitting their station was but a few days before our arrival at the Island of Fernandez, it is evident that had we made that island on our first search for it, without hauling in for the main to secure our easting (a circumstance which at that time we considered as very unfortunate to us, on account of the numbers which we lost by our longer continuance at sea), had we, I say, made the island on the 28th of May, when we first expected to see it, and were in reality very near it, we had doubtless fallen in with some part of the Spanish squadron; and in the distressed condition we were then in, the meeting with a healthy, well-provided enemy was an incident that could not but have been perplexing, and might perhaps have proved fatal, not only to us [in the Centurion], but to the Trial, the Gloucester, and the Anna pink, which separately joined us, and which were each of them less capable than we were of making any considerable resistance. I shall only add, that these Spanish ships sent out to intercept us had been greatly shattered by a storm during their cruise; and that, after their arrival at Callao, they had been laid up. And our prisoners assured us, that whenever intelligence was received at Lima of our being in these seas, it would be at least two months before this armament could be again fitted out.

The whole of this intelligence was as favourable as we in our reduced circumstances could wish for. And now we were fully satisfied as to the broken jars, ashes, and fish-bones, which we had observed at our first landing at Juan Fernandez; these things being doubtless the relics of the cruisers stationed off that port. Having thus satisfied ourselves in the material articles, and having got on board the Centurion most of the prisoners and all the silver, we at eight in the same evening made sail to the northward, in company with our prize, and at six the next morning discovered the Island of Juan Fernandez, where the next day both we and our prize came to an anchor. And here I cannot omit one remarkable incident which occurred when the prize and her crew came into the bay, where the rest of the squadron lay. The Spaniards in the Carmelo had been suffi-

ciently informed of the distresses we had gone through, and were greatly surprised that we had ever surmounted them: but when they saw the Trial sloop at anchor, they were still more astonished that, after all our fatigues, we had the industry (besides refitting our other ships) to complete such a vessel in so short a time, they taking it for granted that she had been built upon the spot. And it was with great difficulty they were prevailed on to believe that she came from England with the rest of the squadron; they at first insisting that it was impossible such a bauble as that could pass round Cape Horn, when the best ships of Spain were obliged to put back.

By the time we arrived at Juan Fernandez, the letters found on board our prize were more minutely examined; and it appearing from them and from the accounts of our prisoners that several other merchantmen were bound from Callao to Valparaiso, Mr Anson despatched the Trial sloop the very next morning to cruise off the last-mentioned port, reinforcing her with ten hands from on board his own ship. Mr Anson likewise resolved, on the intelligence recited above, to separate the ships under his command, and employ them in distinct cruises, as he thought that by this means we should not only increase our chance for prizes, but that we should likewise run less risk of alarming the coast and of being discovered. And now, the spirits of our people being greatly raised, and their despondency dissipated by this earnest of success, they forgot all their past distresses, and resumed their wonted alacrity, and laboured indefatigably in completing our water, receiving our lumber, and preparing to take our farewell of the island. But as these occupations took us up four or five days, with all our industry, the Commodore in that interval directed that the guns belonging to the Anna pink, being four 6-pounders, four 4-pounders, and two swivels, should be mounted on board the *Carmelo*, our prize. And having sent on board the Gloucester six passengers and twenty-three seamen[1] to assist in navigating the ship, he directed Captain Mitchel to leave the island as soon as possible, the service requiring the utmost despatch, ordering him to proceed to the Latitude of 5° S., and there to cruise off the high land of Paita,[2] at such a distance from shore as should prevent his being discovered. On this station he was to continue till he should be joined by the Commodore, which would be whenever it should be known that the Viceroy had fitted out the ships at Callao, or on Mr Anson's receiving any other intelligence that should make it necessary to unite our strength. These orders being delivered to the captain of the Gloucester, and all our business completed, we on the Saturday following, being the 19th of September, weighed our anchor, in company with our prize, and got out of the bay, taking our last leave of the Island of Juan Fernandez, and steering to the eastward, with an intention of joining the Trial sloop in her station off Valparaiso.

CHAPTER V.

ALTHOUGH the Centurion, with her prize the Carmelo, weighed from the Bay of Juan Fernandez on the 19th of September, leaving the Gloucester at anchor behind her, yet, by the irregularity and fluctuation of the winds in the offing, it was the 22d of the same month, in the evening, before we lost sight of the island; after which we continued our course to the eastward, in order to reach our station and to join the Trial off Valparaiso. The next night the weather proved squally, and we split our main-topsail, which we handed for the pre-

[1] Selected from among the prisoners for their strength or their knowledge of seamanship.

[2] Where the vessels trading between Lima and Panama generally touched to deliver part of their cargoes for dispersion through the inland parts of Peru.

sent, but got it repaired, and set it again the next morning. And now, on the 24th, a little before sunset, we saw two sail to the eastward, on which our prize stood directly from us, to avoid giving any suspicion of our being cruisers; whilst we in the meantime made ourselves ready for an engagement, and steered towards the two ships we had discovered, with all our canvas. We soon perceived that one of these, which had the appearance of being a very stout ship, made directly for us, whilst the other kept at a very great distance. By 7 o'clock we were within pistol-shot of the nearest, and had a broadside ready to pour into her, the gunners having their matches in their hands, and only waiting for orders to fire; but as we knew it was now impossible for her to escape us, Mr Anson, before he permitted them to fire, ordered the master to hail the ship in Spanish; on which the commanding officer on board her, who proved to be Mr Hughes, lieutenant of the Trial, answered us in English, and informed us that she was a prize taken by the Trial a few days before, and that the other sail at a distance was the Trial herself, disabled in her masts. We were soon after joined by the Trial, and Captain Saunders, her commander, came on board the Centurion. He informed the Commodore that he had taken this ship the 18th instant; that she was a prime sailer, and had cost him thirty-six hours' chase before he could come up with her; that for some time he gained so little upon her that he began to despair of taking her; and the Spaniards, though alarmed at first with seeing nothing but a cloud of sail in pursuit of them, the Trial's hull being so low in the water that no part of it appeared, yet knowing the goodness of their ship, and finding how little the Trial neared them, they at length laid aside their fears, and recommending themselves to the blessed Virgin for protection, began to think themselves secure. And indeed their success was very near doing honour to their Ave Marias; for altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they had some chance of escaping. But a small crevice in one of the shutters rendered all their invocations ineffectual; for through this crevice the people on board the Trial perceived a light, which they chased till they arrived within gunshot; and then Captain Saunders alarmed them unexpectedly with a broadside, when they flattered themselves they were got out of his reach. However, for some time after they still kept the same sail abroad, and it was not observed that this first salute had made any impression on them; but just as the Trial was preparing to repeat her broadside, the Spaniards crept from their holes, lowered their sails, and submitted without any opposition. She was one of the largest merchantmen employed in those seas, being about 600 tons burthen, and was called the [Nuestra Señora de] Arranzazu. She was bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and had much the same cargo with the Carmelo we had taken before, except that her silver amounted only to about £5000 sterling.

But to balance this success, we had the misfortune to find that the Trial had sprung her mainmast, and that her main-topmast had come by the board; and as we were all of us standing to the eastward the next morning, with a fresh gale at S., she had the additional ill-luck to spring her foremast; so that now she had not a mast left on which she could carry sail. These unhappy incidents were still [further] aggravated by the impossibility we were just then under of assisting her; for the wind blew so hard, and raised such a hollow sea that we could not venture to hoist out our boat, and consequently could have no communication with her; so that we were obliged to lie to for the greatest part of forty-eight hours to attend her, as we could have no thought of leaving her to herself in her present unhappy situation. And as an accumulation to our misfortunes, we were all the while driving to the leeward of our station, at the

very time when, by our intelligence, we had reason to expect several of the enemy's ships would appear upon the coast, who would now gain the port of Valparaiso without obstruction. And I am verily persuaded that the embarrassment we received from the dismasting of the Trial, and our absence from our intended station occasioned thereby, deprived us of some very considerable captures.[1]

The weather proving somewhat more moderate on the 27th, we sent our boat for the captain of the Trial, who, when he came on board us, produced an instrument, signed by himself and all his officers, representing that the sloop, besides being dismasted, was so very leaky in her hull, that even in moderate weather it was necessary to keep the pumps constantly at work, and that they were then scarcely sufficient to keep her free; so that in the late gale, though they had all been engaged at the pumps by turns, yet the water had increased upon them; and, upon the whole, they apprehended her to be at present so very defective, that if they met with much bad weather they must all inevitably perish, and therefore they petitioned the Commodore to take some measures for their future safety. But the refitting of the Trial, and the repairing of her defects, was an undertaking that in the present conjuncture greatly exceeded his power; for we had no masts to spare her, we had no stores to complete her rigging, nor had we any port where she might be hove down and her bottom examined. Besides, had a port and proper requisites for this purpose been in our possession, yet it would have been extreme imprudence, in so critical a conjuncture, to have loitered away so much time as would have been necessary for these operations. The Commodore therefore had no choice left him but that of taking out her people and destroying her; but at the same time, as he conceived it necessary for his Majesty's service to keep up the appearance of our force, he appointed the Trial's prize (which had been often employed by the Viceroy of Peru as a man-of-war) to be a frigate in his Majesty's service, manning her with the Trial's crew, and giving new commissions to the captain and all the inferior officers accordingly. This new frigate, when in the Spanish service, had mounted 32 guns; but she was now to have only 20, which were the 12 that were on board the Trial, and 8 that had belonged to the Anna pink. When this affair was thus far regulated, Mr Anson gave orders to Captain Saunders to put it in execution, directing him to take out of the sloop the arms, stores, ammunition, and everything that could be of any use to the other ships, and then to scuttle her and sink her. And after Captain Saunders had seen her destroyed, he was to proceed with his new frigate (to be called the Trial's prize) and to cruise off the high land of Valparaiso, keeping it from him NNW., at the distance of twelve or fourteen leagues. For as all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward steer that course, Mr Anson proposed by this means to stop any intelligence that might be despatched to Callao of two of their ships being missing, which might give them apprehensions of the English squadron being in their neighbourhood. The Trial's prize was to continue on this station twenty-four days, and if not joined by the Commodore at the expiration of that term, she was then to proceed down the coast to Pisco, or Nasca,[1] where she would be certain

[1] Thomas, with regard to the disabled condition of the Trial, says: "This was a great destruction, for now we had intelligence by the Trial's prize that there were many ships at sea richly laden, and that they had no apprehensions of being attacked by us, having received intelligence that our squadron was either put back or destroyed. In the course; therefore, of the forty-eight hours we were detained in waiting upon the Trial, I am persuaded we missed the *taking many* valuable prizes."

[1] Pisco town and bay are about 120

to meet with Mr Anson. The Commodore likewise ordered Lieutenant Saumarez, who commanded the Centurion's prize, to keep company with Captain Saunders, both to assist him in unloading the sloop, and also that, by spreading in their cruise, there might be less danger of any of the enemy's ships slipping by unobserved. These orders being despatched, the Centurion parted from them at eleven in the evening on the 27th of September, directing her course to the southward, with a view of cruising for some days to the windward of Valparaiso.

And now by this disposition of our ships we flattered ourselves that we had taken all the advantages of the enemy that we possibly could with our small force, since our disposition was doubtless the most prudent that could be projected. For as we might suppose the Gloucester by this time to be drawing near her station off the high land of Paita, we were enabled by our separate stations, to intercept all vessels employed either betwixt Peru and Chili to the southward, or betwixt Panama and Peru to the northward. Since the principal trade from Peru to Chili being carried on to the port of Valparaiso, the Centurion cruising to the windward of Valparaiso would in all probability meet with them, as it is the constant practice of those ships to fall in with the coast to the windward of that port. And the Gloucester would, in like manner, be in the way of the trade bound from Panama or the northward to any part of Peru; since the high land off which she was stationed is constantly made by all ships in that voyage. And whilst the Centurion and Gloucester were thus situated for interrupting the enemy's trade, the Trial's prize and Centurion's prize were as conveniently stationed for preventing all intelligence, by intercepting all ships bound from Valparaiso to the northward; for it was on board these vessels that it was to be feared some account of us might possibly be sent to Peru.

But the most prudent dispositions carry with them only a probability of success, and can never ensure its certainty; since those chances, which it was reasonable to overlook in deliberations, are sometimes of most powerful influence in execution. Thus, in the present case, the distress of the Trial, and the quitting our station to assist her (events which no degree of prudence could either foresee or obviate) gave an opportunity to all the ships bound to Valparaiso to reach that port without molestation during this unlucky interval; so that though, after leaving Captain Saunders, we were very expeditious in regaining our station, where we got the 29th at noon,[1] yet in plying on and off till the 6th of October we had not the good fortune to discover a sail of any sort.[2] And then, having lost all hopes

or 130 miles south-east from Lima; Nasca Point is about 100 miles in the same direction from Pisco.

[1] Thomas, who frequently differs in date from Mr Walter, says that "on the 30th we saw the main land of Chili. This day we began to exercise our people with small arms, which was the first time we had done it since we came into those seas, and which we continued at all proper opportunities during the voyage."

[2] Thomas here notices a dissension among the ships' companies, of which Mr Walter, with an obvious official bias, says not a word: "On the 5th, the Commodore being informed that there were murmurings amongst the people, because the prize-money was not immediately divided, ordered the articles of war to be read; and after that remonstrated to them on the danger of mutiny, and said he had heard the reason of their discontent, but assured them their properties were secured by act of parliament as firmly as any one's own inheritance, and that the money, plate, &c., were weighed and marked in public; so that any capable person, if he pleased, might take an inventory of the whole. He then read an account of the particulars, and told them they might (if they pleased) make choice of any per-

of making any advantage by a longer stay, we made sail to the leeward of the port, in order to join our prizes; but when we arrived on the station appointed for them, we did not meet with them, though we continued there four or five days. We supposed that some chase had occasioned their leaving their station, and therefore we proceeded down the coast to the high land of Nasca, where Captain Saunders was directed to join us. Here we arrived on the 21st, and were in great expectation of meeting with some of the enemy's ships on the coast, as both the accounts of former voyages and the information of our prisoners assured us that all ships bound to Callao constantly make this land, to prevent the danger of running to the leeward of the port. But notwithstanding the advantages of this station we saw no sail till the 2d of November, when two ships appeared in sight together; we immediately gave them chase, but soon perceived that they were the Trial's and Centurion's prizes. As they had the wind of us, we brought to and waited their coming up, when Captain Saunders came on board us, and acquainted the Commodore that he had cleared the Trial pursuant to his orders, and having scuttled her he remained by her till she sank, but that it was the 4th of October before this was effected; for there ran so large and hollow a sea, that the sloop, having neither masts nor sails to steady her, rolled and pitched so violently that it was impossible for a boat to lie alongside of her for the greatest part of the time. And during this attendance on the sloop they were all driven so far to the northwest, that they were afterwards obliged to stretch a long way to the westward to regain the ground they had lost, which was the reason that we had not met with them on their station as we expected. We found they had not been more fortunate in their cruise than we were, for they had seen no vessel since they separated from us.

The little success we all had, and our certainty that had any ships been stirring in these seas for some time past we must have met with them, made us believe that the enemy at Valparaiso, on missing the two ships we had taken, had suspected us to be in the neighbourhood, and had consequently laid an embargo on all the trade in the southern ports. We likewise apprehended that they might by this time be fitting out the men-of-war at Callao; for we knew that it was no uncommon thing for an express from Valparaiso to reach Lima in twenty-nine or thirty days, and it was now more than fifty since we had taken our first prize. These apprehensions of an embargo along the coast, and of the equipment of the Spanish squadron at Callao, determined the Commodore to hasten down to the leeward of Callao, and to join Captain Mitchel (who was stationed off Paita) as soon as possible, that, our strength being united, we might be prepared to give the ships from Callao a warm reception if they dared to put to sea. With this view we bore away the same afternoon, taking particular care to keep at such a distance from the shore that there might be no danger of our being discovered from thence; for we knew that all the country ships were commanded, under the severest penalty, not to sail by the port of Callao without stopping; and as this order was constantly complied with, we should undoubtedly be known for enemies if we were seen to act contrary to it. In this new navigation, not being certain whether we might not meet the Spanish squadron in our route, the Commodore took on board the Centurion part of his crew with which he had formerly manned the Carmelo. And now, standing to the northward, we, before night came on, had a view of the small island called St Gallan,[1] which bore from us NNE. half E,

son to take an inventory for them, or *buy* their parts. This spread a visible *joy, and gave content* to every one."

[1] Just to the southward of the well-known Chincha Islands, in the opening of Pisco Bay.

about seven leagues distant. This island lies in the Latitude of about 14° S., and about five miles to the northward of a high land called Morro Viejo, or the Old Man's Head. I mention this island and the high land near it more particularly, because between them is the most eligible station on that coast for cruising upon the enemy, as all ships bound to Callao, whether from the northward or the southward, run well in with the land in this part. By the 5th of November, at three in the afternoon, we were advanced within view of the high land of Barranca, lying in the Latitude of 10° 36′ S., bearing from us NE. by E., distant eight or nine leagues; and an hour and a half afterwards we had the satisfaction we had so long wished for, of seeing a sail. She first appeared to leeward, and we all immediately gave her chase; but the Centurion so much outsailed the two prizes, that we soon ran them out of sight, and gained considerably on the chase. However, night coming on before we came up with her, we about 7 o'clock lost sight of her, and were in some perplexity what course to steer; but at last Mr Anson resolved, as we were then before the wind, to keep all his sails set, and not to change his course. For though we had no doubt but the chase would alter her course in the night; yet, as it was uncertain what tack she would go upon, it was thought more prudent to keep on our course, as we must by this means unavoidably near her, than to change it on conjecture, when if we should mistake we must infallibly lose her. Thus, then, we continued the chase about an hour and half in the dark, some one or other on board us constantly imagining they discerned her sails right ahead of us; but at last Mr Brett, then our second lieutenant, did really discover her about four points on the larboard-bow, steering off to the seaward. We immediately clapped the helm a-weather, and stood for her, and in less than an hour came up with her; and having fired fourteen shots at her, she struck. Our third lieutenant, Mr Dennis, was sent in the boat with sixteen men to take possession of the prize, and to return the prisoners to our ship. This ship was named the Santa Teresa de Jesus, built at Guayaquil, of about 300 tons burthen, and was commanded by Bartolome Urrunaga, a Biscayer. She was bound from Guayaquil to Callao; her loading consisted of timber, cacao, cocoa-nuts, tobacco, hides, Pito thread (which is very strong, and is made of a species of grass), Quito cloth, wax, &c. The specie on board her was inconsiderable, being principally small silver money, and not amounting to more than £170 sterling. It is true, her cargo was of great value, could we have disposed of it; but the Spaniards having strict orders never to ransom their ships, all the goods that we took in these seas, except what little we had occasion for ourselves, were of no advantage to us. Indeed, though we could make no profit thereby ourselves, it was some satisfaction to us to consider that it was so much really lost to the enemy, and that the despoiling them was no contemptible branch of that service in which we were now employed by our country.[1]

[1] Thomas gives a quaint and amusing account of the use the squadron made of those stores so much despised by the Chaplain: "The 7th, we were employed in getting aboard several necessary stores, as planks, cordage, and the like, for the use of our squadron. The 9th, we brought from on board the Teresa ten serons of cocoa, one of wax, and 180 fathom of three and a half rope. The 10th, we brought from on board our first prize, the Carmelo, the following goods, viz., cloth, two bales; baize, five ditto; sugar, 182 loaves; straw mats, two; tar, one skin; raisins, three bales; indigo, four serons; cotton cloth, one bale; hats, two cases and twenty-five loose ones: skins, one parcel; chocolate, one bag; camlet, one bale and two parcels; silks, one box; lead, four pigs; and combs, one small parcel." After such an enumeration, one is better able to

Besides our prize's crew, which amounted to forty-five hands, there were on board her ten passengers, consisting of four men and three women, who were natives of the country, born of Spanish parents, and three black female slaves that attended them. The women were a mother and her two daughters, the eldest about twenty-one, and the youngest about fourteen. It is not to be wondered at that women of these years should be excessively alarmed at falling into the hands of an enemy whom, from the former outrages of the Buccaneers, and by the artful insinuations of their priests, they had been taught to consider as the most terrible and brutal of all mankind. These apprehensions, too, were in the present instance exaggerated by the singular beauty of the youngest of the women, and the riotous disposition which they might well expect to find in a set of sailors that had not seen a woman for near a twelvemonth. Full of these terrors, the women all hid themselves when our officer went on board; and, when they were found out, it was with great difficulty that he could persuade them to approach the light. However, he soon satisfied them, by the humanity of his conduct and his assurances of their future security and honourable treatment, that they had nothing to fear; and the Commodore being informed of the matter, sent directions that they should be continued on board their own ship, with the use of the same apartments, and with all the other conveniences they had enjoyed before, giving strict orders that they should receive no kind of inquietude or molestation whatever. And that they might be the more certain of having these orders complied with, or of complaining if they were not, the Commodore permitted the pilot, who in Spanish ships is generally the second person on board, to stay with them as their guardian and protector. He was particularly chosen for this purpose by Mr Anson, as he seemed to be extremely interested in all that concerned the women, and had at first declared that he was married to the youngest of them; though it afterwards appeared, both from the information of the rest of the prisoners and other circumstances, that he had asserted this with a view the better to secure them from the insults they expected on their first falling into our hands. By this compassionate and indulgent behaviour of the Commodore, the consternation of our female prisoners entirely subsided, and they continued easy and cheerful during the whole time they were with us, as I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter.

I have before observed, that at the beginning of this chase the Centurion ran her two consorts out of sight, for which reason we lay by all the night, after we had taken the prize, for Captain Saunders and Lieutenant Saumarez to join us, firing guns and making false fires every half hour, to prevent their passing us unobserved; but they were so far astern that they neither heard nor saw any of our signals, and were not able to come up with us till broad daylight. When they had joined us, we proceeded together to the northward, being now four sail in company. We here found the sea, for many miles round us, of a beautiful red colour: this, upon examination, we imputed to an immense quantity of spawn spread upon its surface; and taking up some of the water in a wine-glass, it soon changed from a dirty aspect to a clear crystal, with only some red globules of a slimy nature floating on the top. And now, having a supply of timber on board our new prize, the Commodore ordered our boats to be repaired, and a swivel gun-stock to be fixed in the bow, both of the barge and pinnace, in order to increase their force, in case we should be obliged to have recourse to them for boarding ships or for any attempts on shore. As we stood from hence to the northward nothing remarkable occurred for two or three days, though

understand how ships in those days could keep at sea for years without their crews losing the habits and semblance of civilisation.

we spread our ships in such a manner that it was not probable any vessel of the enemy could escape us. In our run along this coast we generally observed that there was a current which set us to the northward at the rate of ten or twelve miles each day. And now, being in about 8° of S. Latitude, we began to be attended with vast numbers of flying fish and bonitos, which were the first we saw after our departure from the coast of Brazil. But it is remarkable, that on the east side of South America they extended to a much higher latitude than they do on the west side; for we did not lose them on the coast of Brazil till we approached the southern tropic. The reason for this diversity is doubtless the different degrees of heat obtaining in the same latitude on different sides of that continent.[1]

On the 10th of November we were three leagues south of the southernmost Island of Lobos, lying in the Lat. of 60° 27′ S. There are two islands of this name: this, called Lobos de la Mar; and another, which lies to the northward of it, very much resembling it in shape and appearance, and often mistaken for it, called Lobos de Tierra. We were now drawing near to the station appointed to the Gloucester; for which reason, fearing to miss her, we made an easy sail all night. The next morning, at daybreak, we saw a ship in shore, and to windward, plying up to the coast. She had passed by us with the favour of the night, and we, soon perceiving her not to be the Gloucester, got our tacks on board and gave her chase; but it proving very little wind, so that neither of us could make much way, the Commodore ordered the barge, his pinnace, and the Trial's pinnace, to be manned and armed, and to pursue the chase and board her. Lieutenant Brett, who commanded the barge, came up with her first, about 9 o'clock, and running alongside of her, he fired a volley of small shot between the masts, just over the heads of the people on board, and then instantly entered with the greatest part of his men; but the enemy made no resistance, being sufficiently frightened by the dazzling of the cutlasses, and the volley they had just received. Lieutenant Brett ordered the sails to be trimmed, and bore down to the Commodore, taking up in his way the two pinnaces. When he was arrived within about four miles of us, he put off in the barge, bringing with him a number of the prisoners, who had given him some material intelligence which he was desirous the Commodore should be acquainted with as soon as possible. On his arrival we learned that the prize was called Nuestra Señora del Carmen, of about 270 tons burthen; she was commanded by Marcos Morena,[2] a native of Venice, and had on board forty-three mariners. She was deep laden with steel, iron, wax, pepper, cedar, plank, snuff, rosaries, European bale goods, powder-blue, cinnamon, Romish indulgences, and other species of merchandise. And though this cargo, in our present circumstances, was but of little value to us, yet with respect to the Spaniards it was the most considerable capture that fell into our hands in this part of the world; for it amounted to upwards of 400,000 dollars prime cost at Panama. This ship was bound to Callao, and had stopped at Paita in her passage to take in a recruit of water and provisions, and had not left that place above twenty-four hours before she fell into our hands.

I have mentioned that Mr Brett had received some important intelligence from the prisoners, which he endeavoured to acquaint the Commodore with immediately. The first person he received it from (though upon further examination it was con-

[1] Here we omit a long digression "on the heat and cold of different climates, and on the varieties which occur in the same place in different parts of the year, and in different places lying in the same degrees of latitude."

[2] Or Marco Marina.

firmed by the other prisoners) was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a Papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended that by this business he had got 4000 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stripped of all he had. He was, indeed, at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanour; he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately informed them, that a few days before a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the Governor that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which, from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English squadron. This we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was. The Governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima to acquaint the Viceroy therewith; and the royal officer residing at Paita, being apprehensive of a visit from the English, was busily employed in removing the King's treasure, and his own, to Piura, a town within land about fourteen leagues distant. We further learned from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money,[1] belonging to some merchants at Lima, that was now lodged at the custom-house at Paita; and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the Bay of Sonsonnate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manilla ship. This vessel at Paita was esteemed a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and, in the opinion of the prisoners, she might be able to sail the succeeding morning.

The character they gave us of this vessel, on which the money was to be shipped, left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. And therefore, as we were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the Commodore resolved to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself[2] of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt. This surprise of Paita, besides the treasure it promised us, and its being the only enterprise it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it, that we should in all probability supply ourselves with great quantities of live provision, of which we were at this time in want. And we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights, the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration prompted us to. How it succeeded, and how far it answered our expectations, shall be the subject of the following Chapter.

[1] According to Thomas's account, *400,000 dollars.*

[2] By examining the prisoners.

CHAPTER VI.

THE town of Paita is situated in the Latitude of 50° 12′ S., in a most barren soil, composed only of sand and slate; the extent of it is but small, containing in all less than 200 families. The houses are only ground-floors, the walls built of split cane and

mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. These edifices, though extremely slight, are abundantly sufficient for a climate where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years; so that it is said that a small quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, it ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black slaves, or at least a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteemed the best on that part of the coast, and is indeed a very secure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all vessels coming from the north, since it is here only that the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonnate, Realejo, and Panama can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao; and the length of these voyages (the wind for the greatest part of the year being full against them) renders it impossible to perform them without calling upon the coast for a recruit of fresh water. It is true, Paita is situated on so parched a spot that it does not itself furnish a drop of fresh water, or any kind of greens or provisions, except fish and a few goats; but there is an Indian town called Colan, about two or three leagues distant to the northward, whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c., are brought to Paita on *balsas*, or floats, for the convenience of the ships that touch here; and cattle are sometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water brought from Colan is whitish, and of a disagreeable appearance, but is said to be very wholesome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants that it runs through large woods of sarsaparilla, and that it is sensibly impregnated therewith. This port of Paita, besides furnishing the northern trade bound to Callao with water and necessaries, is the usual place where passengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, disembark; for as it is 200 leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the passage by sea is very tedious and fatiguing; but by land there is a tolerably good road parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodation of travellers. The town of Paita is itself an open place; its sole protection and defence is [a small fort or redoubt near the shore of the bay]. It was of consequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and strength of this fort; and by the examination of our prisoners we found that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being only surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, but the town itself might possibly arm 300 men more.

Mr Anson, having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved to attempt it that very night.[1] We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered, yet not so far but that, by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships in the night. However, the Commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships, being such large bodies, might be easily discovered at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Trial's pinnaces, on that service; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well provided with arms and ammunition, he gave the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his necessary orders. And the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place; two of the Spanish pilots

[1] The 12th of November 1741.

firmed by the other prisoners) was one John Williams, an Irishman, whom he found on board the Spanish vessel. Williams was a Papist, who worked his passage from Cadiz, and had travelled over all the kingdom of Mexico as a pedlar. He pretended that by this business he had got 4000 or 5000 dollars; but that he was embarrassed by the priests, who knew he had money, and was at last stripped of all he had. He was, indeed, at present all in rags, being but just got out of Paita gaol, where he had been confined for some misdemeanour; he expressed great joy upon seeing his countrymen, and immediately informed them, that a few days before a vessel came into Paita, where the master of her informed the Governor that he had been chased in the offing by a very large ship, which, from her size, and the colour of her sails, he was persuaded must be one of the English squadron. This we then conjectured to have been the Gloucester, as we afterwards found it was. The Governor, upon examining the master, was fully satisfied of his relation, and immediately sent away an express to Lima to acquaint the Viceroy therewith; and the royal officer residing at Paita, being apprehensive of a visit from the English, was busily employed in removing the King's treasure, and his own, to Piura, a town within land about fourteen leagues distant. We further learned from our prisoners, that there was a very considerable sum of money,[1] belonging to some merchants at Lima, that was now lodged at the custom-house at Paita; and that this was intended to be shipped on board a vessel which was then in the port of Paita, and was preparing to sail with the utmost expedition, being bound for the Bay of Sonsonnate, on the coast of Mexico, in order to purchase a part of the cargo of the Manilla ship. This vessel at Paita was esteemed a prime sailer, and had just received a new coat of tallow on her bottom; and, in the opinion of the prisoners, she might be able to sail the succeeding morning.

The character they gave us of this vessel, on which the money was to be shipped, left us little reason to believe that our ship, which had been in the water near two years, could have any chance of coming up with her, if we once suffered her to escape out of the port. And therefore, as we were now discovered, and the coast would be soon alarmed, and as our cruising in these parts any longer would answer no purpose, the Commodore resolved to surprise the place, having first minutely informed himself[2] of its strength and condition, and being fully satisfied that there was little danger of losing many of our men in the attempt. This surprise of Paita, besides the treasure it promised us, and its being the only enterprise it was in our power to undertake, had these other advantages attending it, that we should in all probability supply ourselves with great quantities of live provision, of which we were at this time in want. And we should likewise have an opportunity of setting our prisoners on shore, who were now very numerous, and made a greater consumption of our food than our stock that remained was capable of furnishing long. In all these lights, the attempt was a most eligible one, and what our necessities, our situation, and every prudential consideration prompted us to. How it succeeded, and how far it answered our expectations, shall be the subject of the following Chapter.

[1] According to Thomas's account, *400,000 dollars.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE town of Paita is situated in the Latitude of 50° 12′ S., in a most barren soil, composed only of sand and slate; the extent of it is but small, containing in all less than 200 families. The houses are only ground-floors, the walls built of split cane and

[2] By examining the prisoners.

mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves. These edifices, though extremely slight, are abundantly sufficient for a climate where rain is considered as a prodigy, and is not seen in many years; so that it is said that a small quantity of rain falling in this country in the year 1728, it ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The inhabitants of Paita are principally Indians and black slaves, or at least a mixed breed, the whites being very few. The port of Paita, though in reality little more than a bay, is esteemed the best on that part of the coast, and is indeed a very secure and commodious anchorage. It is greatly frequented by all vessels coming from the north, since it is here only that the ships from Acapulco, Sonsonnate, Realejo, and Panama can touch and refresh in their passage to Callao; and the length of these voyages (the wind for the greatest part of the year being full against them) renders it impossible to perform them without calling upon the coast for a recruit of fresh water. It is true, Paita is situated on so parched a spot that it does not itself furnish a drop of fresh water, or any kind of greens or provisions, except fish and a few goats; but there is an Indian town called Colan, about two or three leagues distant to the northward, whence water, maize, greens, fowls, &c., are brought to Paita on *balsas*, or floats, for the convenience of the ships that touch here; and cattle are sometimes brought from Piura, a town which lies about fourteen leagues up in the country. The water brought from Colan is whitish, and of a disagreeable appearance, but is said to be very wholesome; for it is pretended by the inhabitants that it runs through large woods of sarsaparilla, and that it is sensibly impregnated therewith. This port of Paita, besides furnishing the northern trade bound to Callao with water and necessaries, is the usual place where passengers from Acapulco or Panama, bound to Lima, disembark; for as it is 200 leagues from hence to Callao, the port of Lima, and as the wind is generally contrary, the passage by sea is very tedious and fatiguing; but by land there is a tolerably good road parallel to the coast, with many stations and villages for the accommodation of travellers. The town of Paita is itself an open place; its sole protection and defence is [a small fort or redoubt near the shore of the bay]. It was of consequence to us to be well informed of the fabric and strength of this fort; and by the examination of our prisoners we found that there were eight pieces of cannon mounted in it, but that it had neither ditch nor outwork, being only surrounded by a plain brick wall; and that the garrison consisted of only one weak company, but the town itself might possibly arm 300 men more.

Mr Anson, having informed himself of the strength of the place, resolved to attempt it that very night.[1] We were then about twelve leagues distant from the shore, far enough to prevent our being discovered, yet not so far but that, by making all the sail we could, we might arrive in the bay with our ships in the night. However, the Commodore prudently considered that this would be an improper method of proceeding, as our ships, being such large bodies, might be easily discovered at a distance even in the night, and might thereby alarm the inhabitants and give them an opportunity of removing their valuable effects. He therefore, as the strength of the place did not require our whole force, resolved to attempt it with our boats only, ordering the eighteen-oared barge, and our own and the Trial's pinnaces, on that service; and having picked out fifty-eight men to man them, well provided with arms and ammunition, he gave the command of the expedition to Lieutenant Brett, and gave him his necessary orders. And the better to prevent the disappointment and confusion which might arise from the darkness of the night, and the ignorance of the streets and passages of the place; two of the Spanish pilots

[1] The 12th of November 1741.

were ordered to attend the lieutenant, and to conduct him to the most convenient landing-place, and were afterwards to be his guides on shore. And that we might have the greater security for their faithful behaviour on this occasion, the Commodore took care to assure all our prisoners, that if the pilots acted properly they should all of them be released and set on shore at this place; but in case of any misconduct or treachery, he threatened them that the pilots should be instantly shot, and that he would carry all the rest of the Spaniards who were on board him prisoners to England. So that the prisoners themselves were interested in our success; and therefore we had no reason to suspect our conductors either of negligence or perfidy. And on this occasion I cannot but remark a singular circumstance of one of the pilots employed by us in this business. It seems (as we afterwards learned) he had been taken by Captain Clipperton above twenty years before, and had been forced to lead Clipperton and his people to the surprise of Truxillo, a town within land to the southward of Paita, where, however, he contrived to alarm his countrymen, and to save them, though the place was taken. Now that the only two attempts on shore, which were made at so long an interval from each other, should be guided by the same person, and he, too, a prisoner both times, and forced upon the employ contrary to his inclination, is an incident so very extraordinary that I could not help taking notice of it.

During our preparations, the ships themselves stood towards the port with all the sail they could make, being secure that we were yet at too great a distance to be seen. But about 10 o'clock at night, the ships being then within five leagues of the place, Lieutenant Brett, with the boats under his command, put off, and arrived at the mouth of the bay without being discovered; but no sooner had he entered it than some of the people on board a vessel riding *at anchor there* perceived him, who instantly put off in their boat, rowing towards the fort, shouting and crying, "The English! The English dogs!" by which the whole town was suddenly alarmed; and our people soon observed several lights hurrying backwards and forwards in the fort, and other marks of the inhabitants being in great motion. Lieutenant Brett on this encouraged his men to pull briskly up to the shore that they might give the enemy as little time as possible to prepare for their defence. However, before our boats could reach the shore, the people in the fort had got ready some of their cannon, and pointed them towards the landing-place; and though in the darkness of the night it might be well supposed that chance had a greater share than skill in their direction, yet the first shot passed extremely near one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew. This made our people redouble their efforts, so that they had reached the shore, and were in part disembarked, by the time the second gun fired. As soon as our men landed, they were conducted by one of the Spanish pilots to the entrance of a narrow street, not above fifty yards distant from the beach, where they were covered from the fire of the fort; and being formed in the best manner the shortness of the time would allow, they immediately marched for the parade, which was a large square at the end of this street, the fort being one side of the square and the Governor's house another. In this march (though performed with tolerable regularity) the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors who had been confined so long on shipboard, and were now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country—joyous as they always are when they land, and animated besides in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage—the huzzas, I say, of this spirited detachment, joined with the noise of their drums, and favoured by the night, had augmented their numbers, in the opinion of the enemy, to at least 300: by which persuasion the inhabitants were so greatly intimi-

dated that they were much more solicitous about the means of their flight than of their resistance. So that though upon entering the parade our people received a volley from the merchants who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that ran round the Governor's house, yet that post was immediately abandoned upon the first fire made by our people, who were thereby left in quiet possession of the parade.

On this success Lieutenant Brett divided his men into two parties, ordering one of them to surround the Governor's house, and if possible to secure the Governor, whilst he himself with the other marched to the fort with an intent to force it. But, contrary to his expectation, he entered it without opposition;[1] for the enemy, on his approach, abandoned it, and made their escape over the walls. By this means the whole place was mastered in less than a quarter of an hour's time from the first landing, with no other loss than that of one man killed on the spot, and two wounded;[2] one of whom was the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, who received a slight bruise by a ball which grazed on his wrist. Indeed, another of the company, the Honourable Mr Keppel, son to the Earl of Albemarle, had a very narrow escape; for having on a jockey cap, one side of the peak was shaved off close to his temple by a ball, which, however, did him no other injury. And now Lieutenant Brett, after this success, placed a guard at the fort, and another at the Governor's house, and appointed sentinels at all the avenues of the town, both to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and to secure the effects in the place from being embezzled. And this being done, his next care was to seize on the custom-house where the treasure lay, and to examine if any of the inhabitants remained in the town, that he might know what further precautions it was necessary to take. But he soon found that the numbers left behind were no ways formidable: for the greatest part of them (being in bed when the place was surprised) had run away with so much precipitation, that they had not given themselves time to put on their clothes.[3] And in this precipitate rout the Governor was not the last to secure himself, for he fled betimes, half-naked, leaving his wife, a young lady of about seventeen years of age to whom he had been married but three or four days, behind him; though she too was afterwards carried off in her shift by a couple of sentinels, just as the detachment ordered to invest the house arrived before it. This escape of the Governor was an unpleasing circumstance, as Mr Anson had particularly recommended it to Lieutenant Brett to secure his person if possible, in hopes that by that means

[1] "On our getting possession of the castle," says Thomas, "our commanding officer very inconsiderately ordered the guns to be thrown over the walls, which accordingly was executed; but some time after, reflecting on the ill-consequence which might attend that proceeding, he ordered two of them to be got up and remounted."

[2] In Thomas's narrative we are told more particularly: "We lost one man, Peter Obrian the Commodore's steward, who was shot through the breast by a musket ball; and had two wounded, to wit, Arthur Lusk, a quarter-master, and the Spanish pilot of the Teresa, whom we had made use of as a guide; and I have had it reported from several officers then on shore, that our men ran to the attack, and fired in so irregular a manner, that it was, and still remains a doubt, whether those were not shot by our people rather than by the enemy."

[3] "These people," says Thomas contemptuously enough, "having enjoyed a long peace, and being enervated by the luxury so customary in those parts, their arms in a bad condition, and no person of experience or courage to head them, it is no wonder that they made so small a resistance, and were all driven out of the town in less than half-an-hour by only forty-nine men."

we might be able to treat for the ransom of the place; but it seems his alertness rendered it impossible to seize him. The few inhabitants who remained were confined in one of the churches under a guard, except some stout Negroes who were found in the place; these, instead of being shut up, were employed the remaining part of the night to assist in carrying the treasure from the custom-house and other places to the fort: however, there was care taken that they should be always attended by a file of musketeers.

The transporting the treasure from the custom-house to the fort was the principal occupation of Mr Brett's people after he had got possession of the place. But the sailors, while they were thus employed, could not be prevented from entering the houses which lay near them, in search of private pillage. And, the first things which occurred to them being the clothes which the Spaniards in their flight had left behind them, and which, according to the custom of the country, were most of them either embroidered or laced, our people eagerly seized these glittering habits, and put them on over their own dirty trousers and jackets; not forgetting, at the same time, the tie or bag-wig, and laced hat, which were generally found with the clothes. When this practice was once begun, there was no preventing the whole detachment from imitating it; and those who came latest into the fashion, not finding men's clothes sufficient to equip themselves, were obliged to take up with women's gowns and petticoats, which (provided there was finery enough) they made no scruple of putting on and blending with their own greasy dress. So that, when a party of them thus ridiculously metamorphosed first appeared before Mr Brett, he was extremely surprised at their appearance, and could not immediately be satisfied they were his own people.

These were the transactions of our detachment on shore at Paita the first night: and now to return to what *was done on* board the Centurion in that interval. I must observe, that after the boats were gone off we lay by till 1 o'clock in the morning, and then, supposing our detachment to be near landing, we made an easy sail for the bay. About seven in the morning we began to open the bay, and soon after we had a view of the town; and though we had no reason to doubt of the success of the enterprise, yet it was with great joy that we first discovered an infallible signal of the certainty of our hopes: this was by means of our perspectives, for through them we saw an English flag hoisted on the flagstaff of the fort, which to us was an incontestible proof that our people had got possession of the town. We plied into the bay with as much expedition as the wind, which then blew off shore, would permit us, and at eleven the Trial's boat came on board us, laden with dollars and church-plate; and the officer who commanded her informed us of the preceding night's transactions, such as we have already related them. About two in the afternoon we came to an anchor in ten fathoms and a half, at a mile and a half distance from the town, and were consequently near enough to have a more immediate intercourse with those on shore. And now we found that Mr Brett had hitherto gone on in collecting and removing the treasure without interruption; but that the enemy had rendezvoused from all parts of the country on a hill at the back of the town, where they made no inconsiderable appearance: for, amongst the rest of their force, there were 200 horse seemingly very well armed and mounted, and, as we conceived, properly trained and regimented, being furnished with trumpets, drums, and standards. These troops paraded about the hill with great ostentation, sounding their military music, and practising every art to intimidate us (as our numbers on shore were by this time not unknown to them), in hopes that we might be induced by our fears to abandon the place before the pillage was completed. But we were not so ignorant as to believe that this body

of horse, which seemed to be what the enemy principally depended on, would dare to venture in streets and among houses, even had their numbers been three times as great; and therefore, notwithstanding their menaces, we went on, as long as the daylight lasted, calmly, in sending off the treasure, and in employing the boats to carry on board the refreshments, such as hogs, fowls, &c., which we found here in great abundance. But at night, to prevent any surprise, the Commodore sent on shore a reinforcement, who posted themselves in all the streets leading to the parade; and for their greater security they traversed the streets with barricades six feet high: and the enemy continuing quiet all night, we at daybreak returned again to our labour of loading the boats and sending them off.

By this time we were convinced of what consequence it would have been to us had fortune seconded the prudent views of the Commodore, by permitting us to have secured the Governor. For we found in the place many storehouses full of valuable effects, which were useless to us at present, and such as we could not find room for on board. But had the Governor been in our power, he would in all probability have treated for a ransom, which would have been extremely advantageous both to him and us; Whereas he being now at liberty, and having collected all the force of the country for many leagues round, and having even got a body of militia from Piura, he was so elated with his numbers, and so fond of his new military command, that he seemed not to trouble himself about the fate of his government. So that though Mr Anson sent several messages to him by the inhabitants who were in our power, desiring him to enter into a treaty for the ransom of the town and goods, giving him at the same time an intimation that he should be far from insisting on a rigorous equivalent, but perhaps might be satisfied with some live cattle and a few necessaries for the use of the squadron, and assuring him too, that if he would not condescend at least to treat, he would set fire to the town and all the warehouses: yet the governor was so imprudent and arrogant, that he despised all these reiterated applications, and did not deign even to return the least answer to them.

On the second day of our being in possession of the place, several Negro slaves deserted from the enemy on the hill, and, coming into the town, voluntarily entered into our service. One of these was well known to a gentleman on board, who remembered him formerly at Panama. And the Spaniards without the town being in extreme want of water, many of their slaves crept into the place by stealth, and carried away several jars of water to their masters on the hill; and though some of them were seized by our men in the attempt, yet the thirst amongst the enemy was so pressing,[1] that they continued this practice till we left the place. And now, on this second day, we were assured both by the deserters and by these prisoners we took, that the Spaniards on the hill, who were by this time increased to a formidable number, had resolved to storm the town and fort the succeeding night; and that one Gordon, a Scotch Papist, and captain of a ship in those seas, was to have the command of this enterprise. But we, notwithstanding, continued sending off our boats, and prosecuted our work without the least hurry or precipitation till the evening; and then a reinforcement was again sent on shore by the Commodore, and Lieutenant Brett doubled his guards at each of the barricades; and our posts being

[1] Thomas says: "The country thereabouts being for many miles round quite barren and sandy, without either water or any other thing necessary for life, and the nearest town to them, named as I think Santa Cruz, whence relief might be got, being a day and a half or two days' journey off, the people who had left the town were in a starving condition, and we had melancholy accounts of several dying among them for want chiefly of water during our small stay."

connected by means of sentinels placed within call of each other, and the whole being visited by frequent rounds, attended with a drum, these marks of our vigilance, which the enemy could not be ignorant of, as they could doubtless hear the drum, if not the calls of the sentinels; these marks, I say, of our vigilance and of our readiness to receive them, cooled their resolution, and made them forget the vaunts of the preceding day; so that we passed the second night with as little molestation as we had done the first.

We had finished sending the treasure on board the Centurion the evening before; so that the third morning, being the 15th of November, the boats were employed in carrying off the most valuable part of the effects that remained in the town.[1] And the Commodore intending to sail this day, he about 10 o'clock, pursuant to his promise, sent all his prisoners, amounting to eighty-eight, on shore, giving orders to Lieutenant Brett to secure them in one of the churches under a strict guard till he was ready to embark his men. Mr Brett was at the same time ordered to set the whole town on fire,[2] except the two churches (which by good fortune stood at some distance from the other houses), and then he was to abandon the place and to come on board. These orders were punctually complied with; for Mr Brett immediately set his men to work to distribute pitch, tar, and other combustibles (of which great quantities were found here) into houses situated in different streets of the town; so that, the place being fired in many quarters at the same time, the destruction might be more violent and sudden, and the enemy, after our departure, might not be able to extinguish it. These preparations being made, he in the next place ordered the cannon which he found in the fort, to be nailed up;[3] and then, setting fire to those houses which were most windward, he collected his men, and marched towards the beach, where the boats waited to carry them off. And the part of the beach where he intended to embark being an open place without the town, the Spaniards on the hill, perceiving he was retreating, resolved to try if they could not precipitate his departure, and thereby lay some foundation for their future boasting. And for this purpose a small squadron of their horse, consisting of about sixty, picked out as I suppose for this service, marched down the hill with much seeming resolution; so that, had we not been prepossessed with a juster opinion of their prowess, we might have suspected that, now we were on the open beach with no advantage of situation, they would certainly have charged us. But we presumed (and we were not mistaken) that this was mere ostentation; for, notwithstanding the pomp and parade they advanced with, Mr Brett had no sooner ordered his men to halt and face about, but the enemy stopped their career, and never dared to advance a step farther.

When our people were arrived at their boats, and were ready to go on board, they were for some time delayed by missing one of their number; but being unable, by their mutual

[1] "Which," by Thomas's account, "chiefly consisted of rich brocades, laced cloths, bales of fine linens and woollens, britannias, stays, and the like; together with a great number of hogs, some sheep and fowls, cases of Spanish brandies and wines, a great quantity of onions, olives, sweet-meats, and many other things too tedious to name, all which the sailors hoped would have been equally divided among the ships' companions, but they found themselves disappointed."

[2] The burning of Paita, inflicting cruel injury not on the Spanish Government but on an unoffending and industrious community, has been generally censured as a violation of the laws of civilised warfare. Earl Stanhope, usually slow to blame, says the act "has imprinted a deep blot on the glory of Lord Anson's expedition."

[3] Spiked.

inquiries amongst each other, to inform themselves where he was left, or by what accident he was detained, they, after considerable delay, resolved to get into their boats and to put off without him. And the last man was actually embarked, and the boats just putting off, when they heard him calling to them to take him in. The town was by this time so thoroughly on fire, and the smoke covered the beach so effectually, that they could scarcely see him, though they heard his voice. The lieutenant instantly ordered one of the boats to his relief, which found him up to the chin in water, for he had waded as far as he durst, being extremely frightened with the apprehensions of falling into the hands of an enemy, enraged, as they doubtless were, with the pillage and destruction of their town. On inquiring into the cause of his staying behind, it was found that he had taken that morning too large a dose of brandy, which had thrown him into so sound a sleep, that he did not awake till the fire came near enough to scorch him. He was strangely amazed on first opening his eyes, to see the place all on a blaze on one side, and several Spaniards and Indians not far from him on the other. The greatness and suddenness of his fright instantly reduced him to a state of sobriety, and gave him sufficient presence of mind to push through the thickest of the smoke, as the likeliest means to escape the enemy; and making the best of his way to the beach, he ran as far into the water as he durst (for he could not swim) before he ventured to look back. . . .

By the time our people had taken their comrade out of the water, and were making the best of their way for the squadron, the flames had taken possession of every part of the town, and had got such hold, both by means of combustibles that had been distributed for that purpose, and by the slightness of the materials of which the houses were composed and their aptitude to take fire, that it was sufficiently apparent no efforts of the enemy (though they flocked down in great numbers) could possibly put a stop to it, or prevent the entire destruction of the place, and all the merchandise contained therein.

Our detachment under Lieutenant Brett having safely joined the squadron, the Commodore prepared to leave the place the same evening. He found, when he first came into the bay, six vessels of the enemy at anchor; one of which was the ship which, according to our intelligence, was to have sailed with the treasure to the coast of Mexico, and which, as we were persuaded she was a good sailer, we resolved to take with us. The others were two snows, a bark, and two row-galleys of thirty-six oars a-piece; these last, as we were afterwards informed, with many others of the same kind built at different ports, were intended to prevent our landing in the neighbourhood of Callao; for the Spaniards, on the first intelligence of our squadron and its force, expected that we would attempt the city of Lima. The Commodore, having no occasion for these other vessels, had ordered the masts of all five of them to be cut away on his first arrival; and now, at his leaving the place, they were towed out of the harbour, and scuttled and sunk; and the command of the remaining ship, called the Solidad, being given to Mr Hughes, the lieutenant of the Trial, who had with him a crew of ten men to navigate her, the squadron towards midnight weighed anchor and sailed out of the bay, being now augmented to six sail, that is, the Centurion, and the Trial prize, together with the Carmelo, the Teresa, the Carmen, and our last acquired vessel, the Solidad.

And now, before I entirely quit the account of our transactions at this place, it may not, perhaps, be improper to give a succinct relation of the booty we made here, and of the loss the Spaniards sustained. I have before observed that there were great quantities of valuable effects in the town; but, as the greatest part of them were what we could neither

dispose of nor carry away, the total amount of this merchandise can only be rudely guessed at. But the Spaniards, in the representations they made to the Court of Madrid (as we were afterwards assured), estimated their whole loss at a million and a half of dollars; and when it is considered that no small part of the goods we burned there were of the richest and most expensive species, as broadcloths, silks, cambrics, velvets, &c., I cannot but think their valuation sufficiently moderate. As to our part, our acquisition, though inconsiderable in comparison of what we destroyed, was yet in itself far from despicable; for the wrought plate, dollars, and other coin which fell into our hands, amounted to upwards of £30,000 sterling, besides several rings, bracelets, and jewels, whose intrinsic value we could not then determine; and over and above all this, the plunder which became the property of the immediate captors was very great; so that upon the whole it was by much the most important booty we made upon that coast.

There remains, before I take leave of this place, another particularity to be mentioned, which, on account of the great honour which our national character in those parts has thence received, and the reputation which our Commodore in particular has thereby acquired, merits a distinct and circumstantial discussion. It has been already related that all the prisoners taken by us in our preceding prizes were put on shore and discharged at this place; amongst which there were some persons of considerable distinction, particularly a youth of about seventeen years of age, son of the Vice-President of the Council of Chili. As the barbarity of the Buccaneers, and the artful use the [Spanish] ecclesiastics had made of it, had filled the natives of those countries with the most terrible ideas of the English cruelty, we always found our prisoners, at their first coming on board us, to be extremely dejected and under great horror and anxiety. In particular, this *youth, whom I last* mentioned, having never been from home before, lamented his captivity in the most moving manner, regretting in very plaintive terms his parents, his brothers, his sisters, and his native country, of all which he was fully persuaded he had taken his last farewell, believing that he was now devoted for the remaining part of his life to an abject and cruel servitude; nor was he singular in his fears, for his companions on board, and indeed all the Spaniards that came into our power, had the same desponding opinion of their situation. Mr Anson constantly exerted his utmost endeavours to efface these inhuman impressions they had received of us; always taking care that as many of the principal people among them as there was room for should dine at his table by turns; and giving the strictest orders, too, that they should at all times, and in every circumstance, be treated with the utmost decency and humanity. But, notwithstanding this precaution, it was generally observed that for the first day or two they did not quit their fears, but suspected the gentleness of their usage to be only preparatory to some unthought-of calamity. However, being confirmed by time, they grew perfectly easy in their situation, and remarkably cheerful, so that it was often disputable whether or no they considered their being detained by us as a misfortune. For the youth I have above mentioned, who was near two months on board us, had at last so far conquered his melancholy surmises, and had taken such an affection to Mr Anson, and seemed so much pleased with the manner of life, totally different from all he had ever seen before, that it is doubtful to me whether, if his own opinion had been taken, he would not have preferred a voyage to England in the Centurion to the being set on shore at Paita, where he was at liberty to return to his country and his friends.

This conduct of the Commodore to his prisoners, which was continued without interruption or deviation, gave them all the highest idea of his humanity and benevolence, and in-

duced them likewise (as mankind are fond of forming general opinions) to entertain very favourable thoughts of the whole English nation. But whatever they might be disposed to think of Mr Anson before the taking of the Teresa, their veneration for him was prodigiously increased by his conduct towards those women whom (as I have already mentioned) he took in that vessel. For the leaving them in the possession of their apartments, the strict orders given to prevent all his people on board from approaching them, and the permitting the pilot to stay with them as their guardian, were measures that seemed so different from what might be expected from an enemy and an heretic, that the Spaniards on board, though they had themselves experienced his beneficence, were surprised at this new instance of it; and the more so, as all this was done without his ever having seen the women, though the two daughters were both esteemed handsome, and the youngest was celebrated for her uncommon beauty. The women themselves, too, were so sensible of the obligations they owed him for the care and attention with which he had protected them, that they absolutely refused to go on shore at Paita till they had been permitted to wait on him on board the Centurion, to return him thanks in person. Indeed, all the prisoners left us with the strongest assurances of their grateful remembrance of his uncommon treatment. A Jesuit, in particular, whom the Commodore had taken, and who was an ecclesiastic of some distinction, could not help expressing himself with great thankfulness for the civilities he and his countrymen had found on board, declaring that he should consider it as his duty to do Mr Anson justice at all times; adding, that his usage of the men prisoners was such as could never be forgotten, and such as he could never fail to acknowledge and recite upon all occasions; but that his behaviour to the women was so extraordinary, and so extremely honourable, that he doubted all the regard due to his own ecclesiastical character would be scarcely sufficient to render it credible. And, indeed, we were afterwards informed that both he and the rest of our prisoners had not been silent on this head, but had, both at Lima and other places, given the greatest encomiums to our Commodore; the Jesuit in particular, as we were told, having on his account interpreted in a lax and hypothetical sense that article of his Church which asserts the impossibility of heretics being saved.

And let it not be imagined that the impression which the Spaniards hence received to our advantage is a matter of small import; for, not to mention several of our countrymen who have already felt the good effects of these prepossessions, the Spaniards are a nation whose good opinion of us is doubtless of more consequence than that of all the world besides. Not only as the commerce we have formerly carried on with them, and perhaps may again hereafter, is so extremely valuable, but also as the transacting it does so immediately depend on the honour and good faith of those who are entrusted with its management. But, however, [even] had no national conveniencies attended it, the Commodore's equity and good temper would not less have deterred him from all tyranny and cruelty to those whom the fortune of war had put into his hands. I shall only add, that by his constant attachment to these humane and prudent maxims he has acquired a distinguished reputation amongst the Creole Spaniards which is not confined merely to the coast of the South Seas, but is extended through all the Spanish settlements in America: so that his name is frequently to be met with in the mouths of[1] most of the Spanish inhabitants of that prodigious empire.[2]

[1] Ed. 1776: "Was universally mentioned with honour and applause by."

[2] Byron, who met, during his residence as a prisoner on parole in Chili, some of the released captives, says: "They all spoke in the highest terms of the kind treatment they had re-

CHAPTER VII.

WHEN we got under sail from the road of Paita (which, as I have already observed, was about midnight on the 16th of November) we stood to the westward; and in the morning the Commodore gave orders that the whole squadron should spread themselves, in order to look out for the Gloucester; for we now drew near to the station where Captain Mitchel had been directed to cruise, and hourly expected to get sight of him, but the whole day passed without seeing him.

And now a jealousy which had taken its rise at Paita, between those who had been ordered on shore for the attack and those who had continued on board, grew to such a height, that the Commodore, being made acquainted with it, thought it necessary to interpose his authority to appease it.[1]

The ground of this animosity was the plunder gotten at Paita, which those who had acted on shore had appropriated to themselves, and considered it as a reward for the risks they had run and the resolution they had shown in that service. But those who had remained on board considered this as a very partial and unjust procedure, urging that, had it been left to their choice, they should have preferred the acting on shore to the continuing on board; that their duty, while their comrades were on shore, was extremely fatiguing, for besides the labour of the day they were constantly under arms all night to secure the prisoners, whose numbers exceeded their own, and of whom it was then necessary to be extremely watchful, to prevent any attempts they might have formed in that critical conjuncture; that upon the whole it could not be denied but that the presence of a sufficient force on board was as necessary to the success of the enterprise, as the action of the others on shore; and therefore those who had continued on board insisted that they could not be deprived of their share of the plunder, without manifest injustice. These were the contests amongst our men, which were carried on with great heat on both sides; and though the plunder in question was a very trifle in comparison of the treasure taken in the place (in which there was no doubt but those on board had an equal right), yet as the obstinacy of sailors is not always regulated by the importance of the matter in dispute, the Commodore thought it necessary to put a stop to this ferment betimes. And accordingly, the morning after our leaving Paita, he ordered all hands upon the quarter-deck, where, addressing himself to those who had been detached on shore, he commended their behaviour, and thanked them for their services on that occasion; but then, representing to them the reasons urged by those who had continued on board for an equal distribution of the plunder, he told them that he thought these reasons very conclusive, and that the expectations of their comrades were

---

ceived; and some of them told us they were so happy on board the Centurion, that they would not have been sorry if the Commodore had taken them with him to England." Still more remarkable, however, is Captain Basil Hall's testimony, in his "South America:" "Lord Anson's proceedings are still traditionally known at Paita; and it is curious to observe that the kindness with which that sagacious officer invariably treated his Spanish prisoners is, at the distance of eighty years, better known and more dwelt upon by the inhabitants of Paita than the capture and wanton destruction of the town."

[1] Thomas tells a very different story about this division of the spoil: "The 22d, a division was made of the plunder of Paita, and the Commodore not appearing in that affair, it was done at the pleasure, and to the entire satisfaction of five or six (no doubt) very disinterested officers; and, indeed, most things of this nature, during the course of the voyage being managed with the same discretion and honour, no room was left for *complaining of* particular partialities."

justly founded; and therefore he ordered, that not only the men, but all the officers likewise, who had been employed in taking the place, should produce the whole of their plunder immediately upon the quarter-deck; and that it should be impartially divided amongst the whole crew, in proportion to each man's rank and commission. And to prevent those who had been in possession of the plunder from murmuring at this diminution of their share, the Commodore added, that as an encouragement to others who might be hereafter employed on like services, he would give his entire share to be distributed amongst those who had been detached for the attack of the place. Thus this troublesome affair, which, if permitted to have gone on, might perhaps have been attended with mischievous consequences, was by the Commodore's prudence soon appeased, to the general satisfaction of the ship's company; not but there were some few whose selfish dispositions were uninfluenced by the justice of this procedure, and who were incapable of discerning the force of equity, however glaring, when it tended to deprive them of any part of what they had once got into their hands.

This important business employed the best part of the day after we came from Paita. And now at night, having no sight of the Gloucester, the Commodore ordered the squadron to bring to, that we might not pass her in the dark. The next morning we again looked out for her, and at ten we saw a sail, to which we gave chase; and at two in the afternoon we came near enough to her to discover her to be the Gloucester, with a small vessel in tow. About an hour after we were joined by them, and then we learned that Captain Mitchel, in the whole time of his cruise, had only taken two prizes, one of them being a small snow,[1] whose cargo consisted chiefly of wine, brandy, and olives in jars, with about £7000 in specie;[2] and the other a large boat or launch which the Gloucester's barge came up with near the shore. The prisoners on board this vessel alleged that they were very poor, and that their loading consisted only of cotton, though the circumstances in which the barge surprised them seemed to insinuate that they were more opulent than they pretended to be, for the Gloucester's people found them at dinner upon pigeon-pie served up in silver dishes. However, the officer who commanded the barge having opened several of the jars on board to satisfy his curiosity, and finding nothing in them but cotton, he was inclined to believe the account the prisoners gave him; but the cargo being taken into the Gloucester, and there examined more strictly, they were agreeably surprised to find that the whole was a very extraordinary piece of false package, and that there was concealed amongst the cotton, in every jar, a considerable quantity of double doubloons and dollars to the amount, in the whole, of near £12,000. This treasure was going to Paita, and belonged to the same merchants who were the proprietors of the greatest part of the money we had taken there; so that, had this boat escaped the Gloucester, it is probable her cargo would have fallen into our hands. Besides these two prizes which we have mentioned, the Gloucester's people told us that they had been in sight of two or three other ships of the enemy, which had escaped them; and one of them we had reason to believe, from some of our intelligence, was of an immense value.

Being now joined by the Gloucester and her prize, it was resolved that we

[1] Called the Del Oro.

[2] Thomas says: "On board this prize of the Gloucester were two horses, which being, I suppose, fat, and probably better food than their salt beef or pork, they killed and eat them; and this, I imagine, gave ground to that fiction which one of the spurious accounts of our voyage has given, of our eagerly hunting and eating wild horses, whereas in reality we never saw nor heard of a wild horse during our voyage."

should stand to the northwards, and make the best of our way either to Cape St Lucas, in California, or to Cape Corrientes on the coast of Mexico. Indeed the Commodore, when at Juan Fernandez, had determined with himself to touch in the neighbourhood of Panama, and to endeavour to get some correspondence overland with the fleet under the command of Admiral Vernon. For, when we departed from England, we left a large force at Portsmouth, which was intended to be sent to the West Indies, there to be employed in an expedition against some of the Spanish settlements.[1] And Mr Anson taking it for granted that this enterprise had succeeded, and that Porto Bello perhaps might be then garrisoned by British troops, he hoped that on his arrival at the Isthmus he should easily procure an intercourse with our countrymen on the other side, either by the Indians, who were greatly disposed in our favour, or even by the Spaniards themselves, some of whom, for proper rewards, might be induced to carry on this intelligence, which, after it was once begun, might be continued with very little difficulty. So that Mr Anson flattered himself that he might by this means have received a reinforcement of men from the other side, and that, by settling a prudent plan of operations with our commanders in the West Indies, he might have taken even Panama itself, which would have given to the British nation the possession of that Isthmus, whereby we should have been in effect masters of all the treasures of Peru, and should have had in our hands an equivalent for any demands, however extraordinary, which we might have been induced to have made on either of the branches of the House of Bourbon. Such were the projects which the Commodore resolved in his thoughts at the Island of Juan Fernandez, notwithstanding the feeble condition to which he was then reduced. And indeed, had the success of our force in the West Indies been answerable to the general expectation, it cannot be denied but these views would have been the most prudent that could have been thought of. But in examining the papers which were found on board the Carmelo, the first prize we took, we learned (though I then omitted to mention it) that our attempt against Carthagena had failed, and that there was no probability that our fleet in that part of the world would engage in any new enterprise that would at all facilitate this plan. And therefore Mr Anson gave over all hopes of being reinforced across the Isthmus, and consequently had no inducement at present to proceed to Panama, as he was incapable of attacking the place; and there was great reason to believe that by this time there was a general embargo on all the coast.

The only feasible measure, then, which was left us, was to get as soon as possible to the southern parts of California, or to the adjacent coast of Mexico, there to cruise for the Manilla galleon, which we knew was now at sea, bound to the port of Acapulco. And we doubted not to get on that station time enough to intercept her, for this ship does not [usually] arrive at Acapulco till towards the middle of January, and we were now but in the middle of November, and did not conceive that our passage thither would cost us above a month or five weeks; so that we imagined we had near twice as much time as was necessary for our purpose. . . .

Having determined to go to Quibo, we directed our course to the northward, being eight sail in company, and consequently having the appearance of a very formidable fleet; and on the 19th, at daybreak, we discovered Cape Blanco, bearing SSE. half E., seven miles distant. This cape lies in the Latitude of 4° 15′ S., and is always made by ships bound either to windward or to leeward, so that off this cape is a most excellent station to cruise upon the enemy. By this time we found that our last prize, the Solidad, was far from answering the character given her of a good sailer; and she and the Santa Teresa delay-

[1] *See Note* 3, page 329.

ing us considerably, the Commodore ordered them both to be cleared of everything that might prove useful to the rest of the ships, and then to be burned. Having given proper instructions, and a rendezvous to the Gloucester and the other prizes, we proceeded in our course for Quibo; and on the 22d, in the morning, saw the Island of Plata,[1] bearing E., distant four leagues. Here one of our prizes was ordered to stand close in with it, both to discover if there were any ships between that island and the continent, and likewise to look out for a stream of fresh water which was reported to be there, and which would have saved us the trouble of going to Quibo; but she returned without having seen any ship or finding any water. At three in the afternoon, Point Manta bore SE. by E., seven miles distant; and there being a town of the same name in the neighbourhood, Captain Mitchel took this opportunity of sending away several of his prisoners from the Gloucester in the Spanish launch. The boats were now daily employed in distributing provisions on board the Trial and other prizes to complete their stock for six months; and that the Centurion might be the better prepared to give the Manilla ship (one of which we were told was of an immense size) a warm reception, the carpenters were ordered to fix eight stocks in the main and fore tops, which were properly fitted for the mounting of swivel guns.

On the 25th we had a sight of the Island of Gallo, bearing ESE. half E., four leagues distant; and hence we crossed the Bay of Panama with a NW. course, hoping that this would have carried us in a direct line to the Island of Quibo. But we afterwards found that we ought to have stood more to the westward; for the winds in a short time began to incline to that quarter, and made it difficult for us to gain the island.

On the 27th, Captain Mitchel having finished the clearing of his largest prize, she was scuttled and set on fire; but we still consisted of five ships and were fortunate enough to find them all good sailers, so that we never occasioned any delay to each other. Being now in a rainy climate, which we had been long disused to, we found it necessary to calk the sides of the Centurion, to prevent the rain-water from running into her. On the 3d of December we had a view of the Island of Quibo; the east end of which then bore from us NNW., four leagues distant, and the Island of Quicara WNW., at about the same distance. Here we struck ground with sixty-five fathoms of line, and found the bottom to consist of grey sand with black specks. When we had thus got sight of the land, we found the wind to hang westerly; and therefore, night coming on, we thought it advisable to stand off till morning, as there are said to be some shoals in the entrance of the channel. At six the next morning, Point Mariato bore NE. half N., three or four leagues distant. In weathering this point all the squadron, except the Centurion, were very near it; and the Gloucester, being the leewardmost ship, was forced to tack and stand to the southward, so that we lost sight of her. At nine, the Island Sebaco bore NW. by N., four leagues distant; but the wind still proving unfavourable, we were obliged to ply on and off for the succeeding twenty-four hours, and were frequently taken aback. However, at eleven the next morning the wind happily settled in the SSW., and we bore away for the SSE. end of the island, and about three in the afternoon entered Canal Bueno, passing round a shoal which stretches off about two miles from the south point of the island. This Canal Bueno, or Good Channel, is at least six miles in breadth; and as we had the wind large, we kept in a good depth of water, generally from twenty-eight to thirty-three fathoms, and came not within a mile and a half distance of the breakers; though in all proba-

[1] So called, it is said, because here Sir Francis Drake divided the treasure he had captured in the South Seas.

bility, if it had been necessary, we might have ventured much nearer without incurring the least danger. At seven in the evening we came to an anchor in thirty-three fathoms muddy ground; the south point of the island bearing SE. by S., a remarkable high part of the Island W. by N., and the Island Sebaco E. by N.

CHAPTER VIII.

The next morning, after our coming to an anchor, an officer was despatched on shore to discover the watering-place, who having found it, returned before noon; and then we sent the long-boat for a load of water, and at the same time we weighed and stood farther in with our ships. At two we came again to an anchor in twenty-two fathoms, with a bottom of rough gravel intermixed with broken shells, the watering-place now bearing from us NW. half N., only three quarters of a mile distant. This Island of Quibo is extremely convenient for wooding and watering; for the trees grow close to the high-water mark, and a large rapid stream of fresh water runs over the sandy beach into the sea: so that we were little more than two days in laying in all the wood and water we wanted. . . .

Whilst the ship continued here at anchor, the Commodore, attended by some of his officers, went in a boat to examine a bay which lay to the northward; and they afterwards ranged all along the eastern side of the island. And in the places where they put on shore in the course of his expedition, they generally found the soil to be extremely rich, and met with great plenty of excellent water. In particular, near the NE. point of the island they discovered a natural cascade which surpassed, as they conceived, everything of this kind which human art or industry has hitherto produced. It was a river of transparent water, about forty yards wide, which ran down a *declivity of near 150* yards in length. The channel it ran in was very irregular; for it was entirely formed of rock, both its sides and bottom being made up of large detached blocks; and by these the course of the water was frequently interrupted: for in some places it ran sloping with a rapid but uniform motion, while in other parts it tumbled over the ledges of rocks with a perpendicular descent. All the neighbourhood of this stream was a fine wood; and even the huge masses of rock which overhung the water, and which, by their various projections, formed the inequalities of the channel, were covered with lofty forest trees. Whilst the Commodore, and those who were with him, were attentively viewing this place, and remarking the different blendings of the water, the rocks, and the wood, there came in sight (as it were with an intent still to heighten and animate the prospect) a prodigious flight of macaws, which, hovering over this spot, and often wheeling and playing on the wing about it, afforded a most brilliant appearance by the glittering of the sun on their variegated plumage; so that some of the spectators cannot refrain from a kind of transport when they recount the complicated beauties which occurred in this extraordinary water-fall.

In this expedition, which the boat made along the eastern side of the island, though they met with no inhabitants, yet they saw many huts upon the shore, and great heaps of shells of fine mother-of-pearl scattered up and down in different places. These were the remains left by the pearl fishers from Panama, who often frequent this place in the summer season; for the pearl oysters, which are to be met with everywhere in the Bay of Panama, are so plenty at Quibo, that by advancing a very little way into the sea, you might stoop down and reach them from the bottom. They are usually very large, and out of curiosity we opened some of them with a view of tasting them, but we found them extremely tough and unpalatable. . . .

Though the pearl oyster was in-

capable of being eaten, yet the sea at this place furnished us with another dainty in the greatest plenty and perfection. This was the turtle, of which we took here what quantity we pleased. There are generally reckoned four species of turtle, that is, the trunk turtle, the loggerhead, the hawksbill, and the green turtle. The two first are rank and unwholesome; the hawksbill (which furnishes the tortoise-shell) is but indifferent food, though better than the other two; but the green turtle is generally esteemed, by the greatest part of those who are acquainted with its taste, to be the most delicious of all eatables; and that it is a most wholesome food we are amply convinced by our own experience. For we fed on this last species, or the green turtle, for near four months, and consequently, had it been in any degree noxious, its ill effects could not possibly have escaped us. . . .

In three days' time we had completed our business at this place, and were extremely impatient to put to sea, that we might arrive in time enough on the coast of Mexico to intercept the Manilla galleon. But the wind being contrary detained us a night, and the next day, when we got into the offing (which we did through the same channel by which we entered) we were obliged to keep hovering about the island in hopes of getting sight of the Gloucester, which, as I have in the last Chapter mentioned, was separated from us on our first arrival. It was the 9th of December, in the morning, when we put to sea; and continuing to the southward of the island, looking out for the Gloucester, we, on the 10th, at five in the afternoon, discerned a small sail to the northward of us, to which we gave chase, and coming up with her took her. She proved to be a bark from Panama, bound to Cheripe, an inconsiderable village on the continent, and was called the Jesu Nazereno. She had nothing on board but some oakum, about a ton of rock salt, and between £30 and £40 in specie, most of it consisting of small silver money intended for purchasing a cargo of provisions at Cheripe.

On the 12th of December we were at last relieved from the perplexity we had suffered by the separation of the Gloucester; for on that day she joined us, and informed us that in tacking to the southward, on our first arrival, she had sprung her fore-topmast, which had disabled her from working to windward, and prevented her from joining us sooner. And now we scuttled and sunk the Jesu Nazareno, the prize we took last; and having the greatest impatience to get into a proper station for the galleon, we stood all together to the westward, leaving the Island of Quibo (notwithstanding all the impediments we met with) in about nine days after our first coming in sight of it.

CHAPTER IX.

On the 12th of December we stood from Quibo to the westward; and the same day the Commodore delivered fresh instructions to the captains of the men-of-war, and the commanders of our prizes, appointing them the rendezvous they were to make, and the courses they were to steer in case of a separation. And first they were directed to use all possible despatch in getting to the northward of the harbour of Acapulco, where they were to endeavour to fall in with the land between the Latitudes of 18° and 19°; thence they were to beat up the coast, at eight or ten leagues' distance from the shore, till they came abreast of Cape Corrientes, in the Latitude of 20° 20′. When they arrived there, they were to continue cruising on that station till the 14th of February; and then they were to proceed to the middle island of the Tres Marias, in the Latitude of 21° 25′, bearing from Cape Corrientes NW. by N., twenty-five leagues distant. And if at this island they did not meet the Commodore, they were there to recruit their wood and water, and then to make the best of their way to the

Island of Macao, on the coast of China. These orders being distributed to all the ships, we had little doubt of arriving soon upon our intended station, as we expected, upon increasing our offing from Quibo, to fall in with the regular trade-wind. But, to our extreme vexation, we were baffled for near a month, either with tempestuous weather from the western quarter, or with dead calms and heavy rains, attended with a sultry air; so that it was the 25th of December before we got a sight of the Island of Cocos, which, by our reckoning was only 100 leagues from the continent; and we had the mortification to make so little way that we did not lose sight of it again in five days. This island we found to be in the Latitude of 5° 20′ N. It has a high hummock towards the western part, which descends gradually, and at last terminates in a low point to the eastward. From the Island of Cocos we stood W. by N., and were till the 9th of January in running 100 leagues more. We had at first flattered ourselves that the uncertain weather and western gales we met with were owing to the neighbourhood of the continent, from which, as we got more distant, we expected every day to be relieved by falling in with the eastern trade-wind. But as our hopes were so long baffled, and our patience quite exhausted, we began at length to despair of succeeding in the great purpose we had in view, that of intercepting the Manilla galleon; and this produced a general dejection amongst us, as we had at first considered this project as almost infallible, and had indulged ourselves in the most boundless hopes of the advantages we should thence receive. However, our despondency was at last somewhat alleviated by a favourable change of the wind; for on the 9th of January a gale for the first time sprung up from the NE., and on this we took the Carmelo in tow, as the Gloucester did the Carmen, making all the sail we could to improve the advantage, for we still suspected that *it was only a temporary gale*, which would not last long; but the next day we had the satisfaction to find that the wind did not only continue in the same quarter, but blew with so much briskness and steadiness, that we now no longer doubted of its being the true trade-wind. And as we advanced apace towards our station, our hopes began to revive, and our former despair by degrees gave place to more sanguine prejudices; for though the customary season of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco was already elapsed, yet we were by this time unreasonable enough to flatter ourselves that some accidental delay might, for our advantage, lengthen out her passage beyond its usual limits.

When we got into the trade-wind, we found no alteration in it till the 17th of January, when we were advanced to the Latitude of 12° 50′; but on that day it shifted to the westward of N. This change we imputed to our having hauled up too soon, though we then esteemed ourselves full seventy leagues from the coast, which plainly shows that the trade-wind does not take place but at a considerable distance from the continent. After this the wind was not so favourable to us as it had been; however, we still continued to advance, and on the 26th of January, being then to the northward of Acapulco, we tacked and stood to the eastward, with a view of making the land. In the preceding fortnight we caught some turtle on the surface of the water, and several dolphins, bonitos, and albicores. One day, as one of the sail-makers' mates was fishing from the end of the jib-boom, he lost his hold, and dropped into the sea; and the ship, which was then going at the rate of six or seven knots, went directly over him. But, as we had the Carmelo in tow, we instantly called out to the people on board her, who threw him over several ends of ropes, one of which he fortunately caught hold of, and twisting it round his arm, they hauled him into the ship without his having received any other injury than a wrench in his arm, of which he soon recovered.

When, on the 26th of January, we stood to the eastward, we expected by our reckonings to have fallen in with the land on the 28th; but though the weather was perfectly clear, we had no sight of it at sunset, and therefore we continued on our course, not doubting but we should see it by the next morning. About ten at night we discovered a light on the larboard-bow, bearing from us NNE. The Trial's prize, too, which was about a mile ahead of us, made a signal at the same time for seeing a sail; and as we had none of us any doubt but what we saw was a ship's light, we were all extremely animated with a firm persuasion that it was the Manilla galleon, which had been so long the object of our wishes. And what added to our alacrity was our expectation of meeting with two of them instead of one, for we took it for granted that the light in view was carried in the top of one ship for a direction to her consort. We immediately cast off the Carmelo, and pressed forward with all our canvas, making a signal for the Gloucester to do the same. Thus we chased the light, keeping all our hands at their respective quarters, under an expectation of engaging in the next half hour, as we sometimes conceived the chase to be about a mile distant, and at other times to be within reach of our guns; and some on board us positively averred that besides the light they could plainly discern her sails. The Commodore himself was so fully persuaded that we should be soon alongside of her, that he sent for his first lieutenant, who commanded between decks, and directed him to see all the great guns loaded with two round-shot for the first broadside, and after that with one round-shot and one grape; strictly charging him, at the same time, not to suffer a gun to be fired till he, the Commodore, should give orders, which he informed the lieutenant would not be till we arrived within pistol-shot of the enemy. In this constant and eager attention we continued all night, always presuming that another quarter of an hour would bring us up with this Manilla ship, whose wealth, with that of her supposed consort, we now estimated by round millions. But when the morning broke, and daylight came on, we were most strangely and vexatiously disappointed by finding that the light which had occasioned all this bustle and expectancy was only a fire on the shore. Indeed, the circumstances of this deception are so extraordinary as to be scarcely credible; for by our run during the night, and the distance of the land in the morning, there was no doubt to be made but this fire, when we first discovered it, was about twenty-five leagues from us: and yet I believe there was no person on board who doubted of its being a ship's light, or of its being near at hand. It was, indeed, upon a very high mountain, and continued burning for several days afterwards; it was not a volcano, but rather, as I suppose, stubble or heath set on fire for some purpose of agriculture.

At sun-rising, after this mortifying delusion, we found ourselves about nine leagues off the land, which extended from the NW. to E. half N. On this land we observed two remarkable hummocks, such as are usually called paps, which bore N. from us; these a Spanish pilot and two Indians, who were the only persons amongst us that pretended to have traded in this part of the world, affirmed to be over the harbour of Acapulco. Indeed, we very much doubted their knowledge of the coast; for we found these paps to be in the Latitude of 17° 56′, whereas those over Acapulco are said to be in 17° only; and we afterwards found our suspicions of their skill to be well-grounded.[1] However, they were very confident, and assured us that the height of the mountains was itself an infallible mark of the harbour; the coast, as they pretended (though falsely) being generally low to the eastward and westward of it.

And now, being in the track of the Manilla galleon, it was a great doubt with us (as it was near the end of January) whether she was or was not

[1] See Dampier's description of the place, Chapter IX., page 208.

arrived. But, examining our prisoners about it, they assured us that she was sometimes known to come in after the middle of February; and they endeavoured to persuade us that the fire we had seen on shore was a proof that she was as yet at sea, it being customary, as they said, to make use of these fires as signals for her direction when she continued longer out than ordinary. On this information, strengthened by our propensity to believe them in a matter which so pleasingly flattered our wishes, we resolved to cruise for her for some days; and we accordingly spread our ships at the distance of twelve leagues from the coast, in such a manner that it was impossible she should pass us unobserved. However, not seeing her soon, we were at intervals inclined to suspect that she had gained her port already; and as we now began to want a harbour to refresh our people, the uncertainty of our present situation gave us great uneasiness, and we were very solicitous to get some positive intelligence, which might either set us at liberty to consult our necessities, if the galleon was arrived, or might animate us to continue on our present cruise with cheerfulness, if she was not. With this view the Commodore, after examining our prisoners very particularly, resolved to send a boat, under colour of the night, into the harbour of Acapulco, to see if the Manilla ship was there or not, one of the Indians being very positive that this might be done without the boat itself being discovered. To execute this project, the barge was despatched the 6th of February, with a sufficient crew and two officers, who took with them a Spanish pilot, and the Indian who had insisted on the practicability of this measure, and had undertaken to conduct it. Our barge did not return to us again till the 11th, when the officers acquainted Mr Anson that, agreeable to our suspicion, there was nothing like a harbour in the place where the Spanish pilots had at first asserted Acapulco to lie; that, when they had satisfied themselves in this particular, they steered to the eastward *in hopes* of discovering it, and had coasted along shore thirty-two leagues; that in this whole range they met chiefly with sandy beaches of a great length, over which the sea broke with so much violence that it was impossible for a boat to land; that at the end of their run they could just discover two paps at a very great distance to the eastward, which from their appearance and their latitude they concluded to be those in the neighbourhood of Acapulco; but that, not having a sufficient quantity of fresh water and provision for their passage thither and back again, they were obliged to return to the Commodore, to acquaint him with their disappointment. On this intelligence we all made sail to the eastward, in order to get into the neighbourhood of that port; the Commodore resolving to send the barge a second time upon the same enterprise when we were arrived within a moderate distance. And the next day, which was the 12th of February, we being by that time considerably advanced, the barge was again despatched, and particular instructions given to the officers to preserve themselves from being seen from the shore. On the 13th, we espied a high land to the eastward, which we first imagined to be that over the harbour of Acapulco; but we afterwards found that it was the high land of Seguateneo,[1] where there is a small harbour of which we shall have occasion to make more ample mention hereafter. And now, having waited six days without any news of our barge, we began to be uneasy for her safety; but on the seventh day, that is, on the 19th of February, she returned. The officers informed the Commodore that they had discovered the harbour of Acapulco, which they esteemed to bear from us ESE. at least fifty leagues distant; that on the 17th, about two in the morning, they were got within the island that lies at the mouth of the harbour, and yet neither the Spanish pilot nor the Indian who were with them could give them any information where they

[1] Chequetan; see Chapter XII., page 421.

then were; but that, while they were lying upon their oars in suspense what to do, being ignorant that they were then at the very place they sought for, they discerned a small light upon the surface of the water, on which they instantly plied their paddles, and moving as silently as possible towards it, they found it to be in a fishing canoe, which they surprised, with three Negroes that belonged to it. It seems the Negroes at first attempted to jump overboard, and being so near the land, they would easily have swam on shore; but they were prevented by presenting a piece at them, on which they readily submitted, and were taken into the barge. The officers further added, that they had immediately turned the canoe adrift against the face of a rock, where it would inevitably be dashed to pieces by the fury of the sea; this they did to deceive those who perhaps might be sent from the town to search after the canoe; for, upon seeing several pieces of a wreck, they would immediately conclude that the people on board her had been drowned, and would have no suspicion of their having fallen into our hands. When the crew of the barge had taken this precaution, they exerted their utmost strength in pulling out to sea, and by dawn of day had gained such an offing as rendered it impossible for them to be seen from the coast.

And now having got the three Negroes in our possession, who were not ignorant of the transactions at Acapulco, we were soon satisfied about the most material points which had long kept us in suspense. And on examination we found that we were indeed disappointed in our expectation of intercepting the galleon before her arrival at Acapulco; but we learned other circumstances which still revived our hopes, and which, we then conceived, would more than balance the opportunity we had already lost. For though our Negro prisoners informed us that the galleon arrived at Acapulco on our 9th of January, which was about twenty days before we fell in with this coast, yet they at the same time told us that the galleon had delivered her cargo and was taking in water and provisions for her return, and that the Viceroy of Mexico had by proclamation fixed her departure from Acapulco to the 14th of March, N.S. This last news was most joyfully received by us, as we had no doubt but she must certainly fall into our hands, and as it was much more eligible to seize her on her return than it would have been to have taken her before her arrival, as the specie for which she had sold her cargo, and which she would now have on board, would be prodigiously more to be esteemed by us than the cargo itself, great part of which would have perished on our hands; and no part of it could have been disposed of by us at so advantageous a mart as Acapulco.

Thus we were a second time engaged in an eager expectation of meeting with this Manilla ship, which, by the fame of its wealth, we had been taught to consider as the most desirable prize that was to be met with in any part of the globe. As all our future projects will be in some sort regulated with a view to the possession of this celebrated galleon, and as the commerce which is carried on by means of these vessels between the city of Manilla and the port of Acapulco is perhaps the most valuable, in proportion to its quantity, of any in the known world, I shall endeavour in the ensuing Chapter to give as distinct an account as I can of all the particulars relating thereto; both as it is a matter in which I conceive the public to be in some degree interested, and as I flatter myself that, from the materials which have fallen into my hands, I am enabled to describe it with more distinctness than has hitherto been done, at least in our language.

CHAPTER X.[1]

THOUGH Spain did not [by the voyage of Magellan] acquire the property of

[1] The historical portion of this

any of the Spice Islands, yet the discovery made, in his expedition, of the Philippine Islands, was thought too considerable to be neglected, for these were not far distant from those places which produced spices, and were very well situated for the Chinese trade, and for the commerce of other parts of India; and therefore a communication was soon established and carefully supported between these islands and the Spanish colonies on the coast of Peru. So that the city of Manilla (which was built on the Island of Luconia, the chief of the Philippines) soon became the mart for all Indian commodities, which were brought up by the inhabitants, and were annually sent to the South Seas to be there vended on their account; and the returns of this commerce to Manilla being principally made in silver, the place by degrees grew extremely opulent and considerable, and its trade so far increased as to engage the attention of the Court of Spain, and to be frequently controlled and regulated by royal edicts.

In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on from the port of Callao to the city of Manilla, in which voyage the trade-wind continually favoured them; so that, notwithstanding these places were distant between three and four thousand leagues, yet the voyage was often made in little more than two months. But then the return from Manilla was extremely troublesome and tedious, and is said to have sometimes taken them up above a twelvemonth, which, if they pretended to ply up within the limits of the trade-wind, is not at all to be wondered at; and it is asserted that in their first voyages they were so imprudent and unskilful as to attempt this course. However, that route was soon laid aside by the advice, as it is said, of a Jesuit, who persuaded them to steer to the northward till they got clear of the trade-winds, and then, by the favour of the westerly winds, which generally prevail in high latitudes, to stretch away for the coast of California. This has been the practice for at least 160 years past; for Sir Thomas Cavendish, in the year 1586, engaged off the south end of California a vessel bound from Manilla to the American coast.[1] And it was in compliance with this new plan of navigation, and to shorten the run both backwards and forwards, that the staple[2] of this commerce to and from Manilla was removed from Callao, on the coast of Peru, to the port of Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, where it continues fixed at this time.

The trade carried on from Manilla to China, and different parts of India, is principally for such commodities as are intended to supply the kingdoms of Mexico and Peru. These are, spices; all sorts of Chinese silks and manufactures, particularly silk stockings, of which I have heard that no less than 50,000 pairs were the usual number shipped on board the annual ship; vast quantities of Indian stuffs—as calicoes and chintzes, which are much worn in America; together with other minuter articles—as goldsmiths' work, &c., which is principally done at the city of Manilla itself by the Chinese; for it is said there are at least 20,000 Chinese who constantly reside there, either as servants, manufacturers, or brokers. All these different commodities are collected at Manilla, thence to be transported annually in one or more ships to the port of Acapulco. But this trade to Acapulco is not laid open to all the inhabitants of Manilla, but is confined by very particular regulations, somewhat analogous to those by which the

Chapter, relating to the old feud between the Spanish and Portuguese on the score of their discoveries, and to the origin of the trade, has been left *out*.

[1] The Santa Anna, of 700 tons, the Admiral of the South Seas, bearing a cargo valued at 122,000 pesos. From Cape St Lucas, after capturing the Manilla ship, Cavendish sailed to the Ladrones in forty-five days.

[2] The place of trade established by decree or ordinance.

trade of the register ships from Cadiz to the West Indies is restrained. The ships employed herein are found by the King of Spain, who pays the officers and crew; and the tonnage is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the same size. These are distributed amongst the convents at Manilla, but principally to the Jesuits, as a donation for the support of their missions for the propagation of the Catholic faith; and these convents have hereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manilla ship as the tonnage of their bales amounts to; or, if they choose not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others. And as the merchants to whom they grant their shares are often unprovided of a stock, it is usual for the convents to lend them considerable sums of money on bottomry. The trade is by the royal edicts limited to a certain value, which the annual cargo ought not to exceed. Some Spanish manuscripts I have seen mention this limitation to be 600,000 dollars; but the annual cargo does certainly surpass this sum; and though it may be difficult to fix its exact value, yet from many comparisons I conclude that the return cannot be greatly short of 3,000,000 dollars.

This trade from Manilla to Acapulco and back again is usually carried on in one or at most two annual ships, which set sail from Manilla about July, arrive at Acapulco in the December, January, or February following, and, having there disposed of their effects, return for Manilla some time in March, where they generally arrive in June; so that the whole voyage takes up very near an entire year. For this reason, though there is often no more than one ship employed at a time, yet there is always one ready for the sea when the other arrives; and therefore the commerce at Manilla are provided with three or four stout ships, that, in case of any accident, the trade may not be suspended. The largest of these ships, whose name I have not learned, is described as little less than one of our first-rate men-of-war, and indeed she must be of an enormous size, for it is known, that when she was employed with other ships from the same port to cruise for our China trade, she had no less than 1200 men on board. Their other ships, though far inferior in bulk to this, are yet stout, large vessels, of the burthen of 1200 tons and upwards, and usually carry from 350 to 600 hands, passengers included, with fifty odd guns. As these are all King's ships, commissioned and paid by him, there is usually one of the captains who is styled the General, and who carries the royal standard of Spain at the main-topgallant masthead.

The ship having received her cargo on board, and being fitted for the sea, generally weighs from the mole of Cabite[1] about the middle of July, taking the advantage of the westerly monsoon, which then sets in, to carry them to sea. The getting through the Boccadero[2] to the eastward must be a troublesome navigation; and, in fact, it is sometimes the end of August before they get clear of the land. When they have got through this passage, and are clear of the islands, they stand to the northward of the east, in order to get into the Latitude of thirty odd degrees, when they expect to meet with westerly winds, before which they run away for the coast of California.[3] It is most remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor even a tolerable road, as yet found out betwixt the Philippine Islands and the coast of California and Mexico; so that from the time the Manilla ship first loses

[1] The port of Manilla, about two leagues to the southward of the city.

[2] Luzon, or Luconia, is separated from Mindoro by the strait of that name, about five miles broad; and from Samar by the "Embocadero de San Bernardino," the common passage for vessels navigating the Pacific on their way to China.

[3] Compare Dampier's account of the navigation in Chapter IX., page 210.

sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity. And therefore, as this voyage is rarely of less than six months' continuance, and the ship is deep laden with merchandise and crowded with people, it may appear wonderful how they can be supplied with a stock of fresh water for so long a time; and indeed their method of procuring it is extremely singular.[1] . . .

The Manilla ship, having stood so far to the northward as to meet with a westerly wind, stretches away nearly in the same latitude for the coast of California; and when she has run into the Longitude of 96° from Cape Espiritu Santo, she generally meets with a plant floating on the sea, which, being called *porra*[2] by the Spaniards, is, I presume, a species of sea-leek. On the sight of this plant they esteem themselves sufficiently near the Californian shore, and immediately stand to the southward; and they rely so much on this circumstance, that on the first discovery of the plant the whole ship's company chant a solemn Te Deum, esteeming the difficulties and hazards of their passage to be now at an end; and they constantly correct their longitude thereby, without ever coming within sight of land. After falling in with these signs, as they denominate them, they steer to the southward, without endeavouring to fall in with the coast till they have run into lower latitude; for as there are many islands and some shoals adjacent to California, the extreme caution of the Spanish navigators makes them very apprehensive of being engaged with the land. However, when they draw near its southern extremity, they venture to haul in, both for the sake of making Cape St Lucas to ascertain their reckoning, and also to receive intelligence from the Indian inhabitants whether or no there are any enemies on the coast; and this last circumstance, which is a particular article in the captain's instructions, makes it necessary to mention the late proceedings of the Jesuits amongst the Californian Indians.

Since the first discovery of California there have been various wandering missionaries who have visited it at different times, though to little purpose; but of late years the Jesuits, encouraged and supported by a large donation from the Marquis da Valero, a most munificent bigot, have fixed themselves upon the place and have established a very considerable mission. Their principal settlement lies just within Cape St Lucas, where they have collected a great number of savages, and have endeavoured to inure them to agriculture and other mechanic arts. And their efforts have not been altogether ineffectual; for they have planted vines at their settlements with very good success, so that they already make a considerable quantity of wine, resembling in flavour the inferior sorts of Madeira, which begins to be esteemed in the neighbouring kingdom of Mexico. The Jesuits, then, being thus firmly rooted on California, they have already extended their jurisdiction quite across the country from sea to sea, and are endeavouring to spread their influence farther to the northward, with which view they have made several expeditions up the gulf between California and Mexico, in order to discover the nature of the adjacent countries, all

[1] In allusion to the custom of the Spaniards in the South Seas carrying a great quantity of water jars hung on the shrouds and stays of the vessel, and in this way conserving the water during the voyage. They depended for a fresh supply on the rains which fell, and which they caught in mats hung all over the deck, from which it was led into the jars by means of split bamboos.

[2] "Puerro" is the Spanish for leek; but "porra" is a word, though generally used in a tropical sense, sufficiently near the other to have been quite honestly used in Anson's time to serve the same meaning; and "porreta" signifies the green leaf of *onions or garlick*.

which they hope hereafter to bring under their power. And being thus occupied in advancing the interests of their Society, it is no wonder if some share of attention is engaged about the security of the Manilla ship, in which their convents at Manilla are so deeply concerned. For this purpose there are refreshments, as fruits, wine, water, &c., constantly kept in readiness for her; and there is besides care taken at Cape St Lucas to look out for any ship of the enemy which might be cruising there to intercept her; this being a station where she is constantly expected, and where she has been often waited for and fought with, though generally with little success. In consequence, then, of the measures mutually settled between the Jesuits of Manilla and their brethren at California, the captain of the galleon is ordered to fall in with the land to the northward of Cape St Lucas, where the inhabitants are directed, on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires; and on discovering these fires the captain is to send his launch on shore with twenty men, well-armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the convents at Manilla to the Californian missionaries, and are to bring back the refreshments which will be prepared for them, and likewise intelligence whether or no there are any enemies on the coast. And if the captain finds, from the account which is sent him, that he has nothing to fear, he is directed to proceed for Cape St Lucas, and thence to Cape Corrientes; after which he is to coast it along for the port of Acapulco.

The most usual time of the arrival of the galleon at Acapulco is towards the middle of January; but this navigation is so uncertain that she sometimes gets in a month sooner, and at other times has been detained at sea above a month longer. The port of Acapulco is by much the securest and finest in all the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean; being, as it were, a basin surrounded with very high mountains: but the town is a most wretched place, and extremely unhealthy, for the air about it is so pent up by the hills, that it has scarcely any circulation. The place is, besides, destitute of fresh water, except what is brought from a considerable distance; and is in all respects so inconvenient, that except at the time of the mart, whilst the Manilla galleon is in the port, it is almost deserted. When the galleon arrives in this port, she is generally moored on its western side, and her cargo is delivered with all possible expedition. And now the town of Acapulco, from almost a solitude, is immediately thronged with merchants from all parts of the kingdom of Mexico. The cargo being landed and disposed of, the silver and the goods intended for Manilla are taken on board, together with provisions and water, and the ship prepares to put to sea with the utmost expedition. There is indeed no time to be lost; for it is an express order to the captain to be out of the port of Acapulco, on his return, before the first day of April, N.S.

And having mentioned the goods intended for Manilla, I must observe that the principal return is always made in silver, and consequently the rest of the cargo is but of little account; the other articles, besides the silver, being some cochineal, and a few sweetmeats, the produce of the American settlements, together with European millinery ware for the women at Manilla, and some Spanish wines, such as tent and sherry, which are intended for the use of their priests in the administration of the sacrament. And this difference in the cargo of the ship to and from Manilla occasions a very remarkable variety in the manner of equipping the ship for these two different voyages. For the galleon, when she sets sail from Manilla, being deep laden with a variety of bulky goods, has not the conveniency of mounting her lower tier of guns, but carries them in her hold till she draws near Cape St Lucas, and is apprehensive of an enemy. Her hands, too, are as few as is consistent with the safety of the

ship, that she may be less pestered with the stowage of provisions. But, on her return from Acapulco, as her cargo lies in less room, her lower tier is (or ought to be) always mounted before she leaves the port; and her crew is augmented with a supply of sailors, and with one or two companies of foot, which are intended to reinforce the garrison at Manilla. And there being, besides, many merchants who take their passage to Manilla on board the galleon, her whole number of hands on her return is usually little short of six hundred, all which are easily provided for by reason of the small stowage necessary for the silver.

The galleon being thus fitted for her return, the captain, on leaving the port of Acapulco, steers for the Latitude of 13° or 14°, and runs on that parallel till he gets sight of the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrones. In this run the captain is particularly directed to be careful of the shoals of St Bartholomew, and of the Island of Gasparico.[1] He is also told in his instructions that, to prevent his passing the Ladrones in the dark, there are orders given that through all the month of June fires shall be lighted every night on the highest part of Guam and Rota, and kept in till the morning. At Guam there is a small Spanish garrison, (as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter) purposely intended to secure that place for the refreshment of the galleon, and to yield her all the assistance in their power. However, the danger of the road at Guam is so great, that though the galleon is ordered to call there, yet she rarely stays above a day or two; but getting her water and refreshments on board as soon as possible, she steers away directly for Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal.[2] Here the captain is again ordered to look out for signals; and he is told that sentinels will be posted not only on that cape, but likewise in Catanduanas, Butusan, Birriboroongo, and on the Island of Batan. These sentinels are instructed to make a fire when they discover the ship, which the captain is carefully to observe. For if, after this first fire is extinguished, he perceives that four or more are lighted up again, he is then to conclude that there are enemies on the coast; and on this he is immediately to endeavour to speak with the sentinel on shore, and to procure from him more particular intelligence of their force, and of the station they cruise in; pursuant to which he is to regulate his conduct, and to endeavour to gain some secure port amongst those islands, without coming in sight of the enemy; and in case he should be discovered when in port, and should be apprehensive of an attack, he is then to land his treasure, and to take some of his artillery on shore for its defence, not neglecting to send frequent and particular accounts to the city of Manilla of all that passes. But if, after the first fire on shore, the captain observes that two others only are made by the sentinels, he is then to conclude that there is nothing to fear; and he is to pursue his course without interruption, and to make the best of his way to the port of Cabite, which is the port to the city of Manilla, and the constant station for all the ships employed in this commerce to Acapulco.

[1] In Anson's Chart San Bartolomeo is laid down as a considerable island, in about Latitude 13° N., Longitude 159° E. The position nearly corresponds with that of some of the smaller islands, north of Torres, belonging to the Caroline group. Gaspar Rico, not shown in Anson's Chart, is in about Latitude 12° 30′ N., Longitude 171° 30′ E. But the two islands specially signalled out for caution are no more than a speck among the hundreds of isles which for fully thirty degrees of longitude the Centurion passed to the northward in her voyage *to the Ladrones.*

[2] Or Samar; an island of considerable size, lying to the north of Mindanao, about the centre of the Archipelago, with its point farthest advanced towards the east.

CHAPTER XI.

I HAVE already mentioned in the ninth Chapter, that the return of our barge from the port of Acapulco, where she had surprised three Negro fishermen, gave us inexpressible satisfaction; as we learned from our prisoners that the galleon was then preparing to put to sea, and that her departure was fixed, by an edict of the Viceroy of Mexico, to the 14th of March N.S., that is, to the 3d of March according to our reckoning. What related to this Manilla ship being the matter to which we were most attentive, it was necessarily the first article of our examination; but having satisfied ourselves upon this head, we then indulged our curiosity in inquiring after other news; when the prisoners informed us, that they had received intelligence at Acapulco of our having plundered and burned the town of Paita; and that on this occasion the Governor of Acapulco had augmented the fortifications of the place, and had taken several precautions to prevent us from forcing our way into the harbour; that in particular he had placed a guard on the island which lies at the harbour's mouth, and that this guard had been withdrawn but two nights before the arrival of our barge: so that had the barge succeeded in her first attempt, or had she arrived at the port the second time two days sooner, she could scarcely have avoided being seized on, or if she had escaped it must have been with the loss of the greatest part of her crew, as she would have been under the fire of the guard before she had known her danger.

And now, on the 1st of March, we made the high lands usually called the paps, over Acapulco, and got with all possible expedition into the situation prescribed by the Commodore's orders. The distribution of our squadron on this occasion, both for the intercepting the galleon and for the avoiding a discovery from the shore, was so very judicious that it well merits to be distinctly described. The order of it was thus: The Centurion brought the paps over the harbour to bear NNE., at fifteen leagues' distance, which was a sufficient offing to prevent our being seen by the enemy. To the westward of the Centurion there was stationed the Carmelo, and to the eastward were the Trial prize, the Gloucester, and the Carmen. These were all ranged in a circular line, and each ship was three leagues distant from the next; so that the Carmelo and the Carmen, which were the two extremes, were twelve leagues distant from each other. And as the galleon could without doubt be discerned at six leagues' distance from either extremity, the whole sweep of our squadron, within which nothing could pass undiscovered, was at least twenty-four leagues in extent; and yet we were so connected by our signals as to be easily and speedily informed of what was seen in any part of the line. And to render this disposition still more complete, and to prevent even the possibility of the galleon's escaping us in the night, the two cutters belonging to the Centurion and the Gloucester were both manned and sent in-shore, and were ordered to lie all day at the distance of four or five leagues from the entrance of the port, where, by reason of their smallness, they could not possibly be discovered; but in the night they were directed to stand nearer to the harbour's mouth, and, as the light of the morning came on, they were to return back again to their day posts. When the cutters should first discover the Manilla ship one of them was ordered to return to the squadron, and to make a signal whether the galleon stood to the eastward or to the westward; whilst the other was to follow the galleon at a distance, and, if it grew dark, was to direct the squadron in their chase by showing false fires.

Besides the care we had taken to prevent the galleon from passing by us unobserved, we had not been inattentive to the means of engaging her to advantage when we came up with her; for, considering the thinness of our hands, and the vaunting

accounts given by the Spaniards of her size, her guns, and her strength, this was a consideration not to be neglected. As we supposed that none of our ships but the Centurion and the Gloucester were capable of lying alongside of her, we took on board the Centurion all the hands belonging to the Carmelo and the Carmen, except what were just sufficient to navigate those ships; and Captain Saunders was ordered to send from the Trial prize ten Englishmen and as many Negroes to reinforce the crew of the Gloucester. And for the encouragement of our Negroes, of whom we had a considerable number on board, we promised them that on their good behaviour they should all have their freedom; and as they had been almost every day trained to the management of the great guns for the two preceding months, they were very well qualified to be of service to us; and from their hopes of liberty, and in return for the usage they had met with amongst us, they seemed disposed to exert themselves to the utmost of their power.

And now, being thus prepared for the reception of the galleon, we expected with the utmost impatience the so often-mentioned 3d of March, the day fixed for her departure, And on that day we were all of us most eagerly engaged in looking out towards Acapulco: and we were so strangely prepossessed with the certainty of our intelligence, and with an assurance of her coming out of port, that some or other on board us were constantly imagining that they discovered one of our cutters returning with a signal. But to our extreme vexation both this day and the succeeding night passed over without any news of the galleon. However, we did not yet despair, but were all heartily disposed to flatter ourselves that some unforeseen accident had intervened which might have put off her departure for a few days; and suggestions of this kind occurred in plenty, as we knew that the time fixed by the Viceroy for her sailing was often prolonged on the petition *of the merchants* of Mexico. Thus we kept up our hopes, and did not abate of our vigilance; and as the 7th of March was Sunday, the beginning of Passion Week, which is observed by the Papists with great strictness and a total cessation from all kinds of labour, so that no ship is permitted to stir out of port during the whole week, this quieted our apprehensions for some days, and disposed us not to expect the galleon till the week following. On the Friday in this week our cutters returned to us, and the officers on board them were very confident that the galleon was still in port, for that she could not possibly have come out but they must have seen her. On the Monday morning succeeding Passion Week—that is, on the 15th of March—the cutters were again despatched to their old station, and our hopes were once more indulged in as sanguine prepossessions as before; but in a week's time our eagerness was greatly abated, and a general dejection and despondency took place in its room. It is true there were some few amongst us who still kept up their spirits, and were very ingenious in finding out reasons to satisfy themselves that the disappointment we had hitherto met with had only been occasioned by a casual delay of the galleon, which a few days would remove, and not by a total suspension of her departure for the whole season. But these speculations were not relished by the generality of our people; for they were persuaded that the enemy had by some accident discovered our being upon the coast, and had therefore laid an embargo on the galleon till the next year. And indeed this persuasion was but too well founded; for we afterwards learned that our barge, when sent on the discovery of the port of Acapulco, had been seen from the shore, and that this circumstance (no embarkations but canoes ever frequenting that coast) was to them a sufficient proof of the neighbourhood of our squadron; on which they stopped the galleon till the succeeding year. . . .

When we had taken up the cutters,

all the ships being joined, the Commodore made a signal to speak with their commanders; and upon inquiry into the stock of fresh water remaining on board the squadron, it was found to be so very slender, that we were under a necessity of quitting our station to procure a fresh supply. And consulting what place was the properest for this purpose, it was agreed that the harbour of Seguataneo or Chequetan, being the nearest to us, was on that account the most eligible; and it was therefore immediately resolved to make the best of our way thither. And that, even while we were recruiting our water, we might not totally abandon our views upon the galleon, which perhaps, upon certain intelligence of our being employed at Chequetan, might venture to slip out to sea, our cutter, under the command of Mr Hughes, the lieutenant of the Trial prize, was ordered to cruise off the port of Acapulco for twenty-four days; that, if the galleon should set sail in that interval, we might be speedily informed of it. In pursuance of these resolutions, we endeavoured to ply to the westward, to gain our intended port, but were often interrupted in our progress by calms and adverse currents. In these intervals we employed ourselves in taking out the most valuable part of the cargoes of the Carmelo and Carmen prizes, which two ships we intended to destroy as soon as we had tolerably cleared them. By the 1st of April we were so far advanced towards Seguataneo, that we thought it expedient to send out two boats, that they might range along the coast, and discover the watering-place. They were gone some days, and, our water being now very short, it was a particular felicity to us that we met with daily supplies of turtle; for had we been entirely confined to salt provisions we must have suffered extremely in so warm a climate. Indeed, our present circumstances were sufficiently alarming, and gave the most considerate amongst us as much concern as any of the numerous perils we had hitherto encountered; for our boats, as we conceived by their not returning, had not as yet discovered a place proper to water at, and by the leakage of our casks and other accidents we had not ten days' water on board the whole squadron; so that, from the known difficulty of procuring water on this coast, and the little reliance we had on the Buccaneer writers (the only guides we had to trust to), we were apprehensive of being soon exposed to a calamity, the most terrible of any in the long, disheartening catalogue of the distresses of a sea-faring life.

But these gloomy suggestions were soon happily ended; for our boats returned on the 5th of April, having discovered a place proper for our purpose about seven miles to the westward of the rocks of Seguataneo, which, by the description they gave of it, appeared to be the port called by Dampier the harbour of Chequetan. The success of our boats was highly agreeable to us; and they were ordered out again the next day to sound the harbour and its entrance, which they had represented as very narrow. At their return they reported the place to be free from any danger; so that on the 7th we stood in, and that evening came to an anchor in eleven fathoms. The Gloucester came to an anchor at the same time with us; but the Carmelo and the Carmen having fallen to leeward, the Trial prize was ordered to join them, and to bring them in, which in two or three days she effected. Thus, after a four months' continuance at sea from the leaving of Quibo, and having but six days' water on board, we arrived in the harbour of Chequetan.

CHAPTER XII.

THE harbour of Chequetan lies in the Latitude of 17° 36′ N., and is about thirty leagues to the westward of Acapulco. It is easy to be discovered by any ship that will keep well in with the land, especially by such as range down coast from Acapulco, and will attend to the following particulars.

There is a beach of sand, which extends eighteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco to the westward, against which the sea breaks with such violence that it is impossible to land in any part of it; but yet the ground is so clean, that ships, in the fair season, may anchor in great safety at the distance of a mile or two from the shore. The land adjacent to this beach is generally low, full of villages, and planted with a great number of trees; and on the tops of some small eminences there are several look-out towers, so that the face of the country affords a very agreeable prospect. . . .

And on this occasion I cannot help mentioning another adventure which happened to some of our people in the Bay of Petaplan, as it may help to give the reader a just idea of the temper of the inhabitants of this part of the world. Some time after our arrival at Chequetan, Lieutenant Brett was sent by the Commodore, with two of our boats under his command, to examine the coast to the eastward, particularly to make observations on the bay and watering-place of Petaplan. As Mr Brett, with one of the boats, was preparing to go on shore towards the hill of Petaplan, he, accidentally looking across the bay, perceived on the opposite strand three small squadrons of horse parading upon the beach, and seeming to advance towards the place where he proposed to land. On sight of this, he immediately put off the boat, though he had but sixteen men with him, and stood over the bay towards them; and he soon came near enough to perceive that they were mounted on very sightly horses, and were armed with carbines and lances. On seeing him make towards them, they formed upon the beach, and seemed resolved to dispute his landing, firing several distant shots at him as he drew near; till at last, the boat being arrived within a reasonable distance of the most advanced squadron, Mr Brett ordered his people to fire, upon which this resolute cavalry instantly ran in great confusion into the wood through *a small opening*. In this precipitate flight one of their horses fell down and threw his rider; but whether he was wounded or not we could not learn, for both man and horse soon got up again and followed the rest into the wood. In the meantime the other two squadrons, who were drawn up at a great distance behind, out of the reach of our shot, were calm spectators of the rout of their comrades, for they had halted on our first approach, and never advanced afterwards. It was doubtless fortunate for our people that the enemy acted with so little prudence, and exerted so little spirit; for had they concealed themselves till our men had landed, it is scarcely possible but the whole boat's crew must have fallen into their hands, since the Spaniards were not much short of 200, and the whole number with Mr Brett only amounted to sixteen. However, the discovery of so considerable a force collected in this Bay of Petaplan obliged us constantly to keep a boat or two before it; for we were apprehensive that the cutter, which we had left to cruise off Acapulco, might on her return be surprised by the enemy, if she did not receive timely information of her danger. . . .

CHAPTER XIII.

THE next morning after our coming to an anchor in the harbour of Chequetan, we sent about ninety of our men well armed on shore, forty of whom were ordered to march into the country, as has been mentioned, and the remaining fifty were employed to cover the watering-place and to prevent any interruption from the natives. Here we completed the unloading of the Carmelo and Carmen, which we had begun at sea—at least we took out of them the indigo, cacao, and cochineal, with some iron for ballast, which were all the goods we intended to preserve, though they did not amount to a tenth of their cargoes. Here, too, it was agreed after a mature consultation to destroy the Trial's prize, as well as

the Carmelo and Carmen, whose fate had been before resolved on. Indeed the ship was in good repair and fit for the sea; but as the whole numbers on board our squadron did not amount to the complement of a fourth-rate man-of-war, we found it was impossible to divide them into three ships without rendering them incapable of navigating in safety in the tempestuous weather we had reason to expect on the coast of China, where we supposed we should arrive about the time of the change of the monsoons. These considerations determined the Commodore to destroy the Trial prize, and to reinforce the Gloucester with the greatest part of her crew. And in consequence of this resolve, all the stores on board the Trial prize were removed into the other ships; and the prize herself, with the Carmelo and Carmen, were prepared for scuttling with all the expedition we were masters of. But the great difficulties we were under in laying in a store of water (which have been already touched on), together with the necessary repairs of our rigging and other unavoidable occupations, took us up so much time, and found us such unexpected employment, that it was near the end of April before we were in a condition to leave the place.

During our stay here there happened an incident which, as it proved the means of convincing our friends in England of our safety, which for some time they had despaired of and were then in doubt about, I shall beg leave particularly to recite. I have observed in the preceding Chapter that from this harbour of Chequetan there was but one pathway, which led through the woods into the country. This we found much beaten, and were thence convinced that it was well known to the inhabitants. As it passed by the spring-head, and was the only avenue by which the Spaniards could approach us, we, at some distance beyond the spring-head, felled several large trees, and laid them one upon the other across the path; and at this barricade we constantly kept a guard; and we, besides, ordered our men employed in watering to have their arms ready, and, in case of any alarm, to march instantly to this spot. And though our principal intention was to prevent our being disturbed by any sudden attack of the enemy's horse, yet it answered another purpose which was not in itself less important—this was to hinder our own people from straggling singly into the country, where we had reason to believe they would be surprised by the Spaniards, who would doubtless be extremely solicitous to pick up some of them in hopes of getting intelligence of our future designs. To avoid this inconvenience, the strictest orders were given to the sentinels to let no person whatever pass beyond their post. But, notwithstanding this precaution, we missed one Lewis Leger, who was the Commodore's cook; and as he was a Frenchman, and suspected to be a Papist, it was by some imagined that he had deserted with a view of betraying all that he knew to the enemy; but this appeared by the event to be an ill-grounded surmise, for it was afterwards known that he had been taken by some Indians, who carried him prisoner to Acapulco, whence he was transferred to Mexico, and then to Veru Cruz, where he was shipped on board a vessel bound to Old Spain. And the vessel being obliged by some accident to put into Lisbon, Leger escaped on shore, and was by the British Consul sent thence to England, where he brought the first authentic account of the safety of the Commodore, and of what he had done in the South Seas. The relation he gave of his own seizure was, that he had rambled into the woods at some distance from the barricade where he had first attempted to pass, but had been stopped and threatened to be punished—that his principal view was to get a quantity of limes for his master's store; and that in this occupation he was surprised unawares by four Indians, who stripped him naked, and carried him in that condition to Acapulco, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, which at that time of the year shone with its greatest

violence. And afterwards at Mexico, his treatment in prison was sufficiently severe, and the whole course of his captivity was a continued instance of the hatred which the Spaniards bear to all those who endeavour to disturb them in the peaceable possession of the coasts of the South Seas. Indeed, Leger's fortune was, upon the whole, extremely singular; for after the hazards he had run in the Commodore's squadron, and the severities he had suffered in his long confinement amongst the enemy, a more fatal disaster attended him on his return to England. For though, when he arrived in London, some of Mr Anson's friends interested themselves in relieving him from the poverty to which his captivity had reduced him, yet he did not long enjoy the benefit of their humanity, for he was killed in an insignificant night brawl, the cause of which could scarcely be discovered.

And here I must observe that though the enemy never appeared in sight during our stay in this harbour, yet we perceived that there were large parties of them encamped in the woods about us; for we could see their smokes, and could thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding us at a distance; and just before our coming away they seemed, by the increase of their fires, to have received a considerable reinforcement.

Towards the latter end of April, the unloading of our three prizes, our wooding and watering, and, in short, all our proposed employments at the harbour of Chequetan were completed; so that on the 27th the Trial's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmen—all which we here intended to destroy—were towed on shore and scuttled, and a quantity of combustible materials were distributed in their upper works; and next morning the Centurion and the Gloucester weighed anchor, but as there was but little wind, and that not in their favour, they were obliged to warp out of the harbour. When they had reached the offing, one of the boats was despatched back again to set fire to our prize, which was accordingly executed. And a canoe was left fixed to a grapnel in the middle of the harbour, with a bottle in it well corked, enclosing a letter to Mr Hughes, who commanded the cutter which was ordered to cruise before the port of Acapulco when we came off that station. And on this occasion I must mention more particularly than I have yet done the views of the Commodore in leaving the cutter before that port.

When we were necessitated to make for Chequetan to take in our water, Mr Anson considered that our being in that harbour would soon be known at Acapulco; and therefore he hoped, that on the intelligence of our being employed in port, the galleon might put to sea, especially as Chequetan is so very remote from the course generally steered by the galleon. He therefore ordered the cutter to cruise twenty-four days off the port of Acapulco; and her commander was directed, on perceiving the galleon under sail, to make the best of his way to the Commodore at Chequetan. As the Centurion was doubtless a much better sailer than the galleon, Mr Anson, in this case, resolved to have got to sea as soon as possible, and to have pursued the galleon across the Pacific Ocean; and supposing he should not have met with her in his passage (which, considering that he would have kept nearly the same parallel, was not very improbable) yet he was certain of arriving off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal, before her; and that being the first land she makes on her return to the Philippines, we could not have failed to have fallen in with her by cruising a few days in that station. But the Viceroy of Mexico ruined this project by keeping the galleon in the port of Acapulco all that year.

The letter left in the canoe for Mr Hughes, the commander of the cutter (the time of whose return was now considerably elapsed), directed him to go back immediately to his former station before Acapulco, where he would find Mr Anson, who resolved to cruise for him there for a certain number of days; after which it was

added, that the Commodore would return to the southward to join the rest of the squadron. This last article was inserted to deceive the Spaniards, if they got possession of the canoe (as we afterwards learned they did), but could not impose on Mr Hughes, who well knew that the Commodore had no squadron to join, nor any intention of steering back to Peru.

Being now in the offing of Chequetan, bound across the vast Pacific Ocean in our way to China, we were impatient to run off the coast as soon as possible; for as the stormy season was approaching apace, and as we had no further views in the American seas, we had hoped that nothing would have prevented us from standing to the westward the moment we got out of the harbour of Chequetan. And it was no small mortification to us that our necessary employment there had detained us so much longer than we expected; and now we were further detained by the absence of the cutter, and the standing towards Acapulco in search of her. Indeed, as the time of her cruise had been expired for near a fortnight, we suspected that she had been discovered from the shore, and that the Governor of Acapulco had thereupon sent out a force to seize her, which, as she carried but six hands, was no very difficult enterprise. However, this being only conjecture, the Commodore as soon as he was got clear of the harbour of Chequetan, stood along the coast to the eastward in search of her. And to prevent her from passing by us in the dark, we brought to every night, and the Gloucester, whose station was a league within us towards the shore, carried a light, which the cutter could not but perceive if she kept along shore, as we supposed she would do; and as a further security, the Centurion and the Gloucester alternately showed two false fires every half-hour.

By Sunday, the 2d of May, we were advanced within three leagues of Acapulco; and having seen nothing of our boat, we gave her over for lost, which, besides the compassionate concern for our shipmates, and for what it was apprehended they might have suffered, was in itself a misfortune which in our present scarcity of hands we were all greatly interested in. For the crew of the cutter, consisting of six men and the lieutenant, were the very flower of our people, purposely picked out for this service, and known to be, every one of them, of tried and approved resolution, and as skilful seamen as ever trod a deck. However, as it was the general belief among us that they were taken and carried into Acapulco, the Commodore's prudence suggested a project which we hoped would recover them. This was founded on our having many Spanish and Indian prisoners in our possession, and a number of sick Negroes, who could be of no service to us in the navigating of the ship. The Commodore therefore wrote a letter the same day to the Governor of Acapulco, telling him that he would release them all, provided the Governor returned the cutter's crew; and the letter was despatched the same afternoon by a Spanish officer, of whose honour we had a good opinion, and who was furnished with a launch belonging to one of our prizes, and a crew of six other prisoners, who all gave their parole for their return. The officer, too, besides the Commodore's letter, carried with him a joint petition signed by all the rest of the prisoners, beseeching his Excellency to acquiesce in the terms proposed for their liberty. From a consideration of the number of our prisoners, and the quality of some of them, we did not doubt but the Governor would readily comply with Mr Anson's proposal; and therefore we kept plying on and off the whole night, intending to keep well in with the land, that we might receive an answer at the limited time, which was the next day, being Monday. But both on the Monday and Tuesday we were driven so far off shore that we could not hope to receive any answer; and on the Wednesday morning we found ourselves

fourteen leagues from the harbour of Acapulco; but, as the wind was now favourable, we pressed forwards with all our sail, and did not doubt of getting in with the land in a few hours.

Whilst we were thus standing in, the man at the mast-head called out that he saw a boat under sail at a considerable distance to the south-eastward. This we took for granted was the answer of the Governor to the Commodore's message, and we instantly edged towards it; but when we drew nearer we found to our unspeakable joy that it was our own cutter. While she was still at a distance, we imagined that she had been discharged out of the port of Acapulco by the Governor; but when she drew nearer, the wan and meagre countenances of the crew, the length of their beards, and the feeble and hollow tone of their voices, convinced us that they had suffered much greater hardships than could be expected from even the severities of a Spanish prison. They were obliged to be helped into the ship, and were immediately put to bed; and with rest, and nourishing diet, which they were plentifully supplied with from the Commodore's table, they recovered their health and vigour apace. And now we learned that they had kept the sea the whole time of their absence, which was above six weeks; that when they finished their cruise before Acapulco, and had just begun to ply to the westward in order to join the squadron, a strong adverse current had forced them down the coast to the eastward in spite of all their efforts; that at length, their water being all expended, they were obliged to search the coast farther on to the eastward, in quest of some convenient landing-place, where they might get a fresh supply; that in this distress they ran upwards of eighty leagues to leeward, and found everywhere so large a surf, that there was not the least possibility of their landing; that they passed some days in this dreadful situation, without water, and having no other means left them to allay their thirst than sucking the blood of the turtle which they caught; and at last, giving up all hopes of relief, the heat of the climate, too, augmenting their necessities, and rendering their sufferings insupportable, they abandoned themselves to despair, fully persuaded that they should perish by the most terrible of all deaths. But they were soon after happily relieved by a most unexpected incident, for there fell so heavy a rain, that by spreading their sails horizontally, and by putting bullets in the centre of them to draw them to a point, they caught as much water as filled all their casks; immediately upon this fortunate supply, they stood to the westward in quest of the Commodore; and, being now luckily favoured by a strong current, they joined us in less than fifty hours from the time they stood to the westward, after having been absent from us full forty-three days. Those who have an idea of the inconsiderable size of a cutter belonging to a sixty-gun ship (being only an open boat about twenty-two feet in length), and who will attend to the various accidents to which she was exposed during a six weeks' continuance alone in the open ocean, on so impracticable and dangerous a coast, will readily own that her return to us at last, after all the difficulties which she actually experienced, and the hazards to which she was each hour exposed, may be considered as little short of miraculous. I cannot finish the article of this cutter without remarking how little reliance navigators ought to have on the accounts of the Buccaneer writers. For though, in this run of hers eighty leagues to the eastward of Acapulco, she found no place where it was possible for a boat to land, yet those writers have not been ashamed to feign harbours and convenient watering-places within these limits, thereby exposing such as should confide in their relations to the risk of being destroyed by thirst.

And now, having received our cutter, the sole object of our coming a

second time before Acapulco, the Commodore resolved not to lose a moment's time longer, but to run off the coast with the utmost expedition; both as the stormy season on the coast of Mexico was now approaching apace, and as we were apprehensive of having the westerly monsoon to struggle with when we came upon the coast of China. And therefore he no longer stood towards Acapulco, as he now wanted no answer from the Governor; but yet he resolved not to deprive his prisoners of the liberty which he had promised them, so that they were all immediately embarked in two launches which belonged to our prizes, those from the Centurion in one launch, and those from the Gloucester in the other. The launches were well equipped with masts, sails, and oars; and, lest the wind might prove unfavourable, they had a stock of water and provisions put on board them sufficient for fourteen days. There were discharged thirty-nine persons from on board the Centurion, and eighteen from the Gloucester, the greatest part of them Spaniards, the rest Indians and sick Negroes; but as our crews were very weak, we kept the Mulattoes and some of the stoutest of the Negroes, with a few Indians, to assist us, but we dismissed every Spanish prisoner whatever.[1] We have since learned that these two launches arrived safe at Acapulco, where the prisoners could not enough extol the humanity with which they had been treated; and that the Governor, before their arrival, had returned a very obliging answer to the Commodore's letter, and had attended it with a present of two boats laden with the choicest refreshments and provisions which were to be got at Acapulco; but that these boats, not having found our ships, were at length obliged to put back again after having thrown all their provisions overboard in a storm which threatened their destruction.

The sending away our prisoners was our last transaction on the American coast, for no sooner had we parted with them than we and the Gloucester made sail to the SW., proposing to get a good offing from the land, where we hoped in a few days to meet with the regular trade-wind, which the accounts of former navigators had represented as much brisker and steadier in this ocean than in any other part of the globe. For it has been esteemed no uncommon passage to run from hence to the easternmost parts of Asia in two months, and we flattered ourselves that we were as capable of making an expeditious passage as any ships that had ever run this course before us; so that we hoped soon to gain the coast of China, for which we were now bound. And conformable to the general idea of this navigation given by former voyagers, we considered it as free from all kinds of embarrassment of bad weather, fatigue, or sickness: and consequently we undertook it with alacrity, especially as it was no contemptible step towards our arrival at our native country, for which many of us by this time began to have great longings. Thus, on the 6th of May, we for the last time lost sight of the mountains of Mexico, persuaded that in a few weeks we should arrive at the River of Canton in China, where we expected to meet with many English ships and numbers of our countrymen, and hoped to enjoy the advantages of an amicable, well-frequented port, inhabited by a polished people, and abounding with the conveniences and indulgences of a civilised life, blessings which now for near twenty months had never been once in our power.[2]

[1] "About four in the evening they left us," says Thomas, "having first, though enemies, observed the custom of seafaring people at parting, and wished us a prosperous voyage."

[2] In the original, a Fourteenth Chapter of Book II. is devoted to a disquisition, entitled "A brief Account of what might have been expected from our squadron had it arrived in the South Seas in good time;" but, apart from the unprofitableness of dis-

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN, on the 6th of May 1742, we left the coast of America, we stood to the SW. with a view of meeting with the NE. trade-wind, which the accounts of former writers made us expect at seventy or eighty leagues' distance from the land. We had, besides, another reason for standing to the southward, which was the getting into the Latitude of 13° or 14° N., that being the parallel where the Pacific Ocean is most usually crossed, and consequently where the navigation is esteemed the safest. This last purpose we had soon answered, being in a day or two sufficiently advanced to the south. At the same time, we were also farther from the shore than we had presumed was necessary for falling in with the trade-wind; but in this particular we were most grievously disappointed, for the wind still continued to the westward, or at best variable. As the getting into the NE. trade was to us a matter of the last consequence, we stood more to the southward, and made many experiments to meet with it; but all our efforts were for a long time unsuccessful, so that it was seven weeks from our leaving the coast before we got into the true trade-wind. This was an interval in which we believed we should well nigh have reached the easternmost parts of Asia; but we were so baffled with the contrary and variable winds which for all that time perplexed us, that we were not as yet advanced above a fourth part of the way. The delay alone would have been a sufficient mortification, but there were other circumstances attending it which rendered this situation not less terrible, and our apprehensions perhaps still greater, than in any of our past distresses. For our two ships were by this time extremely crazy; and many days had not passed before we discovered a spring in the foremast of the Centurion, which rounded about twenty-six inches of its circumference, and which was judged to be at least four inches deep. And no sooner had our carpenters secured this with fishing it, but the Gloucester made a signal of distress; and we learned that she had a dangerous spring in her mainmast twelve feet below the trusseltrees,[1] so that she could not carry any sail upon it. Our carpenters, on a strict examination of this mast, found it so very rotten and decayed that they judged it necessary to cut it down as low as it appeared to have been injured, and by this it was reduced to nothing but a stump, which served only as a step to the topmast. These accidents augmented our delay and occasioned us great anxiety about our future security, for on our leaving the coast of Mexico the scurvy had begun to make its appearance again amongst our people, though from our departure from Juan Fernandez we had till then enjoyed a most uninterrupted state of health. We too well knew the effects of this disease from our former fatal experience, to suppose that anything but a speedy passage could secure the greater part of our crew from perishing by it; and as, after being seven weeks at sea, there did not appear any reasons that could persuade us we were nearer the

cussing a probability subject to so many conditions that the Narrator could not contemplate, it will appear to the reader that quite enough has been said, both in the opening Chapter and throughout the whole narrative, to show wherein and how the squadron came short of its intents.

[1] Or trestle-trees; "two strong pieces of timber placed horizontally and fore-and-aft on opposite sides of a mast-head, to support the cross-trees and top, and also for the fid of the mast above to rest on."

trade-wind than when we first set out, there was no ground for us to suppose but our passage would prove at least three times as long as we at first expected; and consequently we had the melancholy prospect either of dying by the scurvy or perishing with the ship for want of hands to navigate her. Indeed some amongst us were at first willing to believe that in this warm climate, so different from what we felt in passing round Cape Horn, the violence of this disease and its fatality might be in some degree mitigated, as it had not been unusual to suppose that its particular virulence in that passage was in a great measure owing to the severity of the weather. But the havoc of the distemper in our present circumstances soon convinced us of the falsity of this speculation, as it likewise exploded some other opinions which usually pass current about the cause and nature of this disease.[1] Our surgeon[2] (who, during our passage round Cape Horn, had ascribed the mortality we suffered to the severity of the climate) exerted himself in the present run to the utmost, and at last declared that all his measures were totally ineffectual, and did not in the least avail his patients.[3]

When we reached the trade-wind, and it settled between the north and the east, yet it seldom blew with so much strength but the Centurion might have carried all her small sails abroad with the greatest safety; so that now, had we been a single ship, we might have run down our longitude apace, and have reached the Ladrones soon enough to have recovered great numbers of our men who afterwards perished. But the Gloucester, by the loss of her mainmast, sailed so very heavily that we had seldom any more than our topsails set, and yet were frequently obliged to lie to for her; and, I conceive, that in the whole we lost little less than a month by our attendance upon her, in consequence of the various mischances she encountered. In all this run, it was remarkable that we were rarely many days together without seeing great numbers of birds, which is a proof that there are many islands, or at least rocks, scattered all along at no very considerable distance from our track.[4] Some indeed there are

[1] Some observations on the general medical treatment of the disease, and on the effect of certain specifics tried on some of the crew, have been here omitted. Speaking of the scurvy, Thomas strives to remove the prevalent notion that it attacks none but the lazy; whereas experience in the voyage proved the direct contrary, the most laborious, active, stirring persons being oftenest seized with the disease, and the continuance of their labour, instead of curing, only helped to kill them the sooner. Nor, he adds, does the scurvy generally incline people to indolence till it has come to such a height that at the least motion the sufferer is ready to faint.

[2] Mr Henry Ettrick, originally of the Wager; he succeeded Mr Thomas Walter, the first surgeon of the Centurion, who died off the coast of Brazil.

[3] About the middle of June, Thomas remarks that abundance of scorbutic symptoms, such as blackness in the skin, hard nodes in the flesh, shortness of breath, and a general lassitude and weakness of all the parts, began to prevail almost universally among the people. Towards the end of July he writes: "About this time our people began to die very fast, and I believe above five parts out of six of the ship's company were ill and expected to follow in a short time. Those whose breath was anyways affected, dropped off immediately; but those who were attacked first in the more remote parts of the body, languished generally a month or six weeks, the distemper advancing in the meantime towards the lungs by a very regular and sensible approach."

[4] More recent discoveries have fully borne out this sagacious conjecture. Thomas records, early in July: "We had, not only now, but for almost our

marked in Spanish charts; but the frequency of the birds seems to evince that there are many more than have been hitherto discovered; for the greatest part of the birds, we observed, were such as are known to roost on shore; and the manner of their appearance sufficiently made out that they came from some distant haunt every morning, and returned thither again in the evening; for we never saw them early or late, and the hour of their arrival and departure gradually varied, which we supposed was occasioned by our running nearer their haunts or getting farther from them.

The trade-wind continued to favour us without any fluctuation from the end of June till towards the end of July. But on the 26th of July, being then, as we esteemed, about 300 leagues distant from the Ladrones, we met with a westerly wind, which did not come about again to the eastward in four days' time. This was a most dispiriting incident, as it at once damped all our hopes of speedy relief, especially, too, as it was attended with a vexatious accident to the Gloucester; for in one part of these four days the wind flattened to a calm, and the ships rolled very deep, by which means the Gloucester's forecap split, and her topmast came by the board and broke her foreyard directly in the slings.[1] As she was hereby rendered incapable of making any sail for some time, we were obliged, as soon as a gale sprung up, to take her in tow; and near twenty of the healthiest and ablest of our seamen were taken from the business of our own ship, and were employed for eight or ten days together on board the Gloucester in repairing her damages. But these things, mortifying as we thought them, were but the beginning of our disasters; for scarce had our people finished their business in the Gloucester, before we met with a most violent storm in the western board, which obliged us to lie to. In the beginning of this storm our ship sprung a leak, and let in so much water, that all our people, officers included, were employed continually in working the pumps. And the next day we had the vexation to see the Gloucester

whole passage, abundance of birds of prey, also flying fish, which are their proper food, and vast quantities of skip-jacks, albicores, &c., whereof we took a great number, which contributed much to our refreshment after the loss of the tortoises, that generally leave all ships about twenty or thirty leagues off the land. I think this the more worthy of notice, because Dampier, Rogers, Cook, Cowley, and most other voyagers, some of whom have been not only once, but several times on this voyage, have reported that they never saw a fish or fowl in this whole run. For my part, I readily believe and conclude, that this difference in our observations and accounts is really occasioned by the different seasons of the year in which we happened to perform this passage; it being a known truth, and confirmed by the experience of thousands in all ages, that most fish have their different seasons for their different rendezvouses. The 10th, we saw three gannets, or, as they call them in Scotland, solan geese, being, by what I can learn from the most intelligent of that nation whom I have conversed with, and who often have opportunity to observe them in several different parts, of one and the same *species*."

[1] Anson records in his Official Report: "On the 15th of June the Gloucester found her mainmast sprung at the head, which, upon examination, was discovered to be entirely rotten. On the 29th of July the Gloucester carried away her foretopmast and foreyard. My ship's company are now miserably afflicted with the scurvy, the ship very leaky, the men and officers that were well being only able to make one spell at the pump." "This is all," observes Sir John Barrow, "that Anson says of the second attack of this afflicting malady; but, coming from the Commodore, it speaks volumes."

with her topmast once more by the board; and whilst we were viewing her with great concern for this new distress, we saw her maintop-mast, which had hitherto served as a jury mainmast, share the same fate. This completed our misfortunes, and rendered them without resource; for we knew the Gloucester's crew were so few and feeble that without our assistance they could not be relieved; and our sick were now so far increased, and those that remained in health so continually fatigued with the additional duty of our pumps, that it was impossible for us to lend them any aid. Indeed we were not as yet fully apprised of the deplorable situation of the Gloucester's crew; for when the storm abated (which during its continuance prevented all communication with them) the Gloucester bore up under our stern, and Captain Mitchel informed the Commodore that besides the loss of his masts, which was all that had appeared to us, the ship had then no less than seven feet of water in her hold, although his officers and men had been kept constantly at the pump for the last twenty-four hours.

This last circumstance was indeed a most terrible accumulation to the other extraordinary distresses of the Gloucester, and required, if possible, the most speedy and vigorous assistance, which Captain Mitchel begged the Commodore to send him. But the debility of our people, and our own immediate preservation, rendered it impossible for the Commodore to comply with his request. All that could be done was to send our boat on board for a more particular condition of the ship; and it was soon suspected that the taking her people on board us, and then destroying her, was the only measure that could be prosecuted in the present emergency, both for the security of their lives and of our own. Our boat soon returned with a representation of the state of the Gloucester, and of her several defects, signed by Captain Mitchel and all his officers; by which it appeared that she had sprung a leak by the sternpost being loose and working with every roll of the ship, and by two beams amidships being broken in the orlop, no part of which the carpenters reported was possible to be repaired at sea; that both officers and men had worked twenty-four hours at the pump without intermission, and were at length so fatigued that they could continue their labour no longer, but had been forced to desist, with seven feet of water in the hold, which covered their casks, so that they could neither come at fresh water nor provision; that they had no mast standing except the foremast, the mizzenmast, and the mizzentop-mast, nor had they any spare masts to get up in the room of those they had lost; that the ship was besides extremely decayed in every part, for her knees and clamps were all worked quite loose, and her upper works in general were so loose that the quarter-deck was ready to drop down; and that her crew was greatly reduced, for there remained alive on board her no more than seventy-seven men, eighteen boys, and two prisoners, officers included; and that of this whole number only sixteen men and eleven boys were capable of keeping the deck, and several of these very infirm.

The Commodore, on the perusal of this melancholy representation, presently ordered them a supply of water and provisions, of which they seemed to be in immediate want, and at the same time sent his own carpenter on board them to examine into the truth of every particular; and it being found, on the strictest inquiry, that the preceding account was in no instance exaggerated, it plainly appeared that there was no possibility of preserving the Gloucester any longer, as her leaks were irreparable, and the united hands on board both ships, capable of working, would not be able to free her, even if our own ship should not employ any part of them. What then could be resolved on, when it was the utmost we ourselves could do to manage our own pumps? Indeed, there was no room for deliberation;

the only step to be taken was the saving the lives of the few that remained on board the Gloucester, and getting out of her as much as was possible before she was destroyed. And therefore the Commodore immediately sent an order to Captain Mitchel, as the weather was now calm and favourable, to send his people on board the Centurion as expeditiously as he could, and to take out such stores as he could get at whilst the ship could be kept above water. And as our leak required less attention whilst the present easy weather continued, we sent our boats, with as many men as we could spare, to Captain Mitchel's assistance.

The removing the Gloucester's people on board us, and the getting out such stores as could most easily be come at, gave us full employment for two days. Mr Anson was extremely desirous to have got two of her cables and an anchor, but the ship rolled so much, and the men were so excessively fatigued, that they were incapable of effecting it; nay, it was even with the greatest difficulty that the prize-money which the Gloucester had taken in the South Seas was secured and sent on board the Centurion. However, the prize-goods on board her, which amounted to several thousand pounds in value, and were principally the Centurion's property, were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be got out than five casks of flour, three of which were spoiled by the salt water. Their sick men, amounting to near seventy, were removed into boats with as much care as the circumstances of that time would permit; but three or four of them expired as they were hoisting them into the Centurion.

It was the 15th of August, in the evening, before the Gloucester was cleared of everything that was proposed to be removed; and though the hold was now almost full of water, yet as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim for some time if the calm should continue and the water become smooth, she was set on fire; for we knew not how near we *might now* be to the Island of Guam, which was in the possession of our enemies, and the wreck of such a ship would have been to them no contemptible acquisition. When she was set on fire, Captain Mitchel and his officers left her, and came on board the Centurion; and we immediately stood from the wreck, not without some apprehensions (as we had now only a light breeze) that, if she blew up soon, the concussion of the air might damage our rigging; but she fortunately burned, though very fiercely, the whole night, her guns firing successively as the flames reached them. And it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height. Thus perished his Majesty's ship the Gloucester. . . .

The 23d, at daybreak, we were cheered with the discovery of two islands in the western board. This gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this a universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again. The nearest of these islands we afterwards found to be Anatacan. We judged it to be full fifteen leagues from us, and it seemed to be high land, though of an indifferent length. The other was the Island of Serigan, and had rather the appearance of a high rock than a place we could hope to anchor at. We were extremely impatient to get in with the nearest island, where we expected to meet with anchoring ground, and an opportunity of refreshing our sick; but the wind proved so variable all day, and there was so little of it, that we advanced towards it but slowly. However, by the next morning we were got so far to the westward that we were in view of a third island, which was that of Paxaros, though marked in the chart only as a rock. This was small and very low land, and we had passed within less than a mile of it in the night without seeing it. And now at noon, being within

four miles of the Island of Anatacan, the boat was sent away to examine the anchoring ground and the produce of the place; and we were not a little solicitous for her return, as we then conceived our fate to depend upon the report we should receive; for the other two islands were obviously enough incapable of furnishing us with any assistance, and we knew not then that there were any others which we could reach. In the evening the boat came back, and the crew informed us that there was no place for a ship to anchor, the bottom being everywhere foul ground, and all, except one small spot, not less than fifty fathoms in depth; that on that spot there was thirty fathoms, though not above half-a-mile from the shore; and that the bank was steep and could not be depended on. They further told us that they had landed on the island, but with some difficulty, on account of the greatness of the swell; that they found the ground was everywhere covered with a kind of cane or rush; but that they met with no water, and did not believe the place to be inhabited, though the soil was good, and abounded with groves of cocoa-nut trees.

This account of the impossibility of anchoring at this island occasioned a general melancholy on board, for we considered it as little less than the prelude to our destruction; and our despondency was increased by a disappointment we met with the succeeding night; for, as we were plying under topsails, with an intention of getting nearer to the island and of sending our boat on shore to load with cocoa-nuts for the refreshment of our sick, the wind proved squally, and blew so strong off shore that we were driven so far to the southward that we dared not to send off our boat. And now the only possible circumstance that could secure the few that remained alive from perishing was the accidental falling in with some other of the Ladrone Islands better prepared for our accommodation; and as our knowledge of these islands was extremely imperfect, we were to trust entirely to chance for our guidance; only, as they are all of them usually laid down near the same meridian, and we had conceived those we had already seen to be part of them, we concluded to stand to the southward as the most probable means of falling in with the next. Thus, with the most gloomy persuasion of our approaching destruction, we stood from the Island of Anatacan, having all of us the strongest apprehensions (and those not ill founded) either of dying of the scurvy or of perishing with the ship, which, for want of hands to work her pumps, might in a short time be expected to founder.

CHAPTER II.

It was the 26th of August 1742, in the morning, when we lost sight of Anatacan. The next morning we discovered three other islands to the eastward, which were from ten to fourteen leagues from us. These were, as we afterwards learned, the islands of Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan. We immediately steered towards Tinian, which was the middlemost of the three; but had so much of calms and light airs, that though we were helped forwards by the currents, yet next day at daybreak we were at least five leagues distant from it. However, we kept on our course, and about ten in the morning we perceived a proa under sail to the southward, between Tinian and Aguigan. As we imagined from hence that these islands were inhabited, and knew that the Spaniards had always a force at Guam, we took the necessary precautions for our own security and for preventing the enemy from taking advantage of our present wretched circumstances, of which they would be sufficiently informed by the manner of our working the ship. We therefore mustered all our hands who were capable of standing to their arms, and loaded our upper and quarter deck guns with grape shot; and that we might the more readily procure some intelligence of the state of these islands,

we showed Spanish colours and hoisted a red flag at the foretop-mast head, to give our ship the appearance of the Manilla galleon, hoping thereby to decoy some of the inhabitants on board us. Thus preparing ourselves, and standing towards the land, we were near enough at three in the afternoon to send the cutter in-shore to find out a proper berth for the ship; and we soon perceived that a proa came off the shore to meet the cutter, fully persuaded, as we afterwards found, that we were the Manilla ship. As we saw the cutter returning back with the proa in tow, we immediately sent the pinnace to receive the proa and the prisoners, and to bring them on board, that the cutter might proceed on her errand. The pinnace came back with a Spaniard and four Indians,[1] who were the people taken in the proa. The Spaniard was immediately examined as to the produce and circumstances of this Island of Tinian, and his account of it surpassed even our most sanguine hopes; for he informed us that it was uninhabited, which, in our present defenceless condition, was an advantage not to be despised, especially as it wanted but few of the conveniences that could be expected in the most cultivated country; for he assured us that there was great plenty of very good water, and that there were an incredible number of cattle, hogs, and poultry running wild on the island, all of them excellent in their kind; that the woods produced sweet and sour oranges, limes, lemons, and cocoa-nuts in great plenty, besides a fruit peculiar to these islands (called by Dampier bread-fruit[2]); that, from the quantity and goodness of the provisions produced here, the Spaniards at Guam made use of it as a store for supplying the garrison; that he himself was a sergeant of that garrison, and was sent here with twenty-two Indians to jerk beef, which he was to load for Guam on board a small bark of about fifteen tons, which lay at anchor near the shore.

This account was received by us with inexpressible joy. Part of it we were ourselves able to verify on the spot, as we were by this time near enough to discover several numerous herds of cattle feeding in different places of the island; and we did not anyways doubt the rest of his relation, as the appearance of the shore prejudiced us greatly in its favour, and made us hope that not only our necessities might be there fully relieved and our diseased recovered, but that, amidst those pleasing scenes which were then in view, we might procure ourselves some amusement and relaxation after the numerous fatigues we had undergone. For the prospect of the country did by no means resemble that of an uninhabited and uncultivated place, but had much more the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of the hills and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver. Thus (an event not unlike what we had already seen) we were forced upon the most desirable and salutary measures by accidents which at first sight we considered as the greatest of misfortunes; for had we not been driven by the contrary winds and currents to the northward of our course (a circumstance which at that time gave us the most terrible apprehensions), we should in all probability never have arrived at this delightful island, and consequently we should have missed that place where alone all our wants could be most amply relieved, our sick recovered, and our enfeebled crew once

[1] Thomas says: "One of those Indians was a carpenter by trade, and his father was one of the principal builders at Manilla. This young man having been ill used by the Governor at Guam, voluntarily entered with us, and became one of our carpenter's crew, and proved a very useful handy fellow."

[2] *In Chapter X.*, page 224.

more refreshed and enabled to put again to sea.

The Spanish sergeant, from whom we received the account of the island, having informed us that there were some Indians on shore under his command employed in jerking beef, and that there was a bark at anchor to take it on board, we were desirous if possible to prevent the Indians from escaping, who doubtless would have given the Governor of Guam intelligence of our arrival; and we therefore immediately despatched the pinnace to secure the bark, which the sergeant told us was the only embarkation on the place. And then, about eight in the evening, we let go our anchor, in twenty-two fathoms, and though it was almost calm, and whatever vigour and spirit was to be found on board was doubtless exerted to the utmost on this pleasing occasion, when, after having kept the sea for some months, we were going to take possession of this little paradise, yet we were full five hours in furling our sails. It is true, we were somewhat weakened by the crews of the cutter and pinnace which were sent on shore; but it is not less true that, including those absent with the boats and some Negro and Indian prisoners, all the hands we could muster capable of standing at a gun amounted to no more than seventy-one, most of which number too were incapable of duty; but on the greatest emergencies this was all the force we could collect, in our present enfeebled condition, from the united crews of the Centurion, the Gloucester, and the Trial, which, when we departed from England, consisted altogether of near 1000 hands.

When we had furled our sails, the remaining part of the night was allowed to our people for their repose, to recover them from the fatigue they had undergone; and in the morning a party was sent on shore well-armed, of which I myself was one, to make ourselves masters of the landing-place, as we were not certain what opposition might be made by the Indians on the island. We landed without difficulty, for the Indians having perceived, by our seizure of the bark the night before, that we were enemies, they immediately fled into the woody parts of the island. We found on shore many huts which they had inhabited, and which saved us both the time and trouble of erecting tents. One of these huts, which the Indians made use of for a store-house, was very large, being twenty yards long and fifteen broad; this we immediately cleared of some bales of jerked beef which we found in it, and converted it into an hospital for our sick, who, as soon as the place was ready to receive them, were brought on shore, being in all 128. Numbers of these were so very helpless, that we were obliged to carry them from the boats to the hospital upon our shoulders, in which humane employment (as before at Juan Fernandez) the Commodore himself and every one of his officers were engaged without distinction;[1] and, notwithstanding the great debility and other dying aspects of the greatest part of our sick, it is almost incredible how soon they began to feel the salutary influence of the land. For though we buried twenty-one men on this and the preceding day, yet we did not lose above ten men more during our whole two months' stay here; and in general our diseased received so much benefit from the fruits of the island, particularly the fruits of the acid kind, that in a week's time there were but few who were not so far recovered as to be able to move about without help.

This island [of Tinian] lies in Latitude 50° 8′ N., and Longitude from Acapulco 114° 50′ W. Its length is about twelve miles, and its breadth about half as much; it extending from the SSW. to NNE. The soil is everywhere dry and healthy, and somewhat sandy, which, being less disposed than other soils to a rank

[1] "And indeed," says Thomas, "they were almost the only persons on board capable of performing this service; the healthiest seamen being so much enfeebled, that they had but just strength enough left to help themselves."

and over-luxuriant vegetation, occasions the meadows and the bottoms of the woods to be much neater and smoother than is customary in hot climates. The land rises by easy slopes, from the very beach where we watered, to the middle of the island; though the general course of its ascent is often interrupted and traversed by gentle descents and valleys; and the inequalities that are formed by the different combinations of these gradual swellings of the ground are most beautifully diversified with large lawns, which are covered with a very fine trefoil, intermixed with a variety of flowers, and are skirted by woods of tall and well-spread trees, most of them celebrated either for their aspect or their fruit. The turf of the lawns is quite clean and even, and the bottoms of the woods in many places clear of all bushes and underwoods; and the woods themselves usually terminate on the lawns with a regular outline, not broken nor confused with straggling trees, but appearing as uniform as if laid out by art. . . .

I must now observe that all these advantages were greatly enhanced by the healthiness of its climate, by the almost constant breezes which prevail there, and by the frequent showers which fall, and which, though of a very short and almost momentary duration, are extremely grateful and refreshing, and are perhaps one cause of the salubrity of the air and of the extraordinary influence it was observed to have upon us in increasing and invigorating our appetites and digestion. This was so remarkable, that those amongst our officers who were at all other times spare and temperate eaters, who besides a slight breakfast made but one moderate repast a-day, were here in appearance transformed into gluttons; for instead of one reasonable flesh-meal, they were now scarcely satisfied with three, and each of them so prodigious in quantity as would at another time have produced a fever or a surfeit. And yet our digestion so well corresponded *with the* keenness of our appetites, *that we were* neither disordered nor even loaded by this repletion; for after having, according to the custom of the island, made a large beef breakfast, it was not long before we began to consider the approach of dinner as a very desirable though somewhat tardy incident. . . .

Our first undertaking after our arrival was the removal of our sick on shore, as has been mentioned. Whilst we were thus employed, four of the Indians on shore, being part of the Spanish sergeant's detachment, came and surrendered themselves to us; so that with those we took in the proa, we had now eight of them in our custody. One of the four who submitted undertook to show us the most convenient place for killing cattle, and two of our men were ordered to attend him on that service; but one of them unwarily trusting the Indian with his firelock and pistol, the Indian escaped with them into the woods. His countrymen, who remained behind, were apprehensive of suffering for this perfidy of their comrade, and therefore begged leave to send one of their own party into the country, who they engaged should both bring back the arms and persuade the whole detachment from Guam to submit to us. The Commodore granted their request, and one of them was despatched on this errand, who returned next day and brought back the firelock and pistol, but assured us he had met with them in a pathway in the wood, and protested that he had not been able to meet with any one of his countrymen. This report had so little the air of truth, that we suspected there was some treachery carrying on; and therefore, to prevent any future communication amongst them, we immediately ordered all the Indians who were in our power on board the ship, and did not permit them to return any more on shore.

Towards the middle of September several of our sick were tolerably recovered by their residence on shore; and, on the 12th of September all those who were so far relieved since their arrival as to be capable of doing

duty were sent on board the ship. And then the Commodore, who was himself ill of the scurvy, had a tent erected for him on shore, where he went with the view of staying a few days for the recovery of his health; being convinced, by the general experience of his people, that no other method but living on the land was to be trusted to for the removal of this dreadful malady. The place where his tent was pitched on this occasion, was near the well whence we got all our water, and was indeed a most elegant spot. As the crew on board were now reinforced by the recovered hands returned from the island, we began to send our casks on shore to be fitted up, which till now could not be done, for the coopers were not well enough to work. We likewise weighed our anchors, that we might examine our cables, which we suspected had by this time received considerable damage. And as the new moon was now approaching, when we apprehended violent gales, the Commodore, for our greater security, ordered that part of the cables next to the anchors to be armed with the chains of the fire-grapnels; and they were besides cackled twenty fathoms from the anchors, and seven fathoms from the service, with a good rounding of a 4½-inch hawser; and to all these precautions we added that of lowering the main and fore yards close down, that in case of blowing weather the wind might have less power upon the ship to make her ride a-strain.

Thus effectually prepared, as we conceived, we expected the new moon, which was the 18th of September; and riding safe that and the three succeeding days (though the weather proved very squally and uncertain), we flattered ourselves (for I was then on board) that the prudence of our measures had secured us from all accidents. But on the 22d the wind blew from the eastward with such fury that we soon despaired of riding out the storm; and therefore we should have been extremely glad that the Commodore and the rest of our people on shore, which were the greatest part of our hands, had been on board with us, since our only hopes of safety seemed to depend on our putting immediately to sea. But all communication with the shore was now effectually cut off, for there was no possibility that a boat could live, so that we were necessitated to ride it out till our cables parted. Indeed it was not long before this happened, for the small bower parted at five in the afternoon, and the ship swung off to the best bower; and as the night came on, the violence of the wind still increased. But, notwithstanding its inexpressible fury, the tide ran with so much rapidity as to prevail over it; for the tide, having set to the northward in the beginning of the storm, turned suddenly to the southward about six in the evening, and forced the ship before it in despite of the storm, which blew upon the beam. And now the sea broke most surprisingly all around us, and a large tumbling swell threatened to poop us; the long-boat, which was at this time moored astern, was on a sudden canted so high that it broke the transom of the Commodore's gallery, whose cabin was on the quarter-deck, and would doubtless have risen as high as the taffrail had it not been for this stroke which stove the boat all to pieces; but the poor boat-keeper, though extremely bruised, was saved almost by miracle. About eight the tide slackened, but the wind did not abate; so that at eleven the best bower cable, by which alone we rode, parted. Our sheet anchor, which was the only one we had left, was instantly cut from the bow; but before it could reach the bottom we were driven from twenty-two into thirty-five fathoms; and after we had veered away one whole cable, and two-thirds of another, we could not find ground with sixty fathoms of line. This was a plain indication that the anchor lay near the edge of the bank, and could not hold us [long].

In this pressing danger, Mr Saumarez, our first lieutenant, who now commanded on board, ordered several guns to be fired and lights to be

shown, as a signal to the Commodore of our distress; and in a short time after, it being then about 1 o'clock, and the night excessively dark, a strong gust, attended with rain and lightning, drove us off the bank and forced us out to sea, leaving behind us on the island Mr Anson, with many more of our officers, and great part of our crew, amounting in the whole to 113 persons. Thus were we all, both at sea and on shore, reduced to the utmost despair by this catastrophe; those on shore conceiving they had no means left them ever to leave the island, and we on board utterly unprepared to struggle with the fury of the seas and winds we were now exposed to, and expecting each moment to be our last.

CHAPTER III.

THE storm which drove the Centurion to sea blew with too much turbulence to permit either the Commodore or any of the people on shore from hearing the guns which she fired as signals of distress, and the frequent glare of the lightning had prevented the explosions from being observed: so that when at daybreak it was perceived from the shore that the ship was missing, there was the utmost consternation amongst them. For much the greatest part of them immediately concluded that she was lost, and entreated the Commodore that the boat might be sent round the island to look for the wreck; and those who believed her safe had scarcely any expectation that she would ever be able to make the island again; for the wind continued to blow strong at east, and they knew how poorly she was manned and provided for struggling with so tempestuous a gale. And if the Centurion was lost, or should be incapable of returning, there appeared in either case no possibility of their ever getting off the island; for they were at least 600 leagues from Macao, which was their *nearest port;* and they were masters of no other vessel than the small Spanish bark, of about fifteen tons, which they seized at their first arrival, and which would not even hold a fourth part of their number. And the chance of their being taken off the island by the casual arrival of any other ship was altogether desperate, as perhaps no European ship had ever anchored here before, and it were madness to expect that like incidents should send another here in 100 ages to come; so that their desponding thoughts could only suggest to them the melancholy prospect of spending the remainder of their days on this island, and bidding adieu for ever to their country, their friends, their families, and all their domestic endearments. Nor was this the worst they had to fear: for they had reason to expect that the Governor of Guam, when he should be informed of their situation, might send a force sufficient to overpower them and to remove them to that island; and then the most favourable treatment they could hope for would be to be detained prisoners for life; since, from the known policy and cruelty of the Spaniards in their distant settlements, it was rather to be expected that the Governor, if he once had them in his power, would make their want of commissions (all of them being on board the Centurion) a pretext for treating them as pirates, and for depriving them of their lives with infamy.[1]

In the midst of these gloomy reflections Mr Anson had doubtless his share of disquietude, but he always kept up his usual composure and steadiness; and having soon projected

[1] As in 1575, John Oxenham, or Oxnam, who had accompanied Drake in his expedition to the West Indies, was put to death by the Governor of Panama, with all his companions, because he had undertaken a daring but ultimately calamitous privateering expedition without any commission from his sovereign. Oxenham was the first Englishman who ever navigated the Pacific Ocean.

a scheme for extricating himself and his men from their present anxious situation, he first communicated it to some of the most intelligent persons about him; and having satisfied himself that it was practicable, he then endeavoured to animate his people to a speedy and vigorous prosecution of it. With this view he represented to them how little foundation there was for their apprehensions of the Centurion's being lost; that he should have hoped they had been all of them better acquainted with sea affairs than to give way to the impression of so chimerical a fright, and that he doubted not but, if they would seriously consider what such a ship was capable of enduring, they would confess that there was not the least probability of her having perished; that he was not without hopes that she might return in a few days, but if she did not, the worst that could be supposed was that she was driven so far to the leeward of the island that she could not regain it, and that she would consequently be obliged to bear away for Macao on the coast of China; that, as it was necessary to be prepared against all events, he had, in this case, considered of a method of carrying them off the island, and joining their old ship the Centurion again at Macao; that this method was to haul the Spanish bark on shore, to saw her asunder, and to lengthen her twelve feet, which would enlarge her to near forty tons burthen, and would enable her to carry them all to China; that he had consulted the carpenters, and they had agreed that this proposal was very feasible, and that nothing was wanting to execute it but the united resolution and industry of the whole body. He added that for his own part he would share the fatigue and labour with them, and would expect no more from any man than what he, the Commodore himself, was ready to submit to; and concluded with representing to them the importance of saving time, and that, in order to be the better prepared for all events, it was necessary to set to work immediately and to take it for granted that the Centurion would not be able to put back (which was indeed the Commodore's secret opinion); since, if she did return, they should only throw away a few days' application; but, if she did not, their situation, and the season of the year, required their utmost despatch.

These remonstrances, though not without effect, did not immediately operate so powerfully as Mr Anson could have wished. He indeed raised their spirits by showing them the possibility of their getting away, of which they had before despaired; but then, from their confidence of this resource; they grew less apprehensive of their situation, gave a greater scope to their hopes, and flattered themselves that the Centurion would return and prevent the execution of the Commodore's scheme, which they could easily foresee would be a work of considerable labour. By this means it was some days before they were all of them heartily engaged in the project; but at last, being in general convinced of the impossibility of the ship's return, they set themselves zealously to the different tasks allotted them, and were as industrious and as eager as their commander could desire,[1] punctually assembling at daybreak at the rendezvous, whence they were distributed to their different employments, which they followed with unusual vigour till night came on.

And here I must interrupt the course of this transaction for a moment to relate an incident which for some time gave Mr Anson more concern than all the preceding disasters. A few days after the ship was driven off, some of the people on shore cried out, "A sail!" This spread a general joy, every one supposing that it was the ship returning; but presently a second sail was descried, which quite de-

[1] And the Commodore, Thomas says, encouraged their diligence by his example; for being always at work by daybreak himself, it was thought a disgrace to be idle when their chief was employed.

stroyed their conjecture, and made it difficult to guess what they were. The Commodore eagerly turned his glass towards them, and saw they were two boats; on which it immediately occurred to him that the Centurion was gone to the bottom, and that these were her two boats coming back with the remains of her people; and this sudden and unexpected suggestion wrought on him so powerfully that, to conceal his emotion, he was obliged (without speaking to any one) instantly to retire to his tent, where he passed some bitter moments in the firm belief that the ship was lost, and that now all his views of further distressing the enemy, and of still signalising his expedition by some important exploit, were at an end. But he was soon relieved from these disturbing thoughts by discovering that the two boats in the offing were Indian proas; and perceiving that they stood towards the shore, he directed every appearance that could give them any suspicion to be removed, and concealed his people in the adjacent thickets, prepared to secure the Indians when they should land. But after the proas had stood in within a quarter of a mile of the land, they suddenly stopped short, and, remaining there motionless for near two hours, they then made sail again and stood to the southward.

But to return to the projected enlargement of the bark. If we examine how they were prepared for going through with this undertaking, on which their safety depended, we shall find that, independent of other matters which were of as much importance, the lengthening of the bark alone was attended with great difficulty. Indeed, in a proper place, where all the necessary materials and tools were to be had, the embarrassment would have been much less; but some of these tools were to be made, and many of the materials were wanting; and it required no small degree of invention to supply all these deficiencies. And when the hull of the bark should be completed, this was but one article; *and there* were many others of equal weight, which were to be well considered. These were the rigging it, the victualling it, and lastly, the navigating it for the space of six or seven hundred leagues, through unknown seas, where no one of the company had ever passed before. In some of these particulars such obstacles occurred, that without the intervention of very extraordinary and unexpected accidents the possibility of the whole enterprise would have fallen to the ground, and their utmost industry and efforts must have been fruitless.[1] . . .

And now, all these obstacles being in some degree removed (which were always as much as possible concealed from the vulgar,[2] that they might not grow remiss with the apprehension of labouring to no purpose), the work proceeded very successfully and vigorously. The necessary ironwork was in great forwardness, and the timbers and planks (which, though not the most exquisite performances of the sawyer's art, were yet sufficient for the purpose) were all prepared; so that on the 6th of October, being the fourteenth day from the departure of the ship, they hauled the bark on shore, and, on the two succeeding days she was sawn asunder (though with great care not to cut her planks), and her two parts were separated the proper distance from each other; and, the ma-

[1] Both carpenters and smiths were here hard at work in the enlargement of the bark, Anson himself lending a hand in the sawing of trees into plank. When the equipment of the vessel was being proceeded with, they made the disheartening discovery that they were without a compass by which to steer, but in about eight days from the departure of the Centurion, they were relieved from their perplexity, by the discovery of a small one in a chest belonging to the Spanish bark.

[2] From the general knowledge of the company on shore. Thomas says, "The alacrity with which the business was carried on left no room for reflection among the common sailors, though their superiors were not without their fears."

terials being all ready beforehand, they the next day, being the 9th of October, went on with great despatch in their proposed enlargement of her. And by this time they had all their future operations so fairly in view, and were so much masters of them, that they were able to determine when the whole would be finished, and had accordingly fixed the 5th of November for the day of their putting to sea. But their projects and labours were now drawing to a speedier and happier conclusion; for on the 11th of October, in the afternoon, one of the Gloucester's men, being upon a hill in the middle of the island, perceived the Centurion at a distance, and running down with his utmost speed towards the landing-place, he in the way saw some of his comrades, to whom he hallooed out with great ecstasy, "The ship! The ship!" This being heard by Mr Gordon, a lieutenant of marines, who was convinced by the fellow's transport that his report was true, Mr Gordon ran towards the place where the Commodore and his people were at work, and being fresh and in breath easily outstripped the Gloucester's man, and got before him to the Commodore; who, on hearing this happy and unexpected news, threw down his axe with which he was then at work, and by his joy broke through for the first time the equable and unvaried character which he had hitherto preserved. The others who were with him instantly ran down to the seaside in a kind of frenzy, eager to feast themselves with a sight they had so ardently wished for, and of which they had now for a considerable time despaired. By five in the evening the Centurion was visible in the offing to them all; and, a boat being sent off with eighteen men to reinforce her, and with fresh meat and fruits for the refreshment of her crew, she the next afternoon happily came to an anchor in the road, where the Commodore immediately came on board her, and was received by us with the sincerest and heartiest acclamations. For from the following short recital of the fears, the dangers, and fatigues we in the ship underwent during our nineteen days' absence from Tinian, it may be easily conceived that a harbour, refreshments, repose, and the joining of our Commander and shipmates, were not less pleasing to us than our return was to them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Centurion being now once more safely arrived at Tinian, to the mutual respite of the labours of our divided crew, it is high time that the reader, after the relation already given of the projects and employment of those left on shore, should be apprised of the fatigues and distresses to which we, who were driven off to sea, were exposed during the long interval of nineteen days that we were absent from the island.

It has been already mentioned, that it was the 22d of September, about 1 o'clock in an extreme dark night, when by the united violence of a prodigious storm, and an exceeding rapid tide, we were driven from our anchors and forced to sea. Our condition then was truly deplorable; we were in a leaky ship, with three cables in our hawses, to one of which hung our only remaining anchor; we had not a gun on board lashed, nor a port barred in; our shrouds were loose, and our topmasts unrigged, and we had struck our fore and main yards close down before the storm came on, so that there were no sails we could set except our mizzen. In this dreadful extremity we could muster no more strength on board to navigate the ship than 108 hands, several Negroes and Indians included. This was scarcely the fourth part of our complement; and of these the greater number were either boys, or such as, being lately recovered from the scurvy, had not yet arrived at half their former vigour. No sooner were we at sea, but by the violence of the storm, and the working of the ship, we made a great quantity of water through our hawse-holes, ports, and scuppers,

which, added to the constant effect of our leak, rendered our pumps alone a sufficient employment for us all. But though this leakage, by being a short time neglected, would inevitably end in our destruction, yet we had other dangers then impending, which occasioned this to be regarded as a secondary consideration only. For we all imagined that we were driving directly on the neighbouring island of Aguigan, which was about two leagues distant; and as we had lowered our main and fore yards close down, we had no sails we could set but the mizzen, which was altogether insufficient to carry us clear of this instant peril. We therefore immediately applied ourselves to work, endeavouring by the utmost of our efforts to heave up the main and fore yards, in hopes that, if we could but be enabled to make use of our lower canvas, we might possibly weather the island, and thereby save ourselves from this impending shipwreck. But after full three hours' ineffectual labour the jeers broke, and the men being quite jaded, we were obliged by mere debility to desist, and quietly to expect our fate, which we then conceived to be unavoidable. For we imagined ourselves by this time to be driven just upon the shore, and the night was so extremely dark, that we expected to discover the island no otherwise than by striking upon it; so that the belief of our destruction, and the uncertainty of the point of time when it would take place, occasioned us to pass several hours under the most serious apprehensions, that each succeeding moment would send us to the bottom. Nor did these continued terrors of instantly striking and sinking end but with the daybreak; when we with great transport perceived that the island we had thus dreaded was at a considerable distance, and that a strong northern current had been the cause of our preservation.

The turbulent weather which forced us from Tinian did not begin to abate till three days after; and then we swayed up the foreyard, and began *to heave up the* mainyard, but the jeers broke and killed one of our men, and prevented us at that time from proceeding. The next day, being the 26th of September, was a day of most severe fatigue to us all; for it must be remembered that in these exigencies no rank or office exempted any person from the manual application and bodily labour of a common sailor. The business of this day was no less than an attempt to heave up the sheet-anchor, which we had hitherto dragged at our bows with two cables an end. This was a work of great importance to our future preservation; for, not to mention the impediment to our navigation, and the hazard it would be to our ship if we attempted to make sail with the anchor in its present situation, we had this most interesting consideration to animate us, that it was the only anchor we had left, and, without securing it, we should be under the utmost difficulties and hazards whenever we made the land again; and therefore, being all of us fully apprised of the consequence of this enterprise, we laboured at it with the severest application for full twelve hours, when we had indeed made a considerable progress, having brought the anchor in sight. But it then growing dark, and we being excessively fatigued, we were obliged to desist, and to leave the work unfinished till the next morning, when, by the benefit of a night's rest, we completed it, and hung the anchor at our bow.

It was the 27th of September, in the morning, that is, five days after our departure, when we thus secured our anchor; and the same day we got up our mainyard. And having now conquered in some degree the distress and disorder which we were necessarily involved in at our first driving out to sea, and being enabled to make use of our canvas, we set our courses, and for the first time stood to the eastward, in hopes of regaining the Island of Tinian, and joining our Commodore in a few days; for we were then, by our accounts, only forty-seven leagues to the south-west

of Tinian, so that on the 1st day of October, having then run the distance necessary for making the island according to our reckoning, we were in full expectation of seeing it; but we were unhappily disappointed, and were thereby convinced that a current had driven us to the westward. And as we could not judge how much we might hereby have deviated, and consequently how long we might still expect to be at sea, we had great apprehensions that our stock of water might prove deficient; for we were doubtful about the quantity we had on board, and found many of our casks so decayed as to be half leaked out. However, we were delivered from our uncertainty the next day, by having a sight of the Island of Guam, by which we discovered that the currents had driven us forty-four leagues to the westward of our accounts. This sight of land having satisfied us of our situation, we kept plying to the eastward, though with excessive labour; for the wind continuing fixed in the eastern board, we were obliged to tack often, and our crew were so weak, that without the assistance of every man on board, it was not in our power to put the ship about. This severe employment lasted till the 11th of October, being the nineteenth day from our departure, when, arriving in the offing of Tinian, we were reinforced from the shore, as has been already mentioned; and on the evening of the same day we, to our inexpressible joy, came to an anchor in the road, thereby procuring to our shipmates on shore, as well as to ourselves, a cessation from the fatigues and apprehensions which this disastrous incident had given rise to.

CHAPTER V.

When the Commodore came on board the Centurion on her return to Tinian, as already mentioned, he resolved to stay no longer at the island than was absolutely necessary to complete our stock of water, a work which we immediately set ourselves about. But the loss of our long-boat, which was staved against our poop when we were driven out to sea, put us to great inconveniences in getting our water on board, for we were obliged to raft off all our casks, and the tide ran so strong that, besides the frequent delays and difficulties it occasioned, we more than once lost the whole raft. Nor was this our only misfortune, for on the 14th of October, being but the third day after our arrival, a sudden gust of wind brought home our anchor, forced us off the bank, and drove the ship out to sea a second time. The Commodore, it is true, and the principal officers, were now on board; but we had near seventy men on shore who had been employed in filling our water and procuring provisions. These had with them our two cutters, but as they were too many for the cutters to bring off at once, we sent the eighteen-oared barge to assist them, and at the same time made a signal for all that could to embark. The two cutters soon came off to us full of men, but forty of the company who were employed in killing cattle in the wood and in bringing them down to the landing-place were left behind; and though the eighteen-oared barge was left for their conveyance, yet, as the ship soon drove to a considerable distance, it was not in their power to join us. However, as the weather was favourable, and our crew was now stronger than when we were first driven out, we in about five days' time returned again to an anchor at Tinian, and relieved those we had left behind us from their second fears of being deserted by their ship.

On our arrival we found that the Spanish bark, the old object of their hopes, had undergone a new metamorphosis. For those we had left on shore began to despair of our return, and conceiving that the lengthening the bark as formerly proposed was both a toilsome and unnecessary measure, considering the small number they consisted of, they had resolved to join her again and to restore her to

her first state; and in this scheme they had made some progress, for they had brought the two parts together, and would have soon completed her had not our coming back put a period to their labours and disquietudes. These people we had left behind informed us that, just before we were seen in the offing, two proas had stood in very near the shore, and had continued there for some time; but on the appearance of our ship they crowded away, and were presently out of sight. And on this occasion I must mention an incident which, though it happened during the first absence of the ship, was then omitted to avoid interrupting the course of the narration.

It has been already observed that a part of the detachment sent to this island under the command of the Spanish sergeant lay concealed in the woods, and we were the less solicitous to find them out as our prisoners all assured us that it was impossible for them to get off, and consequently that it was impossible for them to send any intelligence about us to Guam. But when the Centurion drove out to sea and left the Commodore on shore, he one day, attended by some of his officers, endeavoured to make the tour of the island. In this expedition, being on a rising ground, they perceived in the valley beneath them the appearance of a small thicket which, by observing more nicely, they found had a progressive motion; this at first surprised them, but they soon discovered that it was no more than several large cocoa bushes which were dragged along the ground by persons concealed beneath them. They immediately concluded that these were some of the sergeant's party (which was indeed true), and therefore the Commodore and his people made after them in hopes of finding out their retreat. The Indians soon perceived they were discovered, and hurried away with precipitation; but Mr Anson was so near them that he did not lose sight of them till they arrived at their cell, which he and his officers *entering* found to be abandoned, there being a passage from it down a precipice contrived for the convenience of flight. They found here an old firelock or two, but no other arms. However, there was a great quantity of provisions, particularly salted spare-ribs of pork, which were excellent; and from what our people saw here, they concluded that the extraordinary appetite which they had found at this island was not confined to themselves alone; for it being about noon, the Indians had laid out a very plentiful repast, considering their numbers, and had their bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts prepared ready for eating, and in a manner which plainly evinced that with them too a good meal was neither an uncommon nor an unheeded article. The Commodore having in vain endeavoured to discover the path by which the Indians had escaped, he and his officers contented themselves with sitting down to the dinner which was thus luckily fitted to their present appetites; after which they returned back to their old habitation, displeased at missing the Indians, as they hoped to have engaged them in our service if they could have had any conference with them. But, notwithstanding what our prisoners had asserted, we were afterwards assured that these Indians were carried off to Guam long before we left the place.

On our coming to an anchor again, after our second driving off to sea, we laboured indefatigably in getting in our water;[1] and having by the 20th of October completed it to fifty tuns, which we supposed would be sufficient for our passage to Macao, we on the next day sent one of each mess on shore to gather as large a quantity of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, and other

[1] "In which service," says the useful Thomas, "two of our men employed in the well unfortunately perished; for the sides of the well being loose earth, by the carelessness of those above in not properly attending the filling, the bank gave way by the weight of a heavy cask, and both that and the bank fell in upon them together."

fruits of the island, as they possibly could for the use of themselves and messmates when at sea. And these purveyors returning on board us on the evening of the same day, we then set fire to the bark and proa, hoisted in our boats, and got under sail, steering away for the south end of the Island of Formosa, and taking our leave for the third and last time of the Island of Tinian, an island which, whether we consider the excellence of its productions, the beauty of its appearance, the elegance of its woods and lawns, the healthiness of its air, or the adventures it gave rise to, may in all these views be truly styled romantic.[1]

CHAPTER VI.

I HAVE already mentioned that on the 21st of October, in the evening, we took our leave of the Island of Tinian, steering the proper course for Macao in China. The eastern monsoon was now, we reckoned, fairly settled; and we had a constant gale blowing right upon our stern; so that we generally ran from forty to fifty leagues a day. But we had a large hollow sea pursuing us, which occasioned the ship to labour much; whence we received great damage in our rigging, which was grown very rotten, and our leak was augmented; but happily for us our people were now in full health, so that there were no complaints of fatigue, but all went through their attendance on the pumps, and every other duty of the ship, with ease and cheerfulness.

Having now no other but our sheet-anchor left, except our prize anchors, which were stowed in the hold, and were too light to be depended on, we were under great concern how we should manage on the coast of China, where we were all entire strangers, and where we should doubtless be frequently under the necessity of coming to an anchor. Our sheet-anchor being obviously much too heavy for a coasting anchor, it was at length resolved to fix two of our largest prize anchors into one stock, and to place between their shanks two guns, four-pounders, which was accordingly executed, and it was to serve as a best bower. And a third prize-anchor being in like manner joined with our stream-anchor, with guns between them, we thereby made a small bower, so that, besides our sheet-anchor, we had again two others at our bows, one of which weighed 3900 and the other 2900 pounds.

The 3d of November, about three in the afternoon, we saw an island, which at first we imagined to be the Island of Botel Tobago Xima, but on our nearer approach we found it to be much smaller than that is usually represented; and about an hour after we saw another island five or six miles farther to the westward. As no chart, nor any journal we had seen, took notice of any other island to the eastward of Formosa than Botel Tobago Xima; and as we had no observation of our latitude at noon, we were in some perplexity, being apprehensive that an extraordinary current had driven us into the neighbourhood of the Bashee Islands; and therefore when night came on we brought to, and continued in this posture till the next morning, which, proving dark and cloudy, for some time prolonged our uncertainty; but it cleared up about nine o'clock, when we again discerned the two islands above mentioned; we then pressed forwards to the westward, and by eleven got a sight of the southern part of the Island of Formosa. This satisfied us that the second island we saw was Botel Tobago Xima, and the first a small island or rock lying five or six miles due east from it, which not being mentioned by any of our books or charts, was the occasion of our

[1] A description of the Ladrones, and of the wonderfully fast-sailing proas of the inhabitants, is omitted. Dampier gives an interesting account of Guam and of the proas in his Tenth Chapter. See pages 224, 225.

fears. While we were passing by these rocks of Vele Rete, there was an outcry of fire on the forecastle; this occasioned a general alarm, and the whole crew instantly flocked together in the utmost confusion, so that the officers found it difficult for some time to appease the uproar. But having at last reduced the people to order, it was perceived that the fire proceeded from the furnace; and pulling down the brick-work, it was extinguished with great facility, for it had taken its rise from the bricks, which, being overheated, had begun to communicate the fire to the adjacent wood-work. In the evening we were surprised with a view of what we at first sight conceived to have been breakers, but on a stricter examination we found them to be only a great number of fires on the Island of Formosa. These, we imagined, were intended by the inhabitants of that island as signals for us to touch there; but that suited not our views, we being impatient to reach the port of Macao as soon as possible. From Formosa we steered WNW., and sometimes still more northerly, proposing to fall in with the coast of China to the eastward of Pedro Blanco; for the rock so called is usually esteemed an excellent direction for ships bound to Macao. We continued this course till the following night, and then frequently brought to, to try if we were in soundings; but it was the 5th of November, at nine in the morning, before we struck ground, and then we had forty-two fathoms, and a bottom of grey sand mixed with shells. When we had got about twenty miles farther WNW., we had thirty-five fathoms, and the same bottom, from whence our soundings gradually decreased from thirty-five to twenty-five fathoms; but soon after, to our great surprise, they jumped back again to thirty fathoms. This was an alteration we could not very well account for,[1] since all the charts laid down regular soundings everywhere to the northward of Pedro Blanco; and for this reason we kept a very careful look-out, and altered our course to NNW., and having run thirty-five miles in this direction our soundings again gradually diminished to twenty-two fathoms, and we at last, about midnight, got sight of the mainland of China, bearing N. by W., four leagues distant.

We then brought the ship to, with her head to the sea, proposing to wait for the morning; and before sunrise we were surprised to find ourselves in the midst of an incredible number of fishing-boats, which seemed to cover the surface of the sea as far as the eye could reach. I may well style their number incredible, since I cannot believe, upon the lowest estimate, that there were so few as 6000; most of them manned with five hands, and none with less than three. Nor was this swarm of fishing vessels peculiar to this spot; for, as we ran on to the westward, we found them as abundant on every part of the coast. We at first doubted not but we should procure a pilot from them to carry us to Macao; but though many of them came close to the ship, and we endeavoured to tempt them by showing them a number of dollars, a most alluring bait for Chinese of all ranks and professions, yet we could not entice them on board us; though I presume the only difficulty was their not comprehending what we wanted them to do, for we could have no communication with them but by signs. Indeed we often pronounced the word Macao; but this we had reason to suppose they understood in a different sense; for in return they sometimes held up fish to us, and we afterwards learned that the Chinese name for fish is of a somewhat similar sound. But what surprised us most was the inattention and want of curiosity which we observed in this herd of fishermen. A ship like ours had doubtless never been in those seas before; perhaps there might not be one amongst all the Chinese employed in this fishery who had ever seen any European vessel; so that we might reasonably

[1] In recent maps a sandbank is laid down at this part of the Centurion's *course.*

have expected to have been considered by them as a very uncommon and extraordinary object. But though many of their vessels came close to the ship, yet they did not appear to be at all interested about us, nor did they deviate in the least from their course to regard us; which insensibility, especially in maritime persons, about a matter in their own profession, is scarcely to be credited, did not the general behaviour of the Chinese in other instances furnish us with continual proofs of a similar turn of mind. It may perhaps be doubted whether this cast of temper be the effect of nature or education; but in either case it is an incontestible symptom of a mean and contemptible disposition, and is alone a sufficient confutation of the extravagant panegyrics which many hypothetical writers have bestowed on the ingenuity and capacity of this nation.[1] Not being able to procure any information from the Chinese fishermen about our proper course to Macao, it was necessary for us to rely entirely on our own judgment; and concluding from our latitude, which was 22° 42′ N., and from our soundings, which were only seventeen or eighteen fathoms, that we were yet to the eastward of Pedro Blanco, we stood to the westward.

It was on the 5th of November at midnight when we first made the coast of China; and the next day about 2 o'clock, as we were standing to the westward within two leagues of the coast, and still surrounded by fishing-vessels in as great numbers as at first, we perceived that a boat ahead of us waved a red flag, and blew a horn. This we considered as a signal made to us either to warn us of some shoal or to inform us that they would supply us with a pilot, and in this belief we immediately sent our cutter to the boat to know their intentions; but we were soon made sensible of our mistake, and found that this boat was the commodore of the whole fishery, and that the signal she had made was to order them all to leave off fishing and to return in shore, which we saw them instantly obey. On this disappointment we kept on our course, and soon after passed by two very small rocks which lay four or five miles distant from the shore; but night came on before we got sight of Pedro Blanco, and we therefore brought to till the morning, when we had the satisfaction to discover it. It is a rock of a small circumference, but of a moderate height, and both in shape and colour resembles a sugar-loaf, and is about seven or eight miles from the shore. We passed within a mile and a half of it, and left it between us and the land, still keeping on to the westward; and the next day, being the 7th, we were abreast of a chain of islands which stretched from east to west. These, as we afterwards found, were called the Islands of Lema; they are rocky and barren, and are in all, small and great, fifteen or sixteen; and there are besides a great number of other islands between them and the mainland of China. These islands we left on the starboard side, passing within four miles of them, where we had twenty-four fathoms water. We were still surrounded by fishing-boats; and we once more sent the cutter on board one of them to endeavour to procure a pilot, but could not prevail; however, one of the Chinese directed us by signs to sail round the westernmost of the islands or rocks of Lema, and then to haul up. We followed this direction, and in the evening came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms.

After having continued at anchor all night, we on the 9th, at four in the morning, sent our cutter to sound the channel where we proposed to pass; but before the return of the cutter a Chinese pilot put on board

[1] Mr Walter evidently was strongly prejudiced against the Chinese; but he knew too little about them to trace the conduct of the fishermen to what was probably its true source—the contempt of the people for everything foreign, and the exclusive policy of the authorities, under whose vigilant control the fishermen obviously plied their trade.

us, and told us in broken Portuguese he would carry us to Macao for thirty dollars. These were immediately paid him, and we then weighed and made sail; and soon after several other pilots came on board us, who, to recommend themselves, produced certificates from the captains of several ships they had piloted in; but we continued the ship under the management of the Chinese who came first on board. By this time we learned that we were not far distant from Macao, and that there were in the River of Canton, at the mouth of which Macao lies, eleven European ships, of which four were English. Our pilot carried us between the Islands of Bamboo and Cabouce; but the winds hanging in the northern board, and the tides often setting strongly against us, we were obliged to come frequently to an anchor, so that we did not get through between the two islands till the 12th of November at two in the morning. In passing through, our depth of water was from twelve to fourteen fathoms, and as we still steered on NW. half W., between a number of other islands, our soundings underwent little or no variation till towards the evening, when they increased to seventeen fathoms, in which depth (the wind dying away) we anchored not far from the Island of Lantoon, which is the largest of all this range of islands. At seven in the morning we weighed again, and steering WSW. and SW. by W., we at 10 o'clock happily anchored in Macao road, in five fathoms water, the city of Macao bearing W. by N., three leagues distant; the peak of Lantoon E. by N., and the Grand Ladrone S. by E., each of them about five leagues distant. Thus, after a fatiguing cruise of above two years' continuance, we once more arrived in an amicable port in a civilised country, where the conveniences of life were in great plenty; where the naval stores, which we now extremely wanted, could be in some degree procured; where we expected the inexpressible satisfaction *of receiving* letters from our relations and friends; and where our countrymen who were lately arrived from England would be capable of answering the numerous inquiries we were prepared to make both about public and private occurrences, and to relate to us many particulars which, whether of importance or not, would be listened to by us with the utmost attention, after the long suspension of our correspondence with our country to which the nature of our undertaking had hitherto subjected us.

CHAPTER VII.

THE city of Macao, in the road of which we came to an anchor on the 12th of November, is a Portuguese settlement situated in an island at the mouth of the River of Canton. It was formerly a very rich and populous city, and capable of defending itself against the power of the adjacent Chinese Governors, but at present it is much fallen from its ancient splendour; for though it is inhabited by Portuguese, and has a Governor nominated by the King of Portugal, yet it subsists merely by the sufferance of the Chinese, who can starve the place and dispossess the Portuguese whenever they please. This obliges the Governor of Macao to behave with great circumspection, and carefully to avoid every circumstance that may give offence to the Chinese. The River of Canton, at the mouth of which this city lies, is the only Chinese port frequented by European ships; and this river is indeed a more commodious harbour on many accounts than Macao. But the peculiar customs of the Chinese, only adapted to the entertainment of trading ships, and the apprehensions of the Commodore lest he should embroil the East India Company with the Regency of Canton if he should insist on being treated upon a different footing than the merchantmen, made him resolve to go first to Macao before he ventured into the port of Canton. Indeed, had not this reason prevailed with him, he himself had

nothing to fear; for it is certain that he might have entered the port of Canton, and might have continued there as long as he pleased, and afterwards have left it again, although the whole power of the Chinese empire had been brought together to oppose him.

The Commodore, not to depart from his usual prudence, no sooner came to an anchor in Macao road than he despatched an officer with his compliments to the Portuguese Governor of Macao, requesting his Excellency by the same officer to advise him in what manner it would be proper to act to avoid offending the Chinese, which, as there were then four of our ships in their power at Canton, was a matter worthy of attention. The difficulty which the Commodore principally apprehended related to the duty usually paid by all ships in the River of Canton, according to their tonnage. For as men-of-war are exempted in every foreign harbour from all manner of port charges, the Commodore thought it would be derogatory to the honour of his country to submit to this duty in China; and therefore he desired the advice of the Governor of Macao, who, being a European, could not be ignorant of the privileges claimed by a British man-of-war, and consequently might be expected to give us the best lights for avoiding this perplexity. Our boat returned in the evening with two officers sent by the Governor, who informed the Commodore that it was the Governor's opinion that if the Centurion ventured into the River of Canton, the duty would certainly be demanded; and therefore, if the Commodore approved of it, he would send him a pilot who should conduct us into another safe harbour, called the Typa,[1] which was every way commodious for careening the ship (an operation we were resolved to begin upon as soon as possible), and where the above-mentioned duty would in all probability be never asked for.

This proposal the Commodore agreed to, and in the morning we weighed anchor, and, under the direction of the Portuguese pilot, steered for the intended harbour. As we entered two islands, which form the eastern passage to it, we found our soundings decreased to three fathoms and a half. But the pilot assuring us that this was the least depth we should meet with, we continued our course, till at length the ship stuck fast in the mud, with only eighteen feet water abaft; and, the tide of ebb making, the water sewed[2] to sixteen feet, but the ship remained perfectly upright. We then sounded all round us, and finding the water deepened to the northward, we carried out our small bower with two hawsers an-end, and at the return of the tide of flood hove the ship afloat; and a small breeze springing up at the same instant, we set the fore-topsail, and slipping the hawser ran into the harbour, where we moored in about five fathoms water. This harbour of the Typa is formed by a number of islands, and is about six miles distant from Macao. Here we saluted the Castle of Macao with eleven guns, which were returned by an equal number.

The next day the Commodore paid a visit in person to the Governor, and was saluted at his landing by eleven guns, which were returned by the Centurion. Mr Anson's business in this visit was to solicit the Governor to grant us a supply of provisions, and to furnish us with such stores as were necessary to refit the ship. The Governor seemed really inclined to do us all the service he could, and assured the Commodore, in a friendly manner, that he would privately give us all the assistance in his power; but he, at the same time, frankly owned that he dared not openly furnish us with anything we demanded, unless we first procured an order for it from the Viceroy of Canton; for that he neither received provisions for his garrison, nor any other necessaries,

[1] The Island of Typa, directly to the south of Macao, at the mouth of the river.

[2] Sank away from the ship with the out-going tide.

but by permission from the Chinese Government; and as they took care only to furnish him from day to day, he was indeed no other than their vassal, whom they could at all times compel to submit to their own terms, only by laying an embargo on his provisions.

On this declaration of the Governor, Mr Anson resolved himself to go to Canton to procure a license from the Viceroy, and he accordingly hired a Chinese boat for himself and his attendants; but just as he was ready to embark, the "hoppo," or Chinese custom-house officer at Macao, refused to grant a permit to the boat, and ordered the watermen not to proceed at their peril. The Commodore at first endeavoured to prevail with the "hoppo" to withdraw his injunction and to grant a permit; and the Governor of Macao employed his interest with the "hoppo" to the same purpose. Mr Anson, seeing the officer inflexible, told him the next day, that if he longer refused to grant the permit, he would man and arm his own boats to carry him thither; asking the "hoppo," at the same time, who he imagined would dare to oppose him. This threat immediately brought about what his entreaties had laboured for in vain; the permit was granted, and Mr Anson went to Canton. On his arrival there, he consulted with the supercargoes and officers of the English ships how to procure an order from the Viceroy for the necessaries he wanted; but in this he had reason to suppose that the advice they gave him, though doubtless well intended, was yet not the most prudent; for as it is the custom with these gentlemen never to apply to the supreme magistrate himself, whatever difficulties they labour under, but to transact all matters relating to the Government by the mediation of the principal Chinese merchants, Mr Anson was advised to follow the same method upon this occasion; the English promising (in which they were doubtless sincere) to exert all their *interest to engage* the merchants in *his favour.* And when the Chinese merchants were applied to, they readily undertook the management of it, and promised to answer for its success; but after near a month's delay, and reiterated excuses, during which interval they pretended to be often upon the point of completing the business, they at last (being pressed, and measures being taken for delivering a letter to the Viceroy) threw off the mask, and declared they neither had applied to the Viceroy, nor could they, for he was too great a man, they said, for them to approach on any occasion. And not contented with having themselves thus grossly deceived the Commodore, they now used all their persuasion with the English at Canton to prevent them from intermeddling with anything that regarded him, representing to them that it would in all probability embroil them with the Government, and occasion them a great deal of unnecessary trouble; which groundless insinuations had, indeed, but too much weight with those they were applied to.

It may be difficult to assign a reason for this perfidious conduct of the Chinese merchants. Interest, indeed, is known to exert a boundless influence over the inhabitants of that empire; but how their interest could be affected in the present case is not easy to discover, unless they apprehended that the presence of a ship of force might damp their Manilla trade, and therefore acted in this manner with a view of forcing the Commodore to Batavia; but it might be as natural in this light to suppose that they would have been eager to have got him despatched. I therefore rather impute their behaviour to the unparalleled pusillanimity of the nation, and to the awe they are under of the Government; for as such a ship as the Centurion, fitted for war only, had never been seen in those parts before, she was the horror of these dastards, and the merchants were in some degree terrified even with the idea of her, and could not think of applying to the Viceroy (who is doubtless fond of all opportunities of fleecing them) without re-

presenting to themselves the pretences which a hungry and tyrannical magistrate might possibly find for censuring their intermeddling in so unusual a transaction, in which he might pretend the interest of the State was immediately concerned. However, be this as it may, the Commodore was satisfied that nothing was to be done by the interposition of the merchants, as it was on his pressing them to deliver a letter to the Viceroy that they had declared they durst not intermeddle, and had confessed that notwithstanding all their pretences of serving him, they had not yet taken one step towards it. Mr Anson therefore told them that he would proceed to Batavia and refit his ship there; but informed them, at the same time, that this was impossible to be done unless he was supplied with a stock of provisions sufficient for his passage. The merchants on this undertook to procure him provisions, but assured him that it was what they durst not engage in openly, but proposed to manage it in a clandestine manner, by putting a quantity of bread, flour, and other provision on board the English ships, which were now ready to sail; and these were to stop at the mouth of the Typa, where the Centurion's boats were to receive it. This article, which the merchants represented as a matter of great favour, being settled, the Commodore, on the 16th of December, returned from Canton to the ship, seemingly resolved to proceed to Batavia to refit as soon as he should get his supplies of provision on board.

But Mr Anson (who never intended going to Batavia) found, on his return to the Centurion, that her mainmast was sprung in two places, and that the leak was considerably increased; so that, upon the whole, he was fully satisfied that though he should lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, yet it would be impossible for him to put to sea without refitting. For, if he left the port with his ship in her present condition, she would be in the utmost danger of foundering; and therefore, notwithstanding the difficulties he had met with, he resolved at all events to have her hove down before he left Macao. He was fully convinced, by what he had observed at Canton, that his great caution not to injure the East India Company's affairs, and the regard he had shown to the advice of their officers, had occasioned all his embarrassments. For he now saw clearly, that if he had at first carried his ship into the River of Canton, and had immediately applied himself to the mandarins, who are the chief officers of State, instead of employing the merchants to apply for him, he would in all probability have had all his requests granted, and would have been soon despatched. He had already lost a month by the wrong measures he had been put upon, but he resolved to lose as little more time as possible; and therefore, the 17th of December, being the next day after his return from Canton, he wrote a letter to the Viceroy of that place, acquainting him that he was commander-in-chief of a squadron of his Britannic Majesty's ships of war, which had been cruising for two years past in the South Seas against the Spaniards, who were at war with the King his master; that, in his way back to England, he had put into the port of Macao, having a considerable leak in his ship, and being in great want of provisions, so that it was impossible for him to proceed on his voyage till his ship was repaired, and he was supplied with the necessaries he wanted; that he had been at Canton in hopes of being admitted to a personal audience of his Excellency, but, being a stranger to the customs of the country, he had not been able to inform himself what steps were necessary to be taken to procure such an audience; and therefore was obliged to apply to him in this manner, to desire his Excellency to give orders for his being permitted to employ carpenters and proper workmen to refit his ship, and to furnish himself with provisions and stores, thereby to enable him to pursue his voyage to

Great Britain with this monsoon; hoping at the same time that these orders would be issued with as little delay as possible, lest it might occasion his loss of the season, and he might be prevented from departing till the next winter.

This letter was translated into the Chinese language, and the Commodore delivered it himself to the "hoppo" or chief officer of the Emperor's customs at Macao, desiring him to forward it to the Viceroy of Canton with as much expedition as he could. The officer at first seemed unwilling to take charge of it, and raised many difficulties about it, so that Mr Anson suspected him of being in league with the merchants of Canton, who had always shown a great apprehension of the Commodore's having any immediate intercourse with the Viceroy or mandarins; and therefore the Commodore, with some resentment, took back his letter from the "hoppo," and told him he would immediately send an officer with it to Canton in his own boat, and would give him positive orders not to return without an answer from the Viceroy. The "hoppo" perceiving the Commodore to be in earnest, and fearing to be called to an account for his refusal, begged to be entrusted with the letter, and promised to deliver it and to procure an answer as soon as possible. And now it was soon seen how justly Mr Anson had at last judged of the proper manner of dealing with the Chinese; for this letter was written but the 17th of December, as has been already observed, and on the 19th in the morning a mandarin of the first rank, who was Governor of the city of Janson, together with two mandarins of an inferior class, and a great retinue of officers and servants, having with them eighteen half-galleys decorated with a great number of streamers, and furnished with music, and full of men, came to grapnel ahead of the Centurion; whence the mandarin sent a message to the Commodore, telling him that he (the mandarin) was ordered by the Viceroy of Canton, to examine the condition of the ship, and desiring the ship's boat might be sent to fetch him on board. The Centurion's boat was immediately despatched, and preparations were made for receiving him; for a hundred of the most sightly of the crew were uniformly dressed in the regimentals of the marines, and were drawn up under arms on the main-deck, against his arrival. When he entered the ship he was saluted by the drums, and what other military music there was on board; and passing by the new-formed guard, he was met by the Commodore on the quarter-deck, who conducted him to the great cabin. Here the mandarin explained his commission, declaring that his business was to examine all the particulars mentioned in the Commodore's letter to the Viceroy, and to confront them with the representation that had been given of them; that he was particularly instructed to inspect the leak, and had for that purpose brought with him two Chinese carpenters; and that, for the greater regularity and despatch of his business, he had every head of inquiry separately written down on a sheet of paper, with a void space opposite to it where he was to insert such information and remarks thereon as he could procure by his own observation.

This mandarin appeared to be a person of very considerable parts, and endowed with more frankness and honesty than is to be found in the generality of the Chinese. After the proper inquiries had been made, particularly about the leak, which the Chinese carpenters reported to be as dangerous as it had been represented, and consequently that it was impossible for the Centurion to proceed to sea without being refitted, the mandarin expressed himself satisfied with the account given in the Commodore's letter. And this magistrate, as he was more intelligent than any other person of his nation that came to our knowledge, so likewise was he more curious and inquisitive, viewing each part of the ship with particular attention, and appearing greatly surprised at the largeness of the lower-deck guns, and at the weight and size of

the shot. The Commodore, observing his astonishment, thought this a proper opportunity to convince the Chinese of the prudence of granting him a speedy and ample supply of all he wanted. With this view he told the mandarin, and those who were with him, that besides the demands he made for a general supply, he had a particular complaint against the proceedings of the custom-house of Macao; that at his first arrival the Chinese boats had brought on board plenty of greens, and variety of fresh provisions for daily use, for which they had always been paid to their full satisfaction, but that the custom-house officers at Macao had soon forbid them, by which means he was deprived of those refreshments which were of the utmost consequence to the health of his men after their long and sickly voyage; that as they, the mandarins, had informed themselves of his wants, and were eyewitnesses of the force and strength of his ship, they might be satisfied it was not for want of power to supply himself that he desired the permission of the Government to purchase what provisions he stood in need of; that they must be convinced that the Centurion alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, or of any other port in China, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that it was true this was not the manner of proceeding between nations in friendship with each other, but it was likewise true that it was not customary for any nation to permit the ships of their friends to starve and sink in their ports, when those friends had money to supply their wants, and only desired liberty to lay it out; that they must confess he and his people had hitherto behaved with great modesty and reserve, but that, as his wants were each day increasing, hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint, and necessity was acknowledged in all countries to be superior to every other law, and therefore it could not be expected that his crew would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty to which their eyes were every day witnesses. To this the Commodore added (though perhaps with a less serious air) that if by the delay of supplying him with fresh provisions his men should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, and preying upon their own species, it was easy to be foreseen that, independent of their friendship to their comrades, they would in point of luxury prefer the plump, well-fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates. The first mandarin acquiesced in the justness of this reasoning, and told the Commodore that he should that night proceed for Canton; that on his arrival a council of mandarins would be summoned, of which he himself was a member, and that by being employed in the present commission he was of course the Commodore's advocate; that, as he was fully convinced of the urgency of Mr Anson's necessity, he did not doubt but on his representation the council would be of the same opinion, and that all that was demanded would be amply and speedily granted. And with regard to the Commodore's complaint of the custom-house of Macao, he undertook to rectify that immediately by his own authority; for, desiring a list to be given him of the quantity of provision necessary for the expense of the ship for a day, he wrote a permit under it, and delivered it to one of his attendants, directing him to see that quantity sent on board early every morning; and this order from that time forward was punctually complied with.

When this weighty affair was thus in some degree regulated, the Commodore invited him and his two attendant mandarins to dinner, telling them at the same time that if his provision, either in kind or quantity, was not what they might expect, they must thank themselves for having confined him to so hard an allowance. One of his dishes was beef, which the Chinese all dislike, though Mr Anson was not apprised of it; this seems to be derived from the Indian superstition, which for some ages past has made a great progress in China.

However, his guests did not entirely fast; for the three mandarins completely finished the white part of four large fowls. But they were extremely embarrassed with their knives and forks, and were quite incapable of making use of them; so that, after some fruitless attempts to help themselves, which were sufficiently awkward, one of the attendants was obliged to cut their meat in small pieces for them. But whatever difficulty they might have in complying with the European manner of eating, they seemed not to be novices in drinking. The Commodore excused himself in this part of the entertainment, under the pretence of illness; but there being another gentleman present, of a florid and jovial complexion, the chief mandarin clapped him on the shoulder, and told him by the interpreter that certainly he could not plead sickness, and therefore insisted on his bearing him company; and that gentleman perceiving that after they had despatched four or five bottles of Frontiniac, the mandarin still continued unruffled, he ordered a bottle of citron-water to be brought up, which the Chinese seemed much to relish; and this being near finished they arose from table, in appearance cool and uninfluenced by what they had drunk. And the Commodore having, according to custom, made the mandarin a present, they all departed in the same vessels that brought them.

After their departure the Commodore with great impatience expected the resolution of the council, and the necessary licenses for his refitment. For it must be observed, as has already appeared from the preceding narration, that he could neither purchase stores nor necessaries with his money, nor did any kind of workmen dare to engage themselves to work for him, without the permission of the Government first obtained. And in the execution of these particular injunctions the magistrates never fail of exercising great severity, they, notwithstanding the fustian eulogiums bestowed upon them by the Catholic missionaries and their European copiers, being *composed of* the same fragile materials with the rest of mankind, and often making use of the authority of the law not to suppress crimes, but to enrich themselves by the pillage of those who commit them. For capital punishments are rare in China, the effeminate genius of the nation, and their strong attachment to lucre, disposing them rather to make use of fines; and hence arises no inconsiderable profit to those who compose their tribunals. Consequently prohibitions of all kinds, particularly such as the alluring prospect of great profit may often tempt the subject to infringe, cannot but be favourite institutions in such a government.

Some time before this, Captain Saunders took his passage to England on board a Swedish ship, and was charged with despatches from the Commodore; and soon after, in the month of December, Captain Mitchel, Colonel Cracherode, and Mr Tassel, one of the agent-victuallers, with his nephew, Mr Charles Harriot, embarked on board some of our Company's ships; and I, having obtained the Commodore's leave to return home, embarked with them. I must observe, too (having omitted it before), that whilst we lay here at Macao we were informed by some of the officers of our Indiamen that the Severn and Pearl, the two ships of our squadron which had separated from us off Cape Noir, were safely arrived at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil; and it was with great joy we received the news, after the strong persuasion which had so long prevailed amongst us, of their having both perished.

Notwithstanding the favourable disposition of the mandarin Governor of Janson at his leaving Mr Anson, several days were elapsed before he had any advice from him, and Mr Anson was privately informed there were great debates in council upon his affair; partly, perhaps, owing to its being so unusual a case, and in part to the influence, as I suppose, of the intrigues of the French at Canton. For they had a countryman and fast friend residing on the spot, who spoke the language very well, and

was not unacquainted with the venality of the Government, nor with the persons of several of the magistrates, and consequently could not be at a loss for means of traversing the assistance desired by Mr Anson. And this opposition by the French was not merely the effect of national prejudice or contrariety of political interests, but was in good measure owing to their vanity, a motive of much more weight with the generality of mankind than any attachment to the public service of their community. For the French pretending their Indiamen to be men-of-war, their officers were apprehensive that any distinction granted to Mr Anson, on account of his bearing the King's commission, would render them less considerable in the eyes of the Chinese, and would establish a prepossession at Canton in favour of ships of war, by which they, as trading vessels, would suffer in their importance; and I wish the affectation of endeavouring to pass for men-of-war, and the fear of sinking in the estimation of the Chinese if the Centurion was treated in a different manner from themselves, had been confined to the officers of the French ships only.[1] However, notwithstanding all these obstacles, it should seem that the representation of the Commodore to the mandarins of the facility with which he could right himself, if justice were denied him, had at last its effect; for on the 6th of January, in the morning, the Governor of Janson, the Commodore's advocate, sent down the Viceroy of Canton's warrant for the refitment of the Centurion, and for supplying her people with all they wanted; and next day a number of Chinese smiths and carpenters went on board to agree for all the work by the great.[2] They demanded at first to the amount of £1000 sterling for the necessary repairs of the ship, the boats, and the masts. This the Commodore seemed to think an unreasonable sum, and endeavoured to persuade them to work by the day; but that proposal they would not hearken to, so it was at last agreed that the carpenters should have to the amount of about £600 for their work, and that the smiths should be paid for their iron work by weight, allowing them at the rate of £3 a hundred nearly for the small work, and 46s. for the large. . . .

It was the beginning of April before they had new-rigged the ship, stowed their provisions and water on board, and fitted her for the sea; and before this time the Chinese grew very uneasy, and extremely desirous that she should be gone; either not knowing, or pretending not to believe, that this was a point the Commodore was as eagerly set on as they could be. On the 3d of April two mandarin boats came on board from Macao to urge his departure; and this having been often done before, though there had been no pretence to suspect Mr Anson of any affected delays, he at this last message answered them in a determined tone, desiring them to give him no further trouble, for he would go when he thought proper and not before. On this rebuke the Chinese (though it was not in their power to compel him to be gone) immediately prohibited all provisions from being carried on board him, and took such care that their injunctions should be complied with, that from that time forwards nothing could be purchased at any rate whatever.

On the 6th of April the Centurion weighed from the Typa, and warped to the southward, and by the 15th she was got into Macao road, completing her water as she passed along, so that there remained now very few articles more to attend to; and her whole business being finished by the 19th, she at three in the afternoon of that day weighed and made sail, and stood to sea.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE Commodore was now got to sea, with his ship very well refitted, his

[1] Glancing, apparently, at the jealousies of the English merchants.

[2] In the lump, or for the whole job.

stores replenished, and an additional stock of provisions on board. His crew, too, was somewhat reinforced; for he had entered twenty-three men during his stay at Macao, the greatest part of which were Lascars or Indian sailors, and some few Dutch.[1] He gave out at Macao that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England; and though the western monsoon was now set in, when that passage is considered as impracticable, yet by the confidence he had expressed in the strength of his ship and the dexterity of his people he had persuaded not only his own crew, but the people at Macao likewise, that he proposed to try this unusual experiment; so that there were many letters put on board him by the inhabitants of Canton and Macao for their friends at Batavia.

But his real design was of a very different nature; for he knew that instead of one annual ship from Acapulco to Manilla there would be this year, in all probability, two, since by being before Acapulco, he had prevented one of them from putting to sea the preceding season. He therefore resolved to cruise for these returning vessels off Cape Espiritu Santo, on the Island of Samal,[2] which is the first land they always make in the Philippine Islands. And as June is generally the month in which they arrive there, he doubted not but he should get to his intended station in time enough to intercept them. It is true, they were said to be stout vessels, mounting 44 guns a-piece, and carrying above 500 hands, and might be expected to return in company; and he himself had but 227 hands on board, of which near thirty were boys. But this disproportion of strength did not deter him, as he knew his ship to be much better fitted for a sea engagement than theirs, and as he had reason to expect that his men would exert themselves in the most extraordinary manner when they had in view the immense wealth of these Manilla galleons.

This project the Commodore had resolved on in his own thoughts ever since his leaving the coast of Mexico; and the greatest mortification which he received from the various delays he had met with in China was his apprehension lest he might be thereby so long retarded as to let the galleons escape him. Indeed at Macao it was incumbent on him to keep these views extremely secret, for there being a great intercourse and a mutual connection of interests between that port and Manilla, he had reason to fear that if his designs were discovered, intelligence would be immediately sent to Manilla, and measures would be taken to prevent the galleons from falling into his hands. But being now at sea, and entirely clear of the coast, he summoned all his people on the quarter-deck, and informed them of his resolution to cruise for the two Manilla ships, of whose wealth they were not ignorant. He told them he should choose a station where he could not fail of meeting with them; and though they were stout ships, and full-manned, yet, if his own people behaved with their accustomed spirit, he was certain he should prove too hard for them both, and that one of them at least could not fail of becoming his prize. He further added, that many ridiculous tales had been propagated about the strength of the sides of these ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot; that these fictions had been principally invented to palliate the cowardice of those who had formerly engaged them; but he hoped there were none of those present weak enough to give credit to so absurd a story. For his own part, he did assure them upon his word that, whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near that they should find his bullets, instead of being stop-

[1] Yet the ship's company was deplorably far short of her requirements; for Anson says in his Official Report: "The number of men I have now borne is 201, amongst which are included all the officers and boys which I had out of the Gloucester, Trial prize, and Anna pink, so that I have not before the mast more than forty-five able seamen."

[2] *See Note* 2, page 418.

ped by one of their sides, should go through them both.

This speech of the Commodore's was received by his people with great joy, for no sooner had he ended than they expressed their approbation, according to naval custom, by three strenuous cheers, and all declared their determination to succeed or perish whenever the opportunity presented itself. And now their hopes, which since their departure from the coast of Mexico had entirely subsided, were again revived; and they all persuaded themselves that, notwithstanding the various casualties and disappointments they had hitherto met with, they should yet be repaid the price of their fatigues, and should at last return home enriched with the spoils of the enemy. For, firmly relying on the assurances of the Commodore that they should certainly meet with the vessels, they were all of them too sanguine to doubt a moment of mastering them; so that they considered themselves as having them already in their possession. And this confidence was so universally spread through the whole ship's company that, the Commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own provision, and one day inquiring of his butcher why for some time past he had seen no mutton at his table, asking him if all the sheep were killed, the butcher very seriously replied that there were indeed two sheep left; but that if his honour would give him leave, he proposed to keep those for the entertainment of the General of the galleons.

When the Centurion left the port of Macao she stood for some days to the westward; and on the 1st of May they saw part of the Island of Formosa, and, standing thence to the southward, they on the 4th of May were in the latitude of the Bashee Islands, as laid down by Dampier; but they suspected his account of inaccuracy, as they found that he had been considerably mistaken in the latitude of the south end of Formosa. For this reason they kept a good look-out, and about seven in the evening discovered from the masthead five small islands, which were judged to be the Bashees, and they had afterwards a sight of Botel Tobago Xima. By this means they had an opportunity of correcting the position of the Bashee Islands, which had been hitherto laid down twenty-five leagues too far to the westward; for by their observations they esteemed the middle of these islands to be in 21° 4′ N., and to bear from Botel Tobago Xima SSE., twenty leagues distant, that island itself being in 21° 57′ N. After getting a sight of the Bashee Islands they stood between the S. and SW. for Cape Espiritu Santo, and the 20th of May at noon they first discovered that cape, which, about 4 o'clock, they brought to bear SSW., about eleven leagues distant. It appeared to be of a moderate height, with several round hummocks on it. As it was known that there were sentinels placed upon this cape to make signals to the Acapulco ship when she first falls in with the land, the Commodore immediately tacked, and ordered the top-gallant sails to be taken in to prevent being discovered; and this being the station in which it was resolved to cruise for the galleons, they kept the cape between the S. and W., and endeavoured to confine themselves between the Latitude of 12° 50′ and 13° 5′, the cape itself lying, by their observations, in 12° 40′ N. and 4° of E. Longitude from Botel Tobago Xima.

It was the last of May, by the foreign style,[1] when they arrived off this Cape; and the month of June, by the same style, being that in which the Manilla ships are usually expected, the Centurion's people were now waiting each hour with the utmost impatience for the happy crisis which was to balance the account of all their past calamities. As from this time there was but small employment for the crew, the Commodore ordered them almost every day to be exercised in the management of the great guns, and in the use of their small arms. This had been his practice, more or less, at all

[1] New Style.

convenient seasons during the whole course of his voyage; and the advantages which he received from it in his engagement with the galleon were an ample recompense for all his care and attention. [The men] were taught the shortest method of loading with cartridges, and were constantly trained to fire at a mark, which was usually hung at the yard-arm, and some little reward was given to the most expert. The whole crew, by this management, were rendered extremely skilful, quick in loading, all of them good marksmen, and some of them most extraordinary ones; so that I doubt not but, in the use of small arms, they were more than a match for double their number who had not been habituated to the same kind of exercise.

It was the last of May, N.S., as has been already said, when the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo, and consequently the next day began the month in which the galleons were to be expected. The Commodore therefore made all necessary preparations for receiving them, having hoisted out his long-boat, and lashed her alongside, that the ship might be ready for engaging if they fell in with the galleons in the night. All this time, too, he was very solicitous to keep at such a distance from the cape as not to be discovered; but it has been since learned that, notwithstanding his care, he was seen from the land; and advice of him was sent to Manilla, where it was at first disbelieved; but on reiterated intelligence (for it seems he was seen more than once) the merchants were alarmed, and the Governor was applied to, who undertook (the commerce[1] supplying the necessary sums) to fit out a force consisting of two ships of 32 guns, one of 20 guns, and two sloops of 10 guns each, to attack the Centurion on her station. And some of these vessels did actually weigh with this view; but the principal ship not being ready, and the monsoon being against them, the commerce and the Government disagreed, and the enterprise was laid aside. This frequent discovery of the Centurion from the shore was somewhat extraordinary, for the pitch of the cape is not high, and she usually kept from ten to fifteen leagues distant; though once, indeed, by an indraught of the tide as was supposed, they found themselves in the morning within seven leagues of the land.

As the month of June advanced, the expectancy and impatience of the Commodore's people each day increased. And I think no better idea can be given of their great eagerness on this occasion than by copying a few paragraphs from the journal of an officer who was then on board, as it will, I presume, be a more natural picture of the full attachment of their thoughts to the business of their cruise than can be given by any other means. The paragraphs I have selected, as they occur in order of time, are as follow:

"May 31.—Exercising our men at their quarters, in great expectation of meeting with the galleons very soon; this being the 11th of June their style.

"June 3.—Keeping in our stations and looking out for the galleons.

"June 5.—Begin now to be in great expectations, this being the middle of June their style.

"June 11.—Begin to grow impatient at not seeing the galleons.

"June 13.—The wind having blown fresh easterly for the forty-eight hours past gives us great expectations of seeing the galleons soon.

"June 15.—Cruising on and off, and looking out strictly.

"June 19.—This being the last day of June, N.S., the galleons, if they arrive at all, must appear soon."

From these samples it is sufficiently evident, how completely the treasure of the galleons had engrossed their imagination, and how anxiously they passed the latter part of their cruise, when the certainty of the arrival of

[1] That is, the commercial community collectively; as "trade" is used, early in the narrative, to signify the collection of merchant ships *sailing under convoy*.

these vessels was dwindled down to probability only, and that probability became each hour more and more doubtful. However, on the 20th of June, O.S., being just a month from their arrival on their station, they were relieved from this state of uncertainty when, at sunrise, they discovered a sail from the masthead in the SE. quarter.[1] On this a general joy spread through the whole ship; for they had no doubt but this was one of the galleons, and they expected soon to see the other. The Commodore instantly stood towards her, and at half-an-hour after seven they were near enough to see her from the Centurion's deck; at which time the galleon fired a gun, and took in her topgallant sails, which was supposed to be a signal to her consort to hasten her up; and therefore the Centurion fired a gun to leeward, to amuse her. The Commodore was surprised to find that in all this time the galleon did not change her course, but continued to bear down upon him; for he hardly believed, what afterwards appeared to be the case, that she knew his ship to be the Centurion and resolved to fight him.

About noon the Commodore was little more than a league distant from the galleon, and could fetch her wake, so that she could not now escape; and, no second ship appearing, it was concluded that she had been separated from her consort. Soon after, the galleon hauled up her foresail, and brought to under topsails, with her head to the northward, hoisting Spanish colours, and having the standard of Spain flying at the topgallant-masthead. Mr Anson in the meantime had prepared all things for an engagement on board the Centurion, and had taken all possible care both for the most effectual exertion of his small strength, and for avoiding the confusion and tumult too frequent in actions of this kind. He picked out about thirty of his choicest hands and best marksmen, whom he distributed into his tops, and who fully answered his expectation by the signal services they performed. As he had not hands enough remaining to quarter a sufficient number to each great gun in the customary manner, he therefore, on his lower tier, fixed only two men to each gun, who were to be solely employed in loading it, whilst the rest of his people were divided into different gangs of ten or twelve men each, who were constantly moving about the decks, to run out and fire such guns as were loaded. By this management he was enabled to make use of all his guns; and, instead of firing broadsides with intervals between them, he kept up a constant fire without intermission, whence he doubted not to procure very signal advantages. For it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given; after which they rise again, and, presuming the danger to be for some time over, work their guns, and fire with great briskness, till another broadside is ready: but the firing gun by gun, in the manner directed by the Commodore, rendered this practice of theirs impossible.

The Centurion being thus prepared, and nearing the galleon apace, there happened, a little after noon, several squalls of wind and rain, which often obscured the galleon from their sight; but whenever it cleared up they observed her resolutely lying to; and, towards 1 o'clock, the Centurion hoisted her broad pendant and colours, she being then within gun-shot of the enemy. And the Commodore observing the Spaniards to have neglected clearing their ship till that time, as he then saw them throwing overboard cattle and lumber, he gave orders to fire upon them with the chase guns, to embarrass them in their work, and prevent them from completing it, though his general directions had been not to engage till they were

[1] Thomas commemorates the name of Mr Charles Proby, midshipman, as having been the first on board to discover the long-looked-for treasure-ship.

within pistol-shot. The galleon returned the fire with two of her stern-chasers;[1] and the Centurion getting her spritsail-yard fore and aft, that if necessary she might be ready for boarding, the Spaniards in a bravado rigged their spritsail-yard fore and aft likewise. Soon after, the Centurion came abreast of the enemy within pistol-shot, keeping to the leeward, with a view of preventing them from putting before the wind and gaining the port of Jalapay, from which they were about seven leagues distant. And now the engagement began in earnest, and for the first half-hour Mr Anson overreached the galleon, and lay on her bow; where by the great wideness of his ports he could traverse almost all his guns upon the enemy, whilst the galleon could only bring a part of hers to bear. Immediately on the commencement of the action, the mats with which the galleon had stuffed her netting took fire, and burned violently, blazing up half as high as the mizzentop. This accident (supposed to be caused by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into great confusion, and at the same time alarmed the Commodore, for he feared lest the galleon should be burned, and lest he himself too might suffer by her driving on board him. But the Spaniards at last freed themselves from the fire, by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mass which was in flames into the sea. But still the Centurion kept her first advantageous position, firing her cannon with great regularity and briskness, whilst at the same time the galleon's decks lay open to her topmen, who having at their first volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havoc with their small arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that ever appeared on the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galleon himself. And though the Centurion, after the first half-hour, lost her original situation, and was close alongside the galleon, and the enemy continued to fire briskly for near an hour longer, yet at last the Commodore's grape-shot swept their decks so effectually, and the number of their slain and wounded was so considerable, that they began to fall into great disorder; especially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himself. Their embarrassment was visible from on board the Commodore. For the ships were so near, that some of the Spanish officers were seen running about with great assiduity to prevent the desertion of their men from their quarters. But all their endeavours were in vain, for after having, as a last effort, fired five or six guns with more judgment than usual, they gave up the contest; and, the galleon's colours being singed off the ensign staff in the beginning of the engagement, she struck the standard at her maintop-gallant masthead, the person who was employed to do it having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given express orders to his people to desist from firing.

Thus was the Centurion possessed of this rich prize, amounting in value to near a million and a half of dollars. She was called the Nuestra Señora de Cabadonga, and was commanded by the General Don Jeronimo de Montero, a Portuguese by birth, and the most approved officer for skill and courage of any employed in that service. The galleon was much larger than the Centurion, had 550 men and 36 guns mounted for action, besides twenty-eight pidreroes[2] in her gunwale, quarters, and tops, each of which carried a four-pound ball. She was very well furnished with small arms, and was particularly provided against boarding, both by her close quarters, and by a strong net-work of two inch rope which was laced over her waist and was defended by half pikes.[3] She

[1] "One of which," Thomas records, "carried away one of our fore shrouds *and our forestay* tackle."

[2] See Note 4, page 137.

[3] Placed in the manner of *chevaux de frise*.

had sixty-seven killed in the action and eighty-four wounded; whilst the Centurion had only two killed, and a lieutenant and sixteen wounded, all of whom but one recovered: of so little consequence are the most destructive arms in untutored and unpractised hands.[1]

The treasure thus taken by the Centurion having been for at least eighteen months the great object of their hopes, it is impossible to describe the transport on board when, after all their reiterated disappointments, they at last saw their wishes accomplished. But their joy was near being suddenly damped by a most tremendous incident: for no sooner had the galleon struck, than one of the lieutenants, coming to Mr Anson to congratulate him on his prize, whispered him at the same time that the Centurion was dangerously on fire near the powder-room. The Commodore received this dreadful news without any apparent emotion, and, taking care not to alarm his people, gave the necessary orders for extinguishing it, which was happily done in a short time, though its appearance at first was extremely terrible. It seems some cartridges had been blown up by accident between decks, whereby a quantity of oakum in the after hatchway, near the after powder-room, was set on fire; and the great smother and smoke of the oakum occasioned the apprehension of a more extended and mischievous fire. At the same instant, too, the galleon fell on board the Centurion on the starboard quarter, but she was cleared without doing or receiving any considerable damage.

The Commodore made his first lieutenant, Mr Saumarez, captain of this prize, appointing her a post-ship in his Majesty's service. Captain Saumarez, before night, sent on board the Centurion all the Spanish prisoners but such as were thought the most proper to be retained to assist in navigating the galleon. And now the Commodore learned from some of these prisoners that the other ship, which he had kept in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of returning in company with the present prize, as was expected, had set sail from Acapulco alone much sooner than usual, and had in all probability got into the port of Manilla long before the Centurion arrived off Cape Espiritu Santo; so that Mr Anson, notwithstanding his present success, had great reason to regret his loss of time at Macao, which prevented him from taking two rich prizes instead of one.[1]

The Commodore, when the action was ended, resolved to make the best of his way with his prize for the River of Canton, being in the meantime fully employed in securing his prisoners, and in removing the treasure from on board the galleon into the Centurion. The last of these operations was too important to be postponed; for as the navigation to Canton was through seas but little known, and where, from the season of the year, much bad weather might be expected, it was of great conse-

[1] Thomas, who was one of the party sent on board as prize crew, says: "I had heard we had killed them sixty men, and wounded as many more, and expected to have seen the horrid spectacle of mangled limbs, dead carcasses, and decks covered with blood; but no such spectacle appeared; a party having been properly stationed, during the time of action, to wash away the blood, and to throw the dead overboard."

[1] Among the prisoners, we are told by Thomas, was "an old gentleman, Governor of Guam, who was going to Manilla to renew his commission, and who had scarce mounted the Centurion's side before he was received with open arms by Mr Crooden, captain of marines, who thirty-six years before, at the battle of Almanza, had been his prisoner, and honourably used by him. These two renewed their old acquaintance, and Captain Crooden had a long-wished-for opportunity of returning the favours he had formerly received, and which he gratefully remembered."

quence that the treasure should be sent on board the Centurion; which ship, by the presence of the Commander-in-chief, the greater number of her hands, and her other advantages, was doubtless much safer against all the casualties of winds and seas than the galleon. And the securing the prisoners was a matter of still more consequence, as not only the possession of the treasure, but the lives of the captors depended thereon. This was indeed an article which gave the Commodore much trouble and disquietude, for they were above double the number of his own people; and some of them, when they were brought on board the Centurion, and had observed how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not help expressing themselves with great indignation to be thus beaten by a handful of boys. The method which was taken to hinder them from rising was by placing all but the officers and the wounded in the hold, where, to give them as much air as possible, two hatchways were left open; but then (to avoid all danger whilst the Centurion's people should be employed upon the deck) there was a square partition of thick planks, made in the shape of a funnel, which inclosed each hatchway on the lower deck, and reached to that directly over it on the upper deck. These funnels served to communicate the air to the hold better than could have been done without them, and, at the same time, added greatly to the security of the ship; for they being seven or eight feet high, it would have been extremely difficult for the Spaniards to have clambered up; and, still to augment that difficulty, four swivel-guns loaded with musket-bullets were planted at the mouth of each funnel, and a sentinel with lighted match constantly attended, prepared to fire into the hold amongst them in case of any disturbance. Their officers, who amounted to seventeen or eighteen, were all lodged in the first lieutenant's cabin, under a constant guard of six men; and the General, as he was wounded, lay in the Commodore's cabin with a sentinel always with him; and they were all informed that any violence or disturbance would be punished with instant death. And that the Centurion's people might be at all times prepared, if notwithstanding these regulations any tumult should arise, the small arms were constantly kept loaded in a proper place, whilst all the men went armed with cutlasses and pistols; and no officer ever pulled off his clothes, and when he slept had always his arms lying ready by him.

These measures were obviously necessary, considering the hazards to which the Commodore and his people would have been exposed had they been less careful. Indeed the sufferings of the poor prisoners, though impossible to be alleviated, were much to be commiserated; for the weather was extremely hot, the stench of the hold loathsome beyond all conception, and their allowance of water but just sufficient to keep them alive, it not being practicable to spare them more than at the rate of a pint a-day for each, the crew themselves having only an allowance of a pint and a half. All this considered, it was wonderful that not a man of them died during their long confinement, except three of the wounded, who died the same night they were taken; though it must be confessed that the greatest part of them were strangely metamorphosed by the heat of the hold. For when they were first taken they were sightly, robust fellows; but when, after above a month's imprisonment, they were discharged in the River of Canton, they were reduced to mere skeletons, and their air and looks corresponded much more to the conception formed of ghosts and spectres than to the figure and appearance of real men.

Thus employed in securing the treasure and the prisoners, the Commodore, as has been said, stood for the River of Canton, and on the 30th of June, at six in the evening, got

sight of Cape Delangano,[1] which then bore W. ten leagues distant; and the next day he made the Bashee Islands, and the wind being so far to the northward that it was difficult to weather them, it was resolved to stand through between Grafton and Monmouth Islands, where the passage seemed to be clear; but in getting through, the sea had a very dangerous aspect, for it rippled and foamed as if it had been full of breakers, which was still more terrible, as it was then night. But the ships got through very safe (the prize always keeping a-head), and it was found that the appearance which had alarmed them had been occasioned only by a strong tide. I must here observe, that though the Bashee Islands are usually reckoned to be no more than five, yet there are many more lying about them to the westward, which, as the channels amongst them are not at all known, makes it advisable for ships rather to pass to the northward or southward than through them; and indeed the Commodore proposed to have gone to the northward, between them and Formosa, had it been possible for him to have weathered them. From hence the Centurion steering the proper course for the River of Canton, she, on the 8th of July, discovered the Island of Supata, the westernmost of the Lema Islands. This island they made to be 139 leagues distant from Grafton Island, and to bear from it N. 82°, 37° W.; and on the 11th, having taken on board two Chinese pilots, one for the Centurion and the other for the prize, they came to an anchor off the city of Macao.

By this time the particulars of the cargo of the galleon were well ascertained, and it was found that she had on board 1,313,843 pieces of eight, and 35,682 oz. of virgin silver, besides some cochineal and a few other commodities, which however were but of small account in comparison of the specie. And this being the Commodore's last prize, it hence appears that all the treasure taken by the Centurion was not much short of £400,000, independent of the ships and merchandise which she either burnt or destroyed, and which by the most reasonable estimation could not amount to so little as £600,000 more; so that the whole loss of the enemy by our squadron did doubtless exceed a million sterling. To which if there be added the great expense of the Court of Spain in fitting out Pizarro, and in paying the additional charges in America incurred on our account, together with the loss of their men-of-war, the total of all these articles will be a most exorbitant sum, and is the strongest conviction of the utility of this expedition, which, with all its numerous disadvantages, did yet prove so extremely prejudicial to the enemy. . . .

[1] Cape Engano, near the north-western extremity of the Island of Luconia or Luzon.

CHAPTER IX.

THE Commodore, having taken pilots on board, proceeded with his prize for the River of Canton, and on the 14th of July came to an anchor short of the Bocca Tigris, which is a narrow passage forming the mouth of that river. This entrance he proposed to stand through the next day, and to run up as far as Tiger Island, which is a very safe road, secured from all winds. But whilst the Centurion and her prize were thus at anchor, a boat with an officer came off from the mandarin commanding the forts at Bocca Tigris, to examine what the ships were and whence they came. Mr Anson informed the officer that his ship was a ship of war belonging to the King of Great Britain, and that the other in company with him was a prize he had taken; that he was going into Canton River to shelter himself against the hurricanes which were then coming on; and that as soon as the monsoon shifted he should proceed for England. The officer then desired an account of what men, guns, and ammunition

were on board, a list of all which, he said, was to be sent to the Government of Canton. But when these articles were repeated to him, particularly when he was told that there were in the Centurion 400 firelocks and between 300 and 400 barrels of powder, he shrugged up his shoulders and seemed to be terrified with the bare recital, saying that no ships ever came into Canton River armed in that manner; adding, that he durst not set down the whole of this force, lest it should too much alarm the Regency. After he had finished his inquiries, and was preparing to depart, he desired to leave the two custom-house officers behind him; on which the Commodore told him, that though as a man-of-war he was prohibited from trading, and had nothing to do with customs or duties of any kind, yet for the satisfaction of the Chinese he would permit two of their people to be left on board, who might themselves be witnesses how punctually he should comply with his instructions. The officer seemed amazed when Mr Anson mentioned being exempted from all duties, and told him that the Emperor's duty must be paid by all ships that came into his ports. And it is supposed that on this occasion private directions were given by him to the Chinese pilot not to carry the Commodore through the Bocca Tigris, which makes it necessary more particularly to describe that entrance. . . .

On the 16th of July the Commodore sent his second lieutenant to Canton with a letter to the Viceroy, informing him of the reason of the Centurion's putting into that port; and that the Commodore himself soon proposed to repair to Canton to pay a visit to the Viceroy. The lieutenant was very civilly received, and was promised that an answer should be sent to the Commodore the next day. In the meantime Mr Anson gave leave to several of the officers of the galleon to go to Canton, they engaging their parole to return in two days. When these prisoners got to Canton, the Regency sent for them and examined *them, inquiring* particularly by what means they had fallen into Mr Anson's power. And on this occasion the prisoners were honest enough to declare that, as the Kings of Great Britain and Spain were at war, they had proposed to themselves the taking of the Centurion, and had bore down upon her with that view, but that the event had been contrary to their hopes; however, they acknowledged that they had been treated by the Commodore much better than they believed they should have treated him had he fallen into their hands. This confession from an enemy had great weight with the Chinese, who till then, though they had revered the Commodore's power, had yet suspected his morals, and had considered him rather as a lawless freebooter than as one commissioned by the State for the revenge of public injuries. But they now changed their opinion, and regarded him as a more important person, to which perhaps the vast treasure of his prize might not a little contribute, the acquisition of wealth being a matter greatly adapted to the estimation and reverence of the Chinese nation.

In this examination of the Spanish prisoners, though the Chinese had no reason in the main to doubt the account which was given them, yet there were two circumstances which appeared to them so singular as to deserve a more ample explanation. One of them was, the great disproportion of men between the Centurion and the galleon; the other was the humanity with which the people of the galleon were treated after they were taken. The mandarins therefore asked the Spaniards how they came to be overpowered by so inferior a force, and how it happened, since the two nations were at war, that they were not put to death when they came into the hands of the English. To the first of these inquiries the Spaniards replied, that though they had more hands than the Centurion, yet she, being intended solely for war, had a great superiority in the size of her guns, and in many other articles, over the galleon, which was a vessel fitted out principally for traffic. And as to the second question,

they told the Chinese that amongst the nations of Europe it was not customary to put to death those who submitted, though they readily owned that the Commodore, from the natural bias of his temper, had treated both them, and their countrymen who had formerly been in his power, with very unusual courtesy, much beyond what they could have expected, or than was required by the customs established between nations at war with each other. These replies fully satisfied the Chinese, and at the same time wrought very powerfully in the Commodore's favour.

On the 20th of July, in the morning, three mandarins, with a great number of boats and a vast retinue, came on board the Centurion, and delivered to the Commodore the Viceroy of Canton's order for a daily supply of provisions, and for pilots to carry the ships up the river as far as the second bar; and at the same time they delivered him a message from the Viceroy in answer to the letter sent to Canton. The substance of the message was, that the Viceroy desired to be excused from receiving the Commodore's visit during the then excessive hot weather, because the assembling the mandarins and soldiers necessary to that ceremony would prove extremely inconvenient and fatiguing; but that in September, when the weather would be more temperate, he should be glad to see both the Commodore himself and the English captain of the other ship that was with him. As Mr Anson knew that an express had been despatched to the Court at Pekin with an account of the Centurion and her prize being arrived in the River of Canton, he had no doubt but the principal motive for putting off this visit was, that the Regency at Canton might gain time to receive the Emperor's instructions about their behaviour on this unusual affair.

When the mandarins had delivered their message, they began to talk to the Commodore about the duties to be paid by his ships; but he immediately told them that he would never submit to any demand of that kind; that as he neither brought any merchandise thither, nor intended to carry any away, he could not be reasonably deemed to be within the meaning of the Emperor's orders, which were doubtless calculated for trading vessels only; adding that no duties were ever demanded of men-of-war by nations accustomed to their reception, and that his master's orders expressly forbade him from paying any acknowledgment for his ships anchoring in any port whatever. The mandarins being thus cut short on the subject of the duty, they said they had another matter to mention, which was the only remaining one they had in charge; this was a request to the Commodore, that he would release the prisoners he had taken on board the galleon; for that the Viceroy of Canton apprehended the Emperor, his master, might be displeased if he should be informed that persons who were his allies, and carried on a great commerce with his subjects, were under confinement in his dominions. Mr Anson was himself extremely desirous to get rid of the Spaniards, having on his first arrival sent about 100 of them to Macao, and those who remained, which were near 400 more, were on many accounts a great encumbrance to him. However, to enhance the favour, he at first raised some difficulties; but, permitting himself to be prevailed on, he at last told the mandarins, that to show his readiness to oblige the Viceroy, he would release the prisoners, whenever they, the Chinese, would send boats to fetch them off. This matter being adjusted, the mandarins departed; and on the 28th of July, two Chinese junks were sent from Canton to take on board the prisoners, and to carry them to Macao. And the Commodore, agreeable to his promise, dismissed them all, and ordered his purser to send with them eight days' provision for their subsistence during their sailing down the river.[1] This being

[1] Thomas, who was one of the prize

despatched, the Centurion and her prize came to her moorings above the second bar, where they proposed to continue till the monsoon shifted.

Though the ships, in consequence of the Viceroy's permit, found no difficulty in purchasing provisions for their daily consumption, yet it was impossible for the Commodore to proceed to England without laying in a large quantity both of provisions and stores for his use during the voyage. The procuring this supply was attended with much embarrassment; for there were people at Canton who had undertaken to furnish him with biscuit and whatever else he wanted; and his linguist,[1] towards the middle of September, had assured him from day to day that all was ready, and would be sent on board him immediately. But a fortnight being elapsed, and nothing being brought, the Commodore sent to Canton to inquire more particularly into the reasons of this disappointment, and he had soon the vexation to be informed that the whole was an illusion; that no order had been procured from the Viceroy to furnish him with his sea stores, as had been pretended; that there was no biscuit baked, nor any one of the articles in readiness which had been promised him; nor did it appear that the contractors had taken the least step to comply with their agreement. This was most disagreeable news, and made it suspected that the furnishing the Centurion for her return to Great Britain might prove a more troublesome matter than had been hitherto imagined; especially, too, as the month of September was nearly elapsed without Mr Anson's having received any message from the Viceroy of Canton.

And here, perhaps, it might be expected that some satisfactory account should be given of the motives of the Chinese for this faithless procedure. But as I have already in a former Chapter[2] made some kind of conjectures about a similar event, I shall not repeat them again in this place, but shall observe that, after all, it may, perhaps, be impossible for a European, ignorant of the customs and manners of that nation, to be fully apprised of the real incitements to this behaviour.[3] Indeed, thus much may undoubtedly be asserted, that in ar-

---

crew, tells a somewhat ugly story of the Spanish "General" now set at liberty. He was not only allowed the use of his own cabin till he should be recovered of his wound, but obtained the services of an English surgeon; Anson, at the same time, sending an officer to demand his commission. The General made the officer look in a box in the locker of his private cabin, where he said the commission would be found, along with a sword-belt studded with diamonds of great value; and when the box was found empty, the Spaniard averred that some of the English, rummaging in his cabin, must have stolen and secreted the contents. Despite the non-production of his commission, the General received the most humane and liberal treatment, being allowed at his departure to carry off several chests and trunks unsearched which he claimed as his private property, though he had many valuable ventures concealed which should have been given up as fair and lawful prize. Persisting to the last in the theft of his commission and sword-belt, he brought down on the prize crew a heavy and undeserved punishment; for Anson, on their arrival in the Canton River, absolutely prohibited their intercourse with the natives, that the thief might have no chance of parting with his booty undiscovered. Thomas, however, was afterwards told at Macao by an Irish priest, that the General had both his commission and his sword-belt; that he had made no secret of his fraud; and that he had offered the diamonds—which were made up in the belt only by way of a blind—among *the merchants* at Macao for sale.

[1] Interpreter.

[2] Chapter VII. of this Book, page 450.

[3] Thomas says: "We could no

tifice, falsehood, and an attachment to all kinds of lucre, many of the Chinese are difficult to be paralleled by any other people; but then the combination of these talents, and the manner in which they are applied in particular emergencies, are often beyond the reach of a foreigner's penetration; so that though it may be falsely concluded that the Chinese had some interest in thus amusing the Commodore, yet it may not be easy to assign the individual views by which they were influenced. . . .

It were endless to recount all the artifices, extortions, and frauds which were practised on the Commodore and his people by this interested race. The method of buying all things in China being by weight, the tricks made use of by the Chinese to increase the weight of the provision they sold to the Centurion were almost incredible. One time, a large quantity of fowls and ducks being bought for the ships' use, the greatest part of them presently died. This alarmed the people on board with the apprehension that they had been killed by poison; but on examination it appeared that it was only owing to their being crammed with stones and gravel to increase their weight, the quantity thus forced into most of the ducks being found to amount to ten ounces in each. The hogs, too, which were bought ready killed of the Chinese butchers, had water injected into them for the same purpose, so that a carcase hung up all night for the water to drain from it, has lost above a stone of its weight; and when, to avoid this cheat, the hogs were bought alive, it was found that the Chinese gave them salt to increase their thirst, and having by this means excited them to drink great quantities of water, they then took measures to prevent them from discharging it again by urine, and sold the tortured animal in this inflated state. When the Commodore first put to sea from Macao, they practised an artifice of another kind; for as the Chinese never object to the eating of any food that dies of itself, they took care, by some secret practices, that great part of his live sea-store should die in a short time after it was put on board, hoping to make a second profit of the dead carcases, which they expected would be thrown overboard; and two-thirds of the hogs dying before the Centurion was out of sight of land, many of the Chinese boats followed her only to pick up the carrion. These instances may serve as a specimen of the manners of this celebrated nation, which is often recommended to the rest of the world as a pattern of all kinds of laudable qualities.

The Commodore, towards the end of September, having found out (as has been said) that those who had contracted to supply him with sea-provisions and stores had deceived him, and that the Viceroy had not sent to him according to his promise, he saw it would be impossible for him to surmount the embarrassment he was under without going himself to Canton and visiting the Viceroy. And therefore, on the 27th of September, he sent a message to the mandarin who attended the Centurion, to inform him that he, the Commodore, intended on the 1st of October to proceed in his boat to Canton; adding, that the day after he got there he should notify his arrival to the Viceroy, and should desire him to fix a time for his audience; to which the mandarin returned no other answer than that he would acquaint the Viceroy with the Commodore's intentions. In the meantime all things were prepared for this expedition, and the boat's crew in particular, which Mr Anson proposed to take with him, were clothed in a uniform dress, resembling that of the watermen on the Thames. They were in number eighteen and a coxswain; they had scarlet jackets and blue silk waist-

---

otherwise account for this faithless procedure of the Chinese, than by supposing they meant to starve us into a compliance with their accustomed demands for port charges, with which the Commodore was determined never to acquiesce."

coats, the whole trimmed with silver buttons, and with silver badges on their jackets and caps. As it was apprehended, and even asserted, that the payment of the customary duties for the Centurion and her prize would be demanded by the Regency of Canton, and would be insisted on previous to the granting a permission for victualling the ship for her future voyage, the Commodore, who was resolved never to establish so dishonourable a precedent, took all possible precautions to prevent the Chinese from facilitating the success of their unreasonable pretensions by having him in their power at Canton. And therefore, for the security of his ship and the great treasure on board her, he appointed his first lieutenant, Mr Brett,[1] to be captain of the Centurion under him, giving him proper instructions for his conduct; directing him particularly, if he, the Commodore, should be detained at Canton on account of the duties in dispute, to take out the men from the Centurion's prize and to destroy her; and then to proceed down the river through the Bocca Tigris, with the Centurion alone, and to remain without that entrance till he received further orders from Mr Anson.

These necessary steps being taken, which were not unknown to the Chinese, it should seem as if their deliberations were in some sort embarrassed thereby. It is reasonable to imagine that they were in general very desirous of getting the duties to be paid them; not perhaps solely in consideration of the amount of those dues, but to keep up their reputation for address and subtlety, and to avoid the imputation of receding from claims on which they had already so frequently insisted. However, as they now foresaw that they had no other method of succeeding than by violence, and that even against this the Commodore was prepared, they were at last disposed, I conceive, to let the affair drop, rather than entangle themselves in a hostile measure which they found would only expose them to the risk of having the whole navigation of their port destroyed, without any certain prospect of gaining their favourite point thereby. However, though there is reason to imagine that these were their thoughts at that time, yet they could not depart at once from the evasive conduct to which they had hitherto adhered. For when the Commodore, on the morning of the 1st of October, was preparing to set out for Canton, his linguist came to him from the mandarin who attended his ship, to tell him that a letter had been received from the Viceroy of Canton, desiring the Commodore to put off his going thither for two or three days. But, in the afternoon of the same day, another linguist came on board, who with much seeming fright, told Mr Anson that the Viceroy had expected him up that day, that the council was assembled, and the troops had been under arms to receive him; and that the Viceroy was highly offended at the disappointment, and had sent the Commodore's linguist to prison chained, supposing that the whole had been owing to the linguist's negligence. This plausible tale gave the Commodore great concern, and made him apprehend that there was some treachery designed him, which he could not yet fathom; and though it afterwards appeared that the whole was a fiction, not one article of it having the least foundation, yet (for reasons best known to themselves) this falsehood was so well supported by the artifices of the Chinese merchants at Canton, that three days afterwards the Commodore received a letter signed by all the supercargoes of the English ships then at that place, expressing their great uneasiness at what had happened, and intimating their fears that some insult would be offered to his boat if he came thither before the Viceroy was fully satisfied about the mistake. To this letter Mr Anson replied that he did not believe there had been any mistake, but was persuaded it was a forgery of the Chinese to prevent his visiting the Viceroy; that therefore

[1] *Afterwards* Sir Percy Brett.

he would certainly come up to Canton on the 13th of October, confident that the Chinese would not dare to offer him an insult, as well knowing it would be properly returned.

On the 13th of October, the Commodore continuing firm to his resolution, all the supercargoes of the English, Danish, and Swedish ships came on board the Centurion, to accompany him to Canton, for which place he set out in his barge the same day, attended by his own boats and by those of the trading ships, which on this occasion came to form his retinue; and as he passed by Wampo,[1] where the European vessels lay, he was saluted by all of them but the French; and in the evening he arrived safely at Canton.

CHAPTER X.

When the Commodore arrived at Canton he was visited by the principal Chinese merchants, who affected to appear very much pleased that he had met with no obstruction in getting thither, and who thence pretended to conclude that the Viceroy was satisfied about the former mistake, the reality of which they still insisted on; they added that as soon as the Viceroy should be informed that Mr Anson was at Canton (which they promised should be done the next morning), they were persuaded a day would be immediately appointed for the visit which was the principal business that had brought the Commodore thither.

The next day the merchants returned to Mr Anson, and told him that the Viceroy was then so fully employed in preparing his despatches for Pekin, that there was no getting admittance to him for some days; but that they had engaged one of the officers of his court to give them information as soon as he should be at leisure, when they proposed to notify Mr Anson's arrival, and to endeavour to fix the day of audience. The Commodore was by this time too well acquainted with their artifices not to perceive that this was a falsehood; and had he consulted only his own judgment he would have applied directly to the Viceroy by other hands. But the Chinese merchants had so far prepossessed the supercargoes of our ships with chimerical fears, that they were extremely apprehensive of being embroiled with the Government, and of suffering in their interest, if those measures were taken which appeared to Mr Anson at that time to be the most prudential; and therefore, lest the malice and double-dealing of the Chinese might have given rise to some sinister incident which would be afterwards laid at his door, he resolved to continue passive as long as it should appear that he lost no time by thus suspending his own opinion. With this view he promised not to take any immediate step himself for getting admittance to the Viceroy, provided the Chinese with whom he contracted for provisions would let him see that his bread was baked, his meat salted, and his stores prepared with the utmost despatch. But if, by the time when all was in readiness to be shipped off (which it was supposed would be in about forty days), the merchants should not have procured the Viceroy's permission, then the Commodore proposed to apply for it himself. These were the terms Mr Anson thought proper to offer to quiet the uneasiness of the supercargoes; and notwithstanding the apparent equity of the conditions, many difficulties and objections were urged, nor would the Chinese agree to them till the Commodore had consented to pay for every article he bespoke before it was put in hand. However, at last the contract being passed, it was some satisfaction to the Commodore to be certain that his preparations were now going on; and, being himself on the spot, he took care to hasten them as much as possible.

During this interval, in which the stores and provisions were getting ready, the merchants continually entertained Mr Anson with accounts of

[1] Whampoa.

their various endeavours to get a license from the Viceroy, and their frequent disappointments, which to him was now a matter of amusement, as he was fully satisfied there was not one word of truth in anything they said. But when all was completed, and wanted only to be shipped, which was about the 24th of November, at which time, too, the NE. monsoon was set in, he then resolved to apply himself to the Viceroy to demand an audience, as he was persuaded that without this ceremony the procuring a permission to send his stores on board would meet with great difficulty. On the 24th of November, therefore, Mr Anson sent one of his officers to the mandarin who commanded the guard of the principal gate of the city of Canton with a letter directed to the Viceroy. When this letter was delivered to the mandarin, he received the officer who brought it very civilly, and took down the contents of it in Chinese, and promised that the Viceroy should be immediately acquainted with it; but told the officer it was not necessary for him to wait for an answer, because a message would be sent to the Commodore himself. On this occasion Mr Anson had been under great difficulties about a proper interpreter to send with his officer, as he was well aware that none of the Chinese usually employed as linguists could be relied on; but he at last prevailed with Mr Flint, an English gentleman belonging to the factory, who spoke Chinese perfectly well, to accompany his officer. This person, who upon this occasion and many others was of singular service to the Commodore, had been left at Canton, when a youth, by the late Captain Rigby. The leaving him there to learn the Chinese language was a step taken by that captain merely from his own persuasion of the great advantages which the East India Company might one day receive from an English interpreter; and though the utility of this measure has greatly exceeded all that was expected from it, yet I have not *heard* that it has been to this day imitated, but we imprudently choose (except in this single instance) to carry on the vast transactions of the port of Canton either by the ridiculous jargon of broken English which some few of the Chinese have learned, or by the suspected interpretation of the linguists of other nations.

Two days after the sending the above-mentioned letter, a fire broke out in the suburbs of Canton. On the first alarm, Mr Anson went thither with his officers and his boats' crew to assist the Chinese. When he came there, he found that it had begun in a sailor's shed, and that by the slightness of the buildings and the awkwardness of the Chinese it was getting head apace. But he perceived that by pulling down some of the adjacent sheds it might easily be extinguished; and particularly observing that it was running along a wooden cornice which would soon communicate it to a great distance, he ordered his people to begin with tearing away that cornice. This was presently attempted, and would have been soon executed, but in the meantime he was told, that as there was no mandarin there to direct what was to be done, the Chinese would make him (the Commodore) answerable for whatever should be pulled down by his orders. On this his people desisted, and he sent them to the English factory to assist in securing the Company's treasure and effects, as it was easy to foresee that no distance was a protection against the rage of such a fire, where so little was done to put a stop to it; for all this time the Chinese contented themselves with viewing it, and now and then holding one of their idols near it, which they seemed to expect should check its progress. However, at last a mandarin came out of the city, attended by four or five hundred firemen; these made some feeble efforts to pull down the neighbouring houses, but by this time the fire had greatly extended itself, and was got amongst the merchants' warehouses; and the Chinese firemen, wanting both skill and spirit, were incapable of checking its violence, so that its fury increased

upon them, and it was feared the whole city would be destroyed. In this general confusion the Viceroy himself came thither, and the Commodore was sent to and was entreated to afford his assistance, being told that he might take any measures he should think most prudent in the present emergency. And now he went thither a second time, carrying with him about forty of his people, who upon this occasion exerted themselves in such a manner as in that country was altogether without example.[1] For they were rather animated than deterred by the flames and falling buildings amongst which they wrought; so that it was not uncommon to see the most forward of them tumble to the ground on the roofs and amidst the ruins of houses which their own efforts brought down with them. By their boldness and activity the fire was soon extinguished, to the amazement of the Chinese; and the building being all on one floor, and the materials slight, the seamen, notwithstanding their daring behaviour, happily escaped with no other injuries than some considerable bruises. The fire, though at last thus luckily extinguished, did great mischief during the time it continued; for it consumed an hundred shops and eleven streets full of warehouses, so that the damage amounted to an immense sum; and one of the Chinese merchants, well known to the English, whose name was Succoy, was supposed for his own share to have lost near £200,000 sterling. It raged, indeed, with unusual violence, for in many of the warehouses there were large quantities of camphor, which greatly added to its fury, and produced a column of exceeding white flame, which shot up into the air to such a prodigious height that the flame itself was plainly seen on board the Centurion, though she was thirty miles distant.

Whilst the Commodore and his people were labouring at the fire, and the terror of its becoming general still possessed the whole city, several of the most considerable Chinese merchants came to Mr Anson to desire that he would let each of them have one of his soldiers (for such they styled his boat's crew from the uniformity of their dress) to guard their warehouses and dwelling-houses, which, from the known dishonesty of the populace, they feared would be pillaged in the tumult. Mr Anson granted them this request; and all the men that he thus furnished to the Chinese behaved greatly to the satisfaction of their employers, who afterwards highly applauded their great diligence and fidelity. By this means the resolution of the English at the fire, and their trustiness and punctuality elsewhere, was the subject of general conversation amongst the Chinese; and the next morning, many of the principal inhabitants waited on the Commodore to thank him for his assistance, frankly owning to him that they could never have extinguished the fire of themselves, and that he had saved their city from being totally consumed. And soon after a message came to the Commodore from the Viceroy, appointing the 30th of November for his audience, which sudden resolution of the Viceroy, in a matter that had been so long agitated in vain, was also owing to the signal services performed by Mr Anson and his people at the fire, of which the Viceroy himself had been in some measure an eye-witness. The fixing this business of the audience was, on all accounts, a circumstance which Mr Anson was much pleased with, as he was satisfied that the Chinese Government would not have determined this point without having agreed among themselves to give up their pretensions to the duties they claimed, and to grant him all he could reasonably ask; for, as they well knew the Commodore's sentiments, it would have been a piece of imprudence not consistent with the refined cunning of

[1] Thomas enthusiastically says, that "they in sight of the whole city performed such daring, and, to the people who beheld them, such astonishing feats, that they looked upon them as salamanders, and cried out that they could live in fire."

the Chinese to have admitted him to an audience only to have contested with him. And, therefore, being himself perfectly easy about the result of his visit, he made all necessary preparations against the day, and engaged Mr Flint, whom I have mentioned before, to act as interpreter in the conference, who in this affair, as in all others, acquitted himself much to the Commodore's satisfaction, repeating with great boldness, and, doubtless, with exactness, all that was given in charge, a part which no Chinese linguist would ever have performed with any tolerable fidelity.

At 10 o'clock in the morning, on the day appointed, a mandarin came to the Commodore to let him know that the Viceroy was ready to receive him, on which the Commodore and his retinue immediately set out. And as soon as he entered the outer gate of the city, he found a guard of 200 soldiers drawn up ready to attend him; these conducted him to the great parade before the Emperor's palace, where the Viceroy then resided. In this parade a body of troops, to the number of 10,000, were drawn up under arms, and made a very fine appearance, being all of them new clothed for this ceremony; and Mr Anson and his retinue having passed through the middle of them, he was then conducted to the great hall of audience, where he found the Viceroy seated under a rich canopy in the Emperor's chair of state, with all his Council of Mandarins attending. Here there was a vacant seat prepared for the Commodore, in which he was placed on his arrival. He was ranked the third in order from the Viceroy, there being above him only the head of the law and of the treasury, who in the Chinese Government take place of all military officers. When the Commodore was seated, he addressed himself to the Viceroy by his interpreter, and began with reciting the various methods he had formerly taken to get an audience; adding, that he imputed the delays he had met with to the insincerity of those he had employed, and that he had therefore no other means left than to send, as he had done, his own officer with a letter to the gate. On the mention of this, the Viceroy stopped the interpreter, and bid him assure Mr Anson that the first knowledge they had of his being at Canton was from that letter. Mr Anson then proceeded, and told him that the subjects of the King of Great Britain trading to China, had complained to him (the Commodore) of the vexatious impositions both of the merchants and inferior custom-house officers, to which they were frequently necessitated to submit, by reason of the difficulty of getting access to the mandarins, who alone could grant them redress; that it was his (Mr Anson's) duty, as an officer of the King of Great Britain, to lay before the Viceroy these grievances of the British subjects, which he hoped the Viceroy would take into consideration, and would give orders that for the future there should be no just reason for complaint. Here Mr Anson paused, and waited some time in expectation of an answer, but nothing being said, he asked his interpreter if he was certain the Viceroy understood what he had urged; the interpreter told him he was certain it was understood, but he believed no reply would be made to it. Mr Anson then represented to the Viceroy the case of the ship Haslingfield, which, having been dismasted on the coast of China, had arrived in the River of Canton but a few days before. The people on board this vessel had been great sufferers by the fire; the captain in particular had all his goods burned, and had lost besides, in the confusion, a chest of treasure of 4500 taels, which was supposed to be stolen by the Chinese boatmen. Mr Anson therefore desired that the captain might have the assistance of the Government, as it was apprehended the money could never be recovered without the interposition of the mandarins; and to this request the Viceroy made answer, that in settling the Emperor's customs for that ship, some abatement should be made in consideration of her losses.

And now, the Commodore having despatched the business with which the officers of the East India Company had entrusted him, he entered on his own affairs; acquainting the Viceroy that the proper season was now set in for returning to Europe, and that he waited only for a license to ship off his provisions and stores, which were all ready; and that, as soon as this should be granted to him, and he should have got his necessaries on board, he intended to leave the River of Canton, and to make the best of his way for England. The Viceroy replied to this, that the license should be immediately issued, and that everything should be ordered on board the following day. And finding that Mr Anson had nothing further to insist on, the Viceroy continued the conversation for some time, acknowledging in very civil terms how much the Chinese were obliged to him for his signal services at the fire, and owning that he had saved the city from being destroyed; and then, observing that the Centurion had been a good while on their coast, he closed his discourse by wishing the Commodore a good voyage to Europe. After which, the Commodore, thanking him for his civility and assistance, took his leave.

As soon as the Commodore was out of the hall of audience, he was much pressed to go into a neighbouring apartment, where there was an entertainment provided; but finding on inquiry that the Viceroy himself was not to be present, he declined the invitation, and departed, attended in the same manner as at his arrival; only at his leaving the city he was saluted by three guns, which are as many as in that country are ever fired on any ceremony. Thus the Commodore, to his great joy, at last finished this troublesome affair, which for the preceding four months had given him great disquietude. Indeed, he was highly pleased with procuring a license for the shipping of his stores and provisions; for thereby he was enabled to return to Great Britain with the first of the monsoon, and to prevent all intelligence of his being expected. But this, though a very important point, was not the circumstance which gave him the greatest satisfaction; for he was more particularly attentive to the authentic precedent established on this occasion, by which his Majesty's ships of war are for the future exempted from all demands of duty in any of the ports of China.

In pursuance of the promises of the Viceroy, the provisions were begun to be sent on board the day after the audience, and four days after, the Commodore embarked at Canton for the Centurion; and on the 7th of December, the Centurion and her prize unmoored, and stood down the river, passing through the Bocca Tigris on the 10th. And on this occasion I must observe, that the Chinese had taken care to man the two forts on each side of that passage with as many men as they could well contain, the greatest part of them armed with pikes and matchlock muskets. These garrisons affected to show themselves as much as possible to the ships, and were doubtless intended to induce Mr Anson to think more reverently than he had hitherto done of the Chinese military power. For this purpose they were equipped with much parade, having a great number of colours exposed to view; and on the castle in particular there were laid considerable heaps of large stones, and a soldier of unusual size, dressed in very sightly armour, stalked about on the parapet with a battle-axe in his hand endeavouring to put on as important and martial an air as possible, though some of the observers on board the Centurion shrewdly suspected, from the appearance of his armour, that instead of steel, it was composed only of a particular kind of glittering paper.[1]

[1] We omit Mr Walter's strictures on the merely imitative genius, the bad government, and the pusillanimity and military weakness of the Chinese; strictures founded admittedly on very partial information, and

The Commodore, on the 12th of December, anchored before the town of Macao. Whilst the ships lay here, the merchants of Macao finished their agreement for the galleon, for which they had offered 6000 dollars; this was much short of her value, but the impatience of the Commodore to get to sea, to which the merchants were no strangers, prompted them to insist on so unequal a bargain. Mr Anson had learned enough from the English at Canton to conjecture, that the war betwixt Great Britain and Spain was still continued, and that probably the French might engage in the assistance of Spain before he could arrive in Great Britain; and therefore, knowing that no intelligence could get to Europe of the prize he had taken, and the treasure he had on board, till the return of the merchantmen from Canton, he was resolved to make all possible expedition in getting back, that he might be himself the first messenger of his own good fortune, and might thereby prevent the enemy from forming any projects to intercept him. For these reasons, he to avoid all delay accepted of the sum offered for the galleon; and she being delivered to the merchants the 15th of December 1743, the Centurion the same day got under sail on her return to England. And on the 3d of January she came to an anchor at Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda, and continued there wooding and watering till the 8th; when she weighed and stood for the Cape of Good Hope, where on the 11th of March she anchored in Table Bay.

Here the Commodore continued till the beginning of April, highly delighted with the place, which by its extraordinary accommodations, the healthiness of its air, and the picturesque appearance of the country, all enlivened by the addition of a civilised colony, was not disgraced in an imaginary comparison with the valleys of Juan Fernandez and the lawns of Tinian. During his stay he entered about forty new men; and having, by the 3d of April 1744, completed his water and provison, he on that day weighed and put to sea. The 19th of the same month they saw the Island of St Helena, which, however, they did not touch at, but stood on their way; and on the 10th of June, being then in soundings, they spoke with an English ship from Amsterdam bound for Philadelphia, whence they received the first intelligence of a French war. The 12th they got sight of the Lizard; and the 15th in the evening, to their infinite joy, they came safe to an anchor at Spithead. But that the signal perils which had so often threatened them in the preceding part of the enterprise might pursue them to the very last, Mr Anson learned on his arrival that there was a French fleet of considerable force cruising in the Chops of the Channel; which, by the account of their position, he found the Centurion had run through, and had been all the time concealed by a fog. Thus was this expedition finished, when it had lasted three years and nine months; after having, by its event, strongly evinced this important truth: That though prudence, intrepidity, and perseverance united are not exempted from the blows of adverse fortune, yet in a long series of transactions they usually rise superior to its power, and in the end rarely fail of proving successful.

---

stamped with an almost venomous spirit of prejudice.

END OF ANSON'S VOYAGE.

COOK'S

VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

1768—1780.

[redacted]

ACTIC OCEAN
North East C.
Liakov Is or New Siberia
SIBERIA
IAN EMPIRE
ASIA
Okhotsk
SEA OF OKHOTSK
BEHRING SEA
BEHRA SEA
L. Baikal
Kiakhta
KESTAN
CHINESE EMPIRE
Pekin
Yeddo
Sea of Japan
JAPAN
Yedo ISLANDS
NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN
TIBET
CHINA
Shanghai
Formosa
INDIA
Calcutta
Bombay
ABIAN SEA
Madras
BAY OF BENGAL
Ceylon
Philippine Islands
Marianne or Ladrones
Caroline Is
Marshall Is
Pelew Is
Molucca Is
Borneo
Sunda
Java Islands
Batavia
Papua
New Guinea
Solomon Is
Chagos
INDIAN OCEAN
Timor
Carpentaria
New Hebrides
AUSTRALIA
Queensland
Western Australia
South Australia
Brisbane
Perth
Sydney
Melbourne
Tasmania
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Kerguelen I.
Royal Company Is
Macquarie I.
Emerald I.
Clarie Ld
Balleny Is
Supposed Antarctic Continent

COOK'S VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

[It may here be mentioned that, save for the episode of the first sojourn at Otaheite, taken below from Dr Hawkesworth's account almost at full length, the synopsis of the famous discoverer's first two voyages is taken from the third volume of "Maritime and Inland Discovery," pp. 28–69, in Dr Lardner's well-known but now not very easily attainable "Cabinet Cyclopædia." Chapters III. and IV. of Book V. runs as follows; and they are none the less valuable, as introducing some brief preliminary record of a man whom England, without any injustice to earlier or later names, may honestly regard as her greatest navigator and her most indefatigable and successful discoverer. We give the text of the "Cyclopædia," except for a few changes necessitated by severance from the context, precisely as we find it after two-and-forty years.]

COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE.

"The interests of science and the acquisition of geographical knowledge entered largely into the motives of the circumnavigations [we have] related. But the first expedition of importance, fitted out wholly for scientific objects, was that entrusted to the command of the celebrated Captain James Cook. This great navigator was born of humble parents: his father was an agricultural labourer, whose steady conduct was at length rewarded by his employer with the situation of hind or under-steward. As he had nine children, and his means were slender, he was unable to assist materially their individual exertions to procure a livelihood. James, when thirteen years of age, was apprenticed to a shopkeeper at Straiths, a fishing town not far from Whitby; but the predilection of young Cook for the sea was soon manifested with that strength of inclination which is sure to accompany peculiar talents. He engaged himself for seven years with the owners of some ships employed in the coal trade; and, when the period of his engagement was expired, he was promoted by his employers to the rank of mate of one of their vessels. The coal trade of England, being chiefly carried on near a singularly dangerous coast, where unceasing vigilance is required on the part of the seamen, constitutes the best school of practical mariners in the world. Cook, who obeyed his own inclinations when he turned sailor, profited, no doubt, in the highest degree, from the opportunities which his coasting voyages afforded him of becoming acquainted with the practical part of navigation. At length, being in the Thames in 1755, when impressments were carried on to a great extent, he resolved to anticipate the impending necessity, and offered himself to serve on board the Eagle, a man-of-war of 60 guns.

Shortly after, the friends and patrons of his family in Yorkshire having warmly recommended his interests to the care of Mr Osbaldiston, the member for Scarborough, and Captain (afterwards Sir Hugh) Palliser, who commanded the Eagle, reporting well of his conduct and capacity, he was appointed master of the Mercury, a small vessel which soon afterwards joined the fleet of Sir Charles Saunders in the Gulf of St Lawrence. Here the talents and resolution of Cook soon became conspicuous.

"It was found necessary, in order that the fleet might co-operate with the army under General Wolfe, that it should take up a position along the shore in front of the French encampments; but before this manœuvre could be put in execution, the channel of the river was to be sounded. This difficult task required the union of more than ordinary intelligence and intrepidity, and Cook was the person selected for the purpose. For several nights he carried on his operations unperceived; but at length the enemy discovered his movements, and, sending out a great number of boats after it grew dark, attempted to surround and cut him off. Cook pushed for the Isle of Orleans; and so narrowly did he escape being captured, that as he stepped on shore from the bow of his boat, the Indians in pursuit of him entered at the stern; and the boat itself, which was a pinnace belonging to a man-of-war, was carried off by the enemy. Cook, however, had accomplished his task, and laid before the Admiral of the fleet a survey of the channel, which was found to be both full and accurate. After the conquest of Quebec he was appointed to examine the more difficult portions of the River St Lawrence, with the navigation of which the English had but little acquaintance. His zeal and abilities soon after procured him an appointment as master to the Northumberland, which bore the Commodore's flag at Halifax. Here he found leisure to apply himself to the study of elementary *mathematics*, and to improve those talents as a practical hydrographer of which he had given such ample proofs in his first rude essays. An opportunity also soon occurred of displaying his improvement by surveying a part of the coast of Newfoundland. This island had lately fallen into the power of the English; and its importance as a fishing station being fully appreciated by Sir Hugh Palliser, who was appointed governor in the year 1764, he strongly represented to Government the necessity of making an accurate survey of its coasts; and, accordingly, by his recommendation, Cook was appointed marine surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Grenville schooner was placed under his command for this purpose. The manner in which Cook executed this task confirmed the high opinion already entertained of his zeal and ability. A short paper which he communicated to the Royal Society on an eclipse of the sun observed in Newfoundland, and the longitude of the place as calculated from it, procured him the character of a respectable mathematician.

"But still higher honours awaited him. The transit of the planet Venus over the sun's disc, calculated to take place in 1769, was looked forward to by the scientific world with much anxious interest; and it was earnestly desired that all the advantage which could be derived to science from so rare a phenomenon might be secured by observing it in distant quarters of the globe. In accordance with this view, the Royal Society presented an address to the King, setting forth the advantage of observing the transit in the opposite hemisphere, their inability to fit out an expedition for the purpose, and praying his Majesty to equip a vessel to be despatched to the South Sea under their direction. This petition was at once complied with. The person at first designed to command the expedition was Mr Dalrymple, chief hydrographer to the Admiralty, and no less celebrated for his geographical knowledge than for his zeal in maintaining the existence of an Australian continent. Dalrymple

had never held a commission in his Majesty's navy; and the experience of Dr Halley had proved that one so circumstanced cannot expect obedience from a crew subjected to the discipline of the navy. The pride of the profession scorns to submit to those who have not acquired their authority by passing through the ordinary routine of promotion. Dalrymple, however, refused to engage in the expedition unless with the amplest powers of a commander. The Admiralty, on the other hand, were unwilling to entrust him with powers which might embroil him with his officers. Neither party would yield; and, while the affair thus remained in suspense, Cook was proposed. Inquiries were then made as to his abilities; and, as all who knew him spoke favourably of him; and great confidence is usually felt in the steady and concentrated talents of the self-taught, he was chosen to command the expedition, being first promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

"It is a proof of Cook's natural strength of understanding, that his mind was not enslaved by habits, but that he was always ready to introduce innovations into his practice whenever they were recommended by common sense and experience. Instead of selecting a frigate, or vessel of that description, for his voyage, he chose a vessel built for the coal trade, with the sailing qualities of which he was well acquainted. He justly represented, that a ship of this kind was more capable of carrying the stores requisite for a long voyage; was exposed to less hazard in running near coasts—an object of great importance in a voyage of discovery; was less affected by currents; and, in case of any accident, might without much difficulty or danger, be laid on shore to undergo repairs. The ship which he chose was of 360 tons' burden, and named the Endeavour. No pains were spared by the Admiralty in fitting her out for the voyage; and, as the improvement of science was its main object, persons qualified to attain the desired end were appointed to accompany the expedition. Mr Green was named by the Royal Society as the astronomer; Dr Solander, a learned Swede and pupil of Linnæus, went as naturalist; Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, a gentleman of large fortune, and at that time very young, who afterwards reflected so much lustre on his country by devoting a long life and ample means to the interests of learning, renounced the ease to which his affluence entitled him, and commenced his active and honourable career by a voyage round the world. Being accompanied by able draughtsmen, and being himself zealously attached to the study of natural history, and amply provided with everything conducive to the gratification of his favourite pursuit; being at the same time of a lively, open, liberal, and courageous temper, his company was no less agreeable than it was advantageous. Before the preparations were completed, Captain Wallis returned from his voyage round the world; and having been advised to fix on some spot in the South Sea conveniently situated for the erection of an observatory, he named Port Royal in King George the Third's Island as a place well adapted for that purpose.

"Everything being now prepared, Lieutenant Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 26th of August 1768. He touched at Rio Janeiro, where the Portuguese Governor, no less ignorant than suspicious, was much at a loss to comprehend the object of the expedition; nor, after much trouble, was he able to form a juster idea of it, than that it was intended to observe the north star passing through the south pole. It was only by stealth that Mr Banks could go ashore, though nature seemed here to teem with the objects of his research, and brilliant butterflies flew round the ship to the height of the mast. In leaving this port, Cook, after the example of Byron, sailed over the position which had been assigned by Cowley to Pepys' Island, and finally dispelled all belief in its existence. He then directed his course through the Straits of Le Maire, to pass round Cape Horn.

"The naturalists of the expedition

landed on Tierra del Fuego, and, crossing a morass and some low woods, ascended the highest eminence they could descry. It was now midsummer in this region, and the temperature during the day was moderately warm, but as night approached snow fell in great quantities, and the cold became excessive. The exploring party, who had incautiously advanced too far, were unable to effect their return to the shore before sunset, and were obliged to spend the night exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, in a singularly desolate and unsheltered region. Dr Solander, who, having travelled in the north of Europe, was well acquainted with the fatal effects of cold on the constitution, repeatedly admonished his companions to resist the first approach of drowsiness, as the sleep superinduced by cold is sure to prove fatal; but he was the first to feel the dangerous torpor he predicted, and entreated his companions to allow him to lie down and take his rest; but they, fortunately instructed by his lessons, persisted in dragging him along, and thus saved his life. On reaching the woods in their descent, they kindled a fire, round which they spent the night; and when the sun rose, they made their way to the ships; but two of the party, servants of Mr Banks, who lay down to rest in the snow, were found dead the next morning.

"The voyage round Cape Horn into the Pacific occupied thirty-four days; and Cook, who was rather fortunate in his weather, seems to think it preferable to the passage through the Straits of Magellan. In his voyage through the ocean, he descried some small islands, of the group which had been previously visited by Wallis and Bougainville. He proceeded, however, direct to the place of his destination, not allowing himself to be detained by unimportant discoveries."

[The account of Cook's first stay at Otaheite, and his transactions with the natives there, is altogether too curious and interesting to be dismissed *with the curt* notice Dr Lardner accords to it; and we take the following particular narration from Dr Hawkesworth's Collection of Voyages, as reproduced by Kerr in his well-known History of Voyages and Travels (Edinburgh, 1814; vol. xii., p. 423, *ad finem*). The section headings have not been regarded, the entire narrative being treated as what it really is —one consecutive story.]

About 1 o'clock on Monday the 10th April, some of the people who were looking out for the island to which we were bound, said they saw land ahead, in that part of the horizon where it was expected to appear; but it was so faint, that whether there was land in sight or not remained a matter of dispute till sunset. The next morning, however, at 6 o'clock, we were convinced that those who said they had discovered land were not mistaken; it appeared to be very high and mountainous, extending from W. by S. half S. to W. by N. half N., and we knew it to be the same that Captain Wallis[1] had called King George the Third's Island. We were delayed in our approach to it by light airs and calms, so that in the morning of the 12th we were but little nearer than we had been the night before; but about seven a breeze sprung up, and before eleven several canoes were seen making towards the ship. There were but few of them, however, that would come near; and the people in those that did, could not be persuaded to come on board. In every canoe there were young plantains, and branches of a tree which the Indians call "E' Midho;" these, as we afterwards learned, were brought as tokens of peace and amity; and the people in one of the canoes handed them up the ship's side, making signals at the same time with great earnestness, which we did not immediately understand. At length we guessed that they wished these symbols should be placed in some conspi-

[1] Who had circumnavigated the globe in 1766-1768 in the Dolphin, and come into hostile contact with the natives of Otaheite.

cuous part of the ship; we therefore immediately stuck them among the rigging, at which they expressed the greatest satisfaction. We then purchased their cargoes, consisting of cocoa-nuts, and various kinds of fruit, which, after our long voyage, were very acceptable.

We stood on with an easy sail all night, with soundings from twenty-two fathoms to twelve; and about 7 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in thirteen fathoms in Port Royal Bay, called by the natives Matavai. We were immediately surrounded by the natives in their canoes, who gave us cocoa-nuts, fruit resembling apples, bread-fruit, and some small fishes, in exchange for beads and other trifles. They had with them a pig, which they would not part with for anything but a hatchet, and therefore we refused to purchase it; because, if we gave them a hatchet for a pig now, we knew they would never afterwards sell one for less, and we could not afford to buy as many as it was probable we should want at that price. The bread-fruit grows on a tree that is about the size of a middling oak. Its leaves are frequently a foot and a half long, of an oblong shape, deeply sinuated like those of the fig-tree, which they resemble in consistence and colour, and in the exuding of a white milky juice upon being broken. The fruit is about the size and shape of a child's head, and the surface is reticulated not much unlike a truffle. It is covered with a thin skin, and has a core about as big as the handle of a small knife. The eatable part lies between the skin and the core; it is as white as snow, and somewhat of the consistence of new bread. It must be roasted before it is eaten, being first divided into three or four parts. Its taste is insipid, with a slight sweetness somewhat resembling that of the crumb of wheaten bread mixed with a Jerusalem artichoke. Among others who came off to the ship was an elderly man, whose name, as we learned afterwards, was Owhaw, and who was immediately known to Mr Gore, and several others who had been here with Captain Wallis; as I was informed that he had been very useful to them, I took him on board the ship with some others, and was particularly attentive to gratify him, as I hoped he might also be useful to us.

As our stay here was not likely to be very short, and as it was necessary that the merchandise which we had brought for traffic with the natives should not diminish in its value, which it would certainly have done if every person had been left at liberty to give what he pleased for such things as he should purchase; at the same time that confusion and quarrels must necessarily have arisen from there being no standard at market; I drew up the following rules, and ordered that they should be punctually observed:

Rules to be observed by every person in or belonging to his Majesty's bark the Endeavour, for the better establishing a regular and uniform trade for provision, &c. with the inhabitants of King George's Island.

I. To endeavour, by every fair means, to cultivate a friendship with the natives; and to treat them with all imaginable humanity.

II. A proper person or persons will be appointed to trade with the natives for all manner of provisions, fruit, and other productions of the earth; and no officer or seaman, or other person belonging to the ship, excepting such as are so appointed, shall trade or offer to trade for any sort of provision, fruit, or other production of the earth, unless they have leave so to do.

III. Every person employed on shore, on any duty whatsoever, is strictly to attend to the same; and if by any neglect he loseth any of his arms or working tools, or suffers them to be stolen, the full value thereof will be charged against his pay, according to the custom of the navy in such cases, and he shall receive such further punishment as the nature of the offence may deserve.

IV. The same penalty will be in-

flicted on every person who is found to embezzle, trade, or offer to trade, with any part of the ship's stores of what nature soever.

V. No sort of iron, or anything that is made of iron, or any sort of cloth, or other useful or necessary articles, are to be given in exchange for anything but provision.

J. Cook.

As soon as the ship was properly secured, I went on shore with Mr Banks and Dr Solander, a party of men under arms, and our friend Owhaw. We were received from the boat by some hundreds of the inhabitants, whose looks at least gave us welcome, though they were struck with such awe, that the first who approached us crouched so low that he almost crept upon his hands and knees. It is remarkable, that he, like the people in the canoes, presented to us the same symbol of peace that is known to have been in use among the ancient and mighty nations of the northern hemisphere—the green branch of a tree. We received it with looks and gestures of kindness and satisfaction; and observing that each of them held one in his hand, we immediately gathered every one a bough, and carried it in our hands in the same manner.

They marched with us about half a mile towards the place where the Dolphin had watered, conducted by Owhaw; they then made a full stop, and having laid the ground bare, by clearing away all the plants that grew upon it, the principal persons among them threw their green branches upon the naked spot, and made signs that we should do the same. We immediately showed our readiness to comply, and to give a greater solemnity to the rite, the marines were drawn up, and marching in order, each dropped his bough upon those of the Indians, and we followed their example. We then proceeded, and when we came to the watering-place it was intimated to us by signs that we might occupy that ground; but it happened not to be fit for our purpose. During our walk they had shaken off their first timid sense of our superiority, and were become familiar: they went with us from the watering-place and took a circuit through the woods; as we went along, we distributed beads and other small presents among them, and had the satisfaction to see that they were much gratified. Our circuit was not less than four or five miles, through groves of trees, which were loaded with cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and afforded the most grateful shade. Under these trees were the habitations of the people, most of them being only a roof without walls; and the whole scene realised the poetical fables of Arcadia. We remarked, however, not without some regret, that in all our walk we had seen only two hogs, and not a single fowl. Those of our company who had been here with the Dolphin told us, that none of the people whom we had yet seen were of the first class; they suspected that the chiefs had removed, and upon carrying us to the place where what they called the Queen's Palace had stood, we found that no traces of it were left. We determined therefore to return in the morning, and endeavour to find out the *noblesse* in their retreats.

In the morning, however, before we could leave the ship, several canoes came about us, most of them from the westward, and two of them were filled with people who by their dress and deportment appeared to be of a superior rank. Two of these came on board, and each singled out his friend; one of them, whose name we found to be Matahah, fixed upon Mr Banks, and the other upon me: this ceremony consisted in taking off great part of their clothes and putting them upon us. In return for this, we presented each of them with a hatchet and some beads. Soon after they made signs for us to go with them to the places where they lived, pointing to the SW.; and as I was desirous of finding a more commodious harbour, and making further trial of the disposition of the people, I consented.

I ordered out two boats, and with Mr Banks and Dr Solander, the other gentlemen, and our two Indian friends,

we embarked for our expedition. After rowing about a league, they made signs that we should go on shore, and gave us to understand that this was the place of their residence. We accordingly landed, among several hundreds of the natives, who conducted us into a house of much greater length than any we had seen. When we entered, we saw a middle-aged man, whose name was afterwards discovered to be Tootahah; mats were immediately spread, and we were desired to sit down over against him. Soon after we were seated, he ordered a cock and hen to be brought out, which he presented to Mr Banks and me; we accepted the present, and in a short time each of us received a piece of cloth, perfumed after their manner, by no means disagreeably, which they took great pains to make us remark. The piece presented to Mr Banks was eleven yards long and two wide; in return for which, he gave a laced silk neckcloth, which he happened to have on, and a linen pocket handkerchief. Tootahah immediately dressed himself in his new finery, with an air of perfect complacency and satisfaction. But it is now time that I should take some notice of the ladies.

Soon after the interchanging of our presents with Tootahah, they attended us to several large houses, in which we walked about with great freedom: they showed us all the civility of which, in our situation, we could accept; and, on their part, seemed to have no scruple that would have prevented its being carried further. The houses, which as I have observed before, are all open, except a roof, afforded no place of retirement; but the ladies, by frequently pointing to the mats upon the ground, and sometimes seating themselves and drawing us down upon them, left us no room to doubt of their being much less jealous of observation than we were.

We now took leave of our friendly chief, and directed our course along the shore. When we had walked about a mile, we met, at the head of a great number of people, another chief, whose name was Tubourai Tamaide, with whom we were also to ratify a treaty of peace, with the ceremony of which we were now become better acquainted. Having received the branch which he presented to us, and given another in return, we laid our hands upon our left breasts and pronounced the word "Taio," which we supposed to signify friend. The chief then gave us to understand that if we chose to eat he had victuals ready for us. We accepted his offer, and dined very heartily upon fish, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and plantains, dressed after their manner; they ate some of their fish raw, and raw fish was offered to us, but we declined that part of the entertainment.

During this visit a wife of our noble host, whose name was Tomio, did Mr Banks the honour to place herself upon the same mat close by him. Tomio was not in the first bloom of her youth, nor did she appear to have been ever remarkable for her beauty; he did not, therefore, I believe, pay her the most flattering attention. It happened, too, as a further mortification to this lady, that seeing a very pretty girl among the crowd, he, not adverting to the dignity of his companion, beckoned her to come to him. The girl, after some entreaty complied, and sat down on the other side of him; he loaded her with beads and every showy trifle that would please her. His princess, though she was somewhat mortified at the preference that was given to her rival, did not discontinue her civilities, but still assiduously supplied him with the milk of the cocoa-nut, and such other dainties as were in her reach. This scene might possibly have become more curious and interesting if it had not been suddenly interrupted by an interlude of a more serious kind. Just at this time, Dr Solander and Mr Monkhouse complained that their pockets had been picked. Dr Solander had lost an opera-glass in a shagreen case, and Mr Monkhouse his snuff-box. This incident unfortunately put an end to the good-humour of the company. Complaint of the injury was made to the chief; and, to give it

weight, Mr Banks started up and hastily struck the butt end of his firelock upon the ground. This action, and the noise that accompanied it, struck the whole assembly with a panic; and every one of the natives ran out of the house with the utmost precipitation, except the chief, three women, and two or three others who appeared by their dress to be of a superior rank.

The chief, with a mixture of confusion and concern, took Mr Banks by the hand, and led him to a large quantity of cloth which lay at the other end of the house; this he offered to him piece by piece, intimating by signs, that if that would atone for the wrong which had been done, he might take any part of it, or, if he pleased, the whole. Mr Banks put it by, and gave him to understand that he wanted nothing but what had been dishonestly taken away. Toubourai Tamaide then went hastily out, leaving Mr Banks with his wife Tomio, who, during the whole scene of terror and confusion, had kept constantly at his side, and intimating his desire that he should wait there till his return. Mr Banks accordingly sat down and conversed with her, as well as he could by signs, about half an hour. The chief then came back with the snuff-box and the case of the opera-glass in his hand, and, with a joy in his countenance that was painted with a strength of expression which distinguishes these people from all others, delivered them to the owners. The case of the opera-glass, however, upon being opened, was found to be empty; upon this discovery, his countenance changed in a moment; and catching Mr Banks again by the hand, he rushed out of the house without uttering any sound, and led him along the shore, walking with great rapidity. When they had got about a mile from the house, a woman met him and gave him a piece of cloth, which he hastily took from her, and continued to press forward with it in his hand. Dr Solander and Mr Monkhouse had followed them, *and they* came at length to a house *where they* were received by a woman, to whom he gave the cloth, and intimated to the gentlemen that they should give her some beads. They immediately complied; and the beads and cloth being deposited upon the floor, the woman went out, and in about half-an-hour returned with the opera-glass, expressing the same joy upon the occasion that had before been expressed by the chief. The beads were now returned, with an inflexible resolution not to accept them; and the cloth was with the same pertinacity forced upon Dr Solander as a recompense for the injury that had been done him. He could not avoid accepting the cloth, but insisted in his turn upon giving a new present of beads to the woman. It will not perhaps be easy to account for all the steps that were taken in the recovery of this glass and snuff-box; but this cannot be thought strange, considering that the scene of action was among a people whose language, policy, and connections are even now but imperfectly known. Upon the whole, however, they show an intelligence and influence which would do honour to any system of government, however regular and improved. In the evening, about 6 o'clock, we returned to the ship.

On the next morning, Saturday the 15th, several of the chiefs whom we had seen the day before came on board, and brought with them hogs, bread-fruit, and other refreshments, for which we gave them hatchets and linen, and such things as seemed to be most acceptable.

As in my excursion to the westward I had not found any more convenient harbour than that in which we lay, I determined to go on shore and fix upon some spot, commanded by the ship's guns, where I might throw up a small fort for our defence, and prepare for making our astronomical observation. I therefore took a party of men and landed without delay, accompanied by Mr Banks, Dr Solander, and the astronomer, Mr Green. We soon fixed upon a part of the sandy beach on the NE. point of the bay, which was in every respect convenient for our purpose, and not near any habitation of

the natives. Having marked out the ground that we intended to occupy, a small tent belonging to Mr Banks was set up, which had been brought on shore for that purpose; by this time a great number of the people had gathered about us, but, as it appeared, only to look on, there not being a single weapon of any kind among them. I intimated, however, that none of them were to come within the line I had drawn, except one, who appeared to be a chief, and Owhaw. To these two persons I addressed myself by signs, and endeavoured to make them understand that we wanted the ground which we had marked out to sleep upon for a certain number of nights, and that then we should go away. Whether I was understood, I cannot certainly determine; but the people behaved with a deference and respect that at once pleased and surprised us; they sat down peaceably without the circle, and looked on, without giving us any interruption, till we had done, which was upwards of two hours. As we had seen no poultry, and but two hogs, in our walk when we were last on shore at this place, we suspected that upon our arrival they had been driven farther up the country; and the rather, as Owhaw was very importunate with us, by signs, not to go into the woods, which, however, and partly for these reasons, we were determined to do. Having therefore appointed the thirteen marines and a petty officer to guard the tent, we set out, and a great number of the natives joined our party. As we were crossing a little river that lay in our way, we saw some ducks, and Mr Banks, as soon as he had got over, fired at them, and happened to kill three at one shot. This struck [the natives] with the utmost terror, so that most of them fell suddenly to the ground as if they also had been shot at the same discharge. It was not long, however, before they recovered from their fright, and we continued our route; but we had not gone far before we were alarmed by the report of two pieces, which were fired by the guard at the tent. We had then straggled a little distance from each other, but Owhaw immediately called us together, and by waving his hand, sent away every Indian who followed us except three, each of whom, as a pledge of peace on their part, and an entreaty that there might be peace on ours, hastily broke a branch from the trees, and came to us with it in their hands. As we had too much reason to fear that some mischief had happened, we hastened back to the tent, which was not distant above half-a-mile; and when we came up, we found it entirely deserted, except by our own people.

It appeared that one of the Indians who remained about the tent after we left it, had watched his opportunity, and, taking the sentry unawares, had snatched away his musket. Upon this the petty officer, a midshipman, who commanded the party—perhaps from a sudden fear of further violence, perhaps from the natural petulance of power newly acquired, and perhaps from a brutality in his nature—ordered the marines to fire. The men, with as little consideration or humanity as the officer, immediately discharged their pieces among the thickest of the flying crowd, consisting of more than a hundred; and, observing that the thief did not fall, pursued him and shot him dead. We afterwards learned that none of the others were either killed or wounded. Owhaw, who had never left us, observing that we were now totally deserted, got together a few of those who had fled, though not without some difficulty, and ranged them about us. We endeavoured to justify our people as well as we could, and to convince the Indians that if they did no wrong to us, we should do no wrong to them. They went away without any appearance of distrust or resentment; and having struck our tent, we returned to the ship, but by no means satisfied with the transactions of the day.

Upon questioning our people more particularly, whose conduct they soon perceived we could not approve, they alleged that the sentinel whose musket was taken away, was violently assault-

ed and thrown down, and that a push was afterwards made at him by the man who took the musket, before any command was given to fire. It was also suggested, that Owhaw had suspicions, at least, if not certain knowledge, that something would be attempted against our people at the tent, which made him so very earnest in his endeavours to prevent our leaving it. Others imputed his importunity to his desire that we should confine ourselves to the beach: and it was remarked that neither Owhaw, nor the chiefs who remained with us after he had sent the rest of the people away, would have inferred the breach of peace from the firing at the tent, if they had had no reason to suspect that some injury had been offered by their countrymen; especially as Mr Banks had just fired at the ducks. And yet that they did infer a breach of peace from that incident, was manifest from their waving their hands for the people to disperse, and instantly pulling green branches from the trees. But what were the real circumstances of this unhappy affair, and whether either, and which of these conjectures were true, could never certainly be known.

The next morning but few of the natives were seen upon the beach, and not one of them came off to the ship. This convinced us that our endeavours to quiet their apprehensions had not been effectual; and we remarked with particular regret, that we were deserted even by Owhaw, who had hitherto been so constant in his attachment, and so active in renewing the peace that had been broken. Appearances being thus unfavourable, I warped the ship nearer to the shore, and moored her in such a manner as to command all the NE. part of the bay, particularly the place which I had marked out for building a fort. In the evening, however, I went on shore with only a boat's crew, and some of the gentlemen. The natives gathered about us, but not in the same number as before. There were, I believe, between thirty and forty, and they trafficked with us for cocoa-nuts and other fruit, to all appearance as friendly as ever.

On the 17th, early in the morning, we had the misfortune to lose Mr Buchan, the person whom Mr Banks had brought out as a painter of landscapes and figures. He was a sober, diligent, and ingenious young man, and greatly regretted by Mr Banks; who hoped, by his means, to have gratified his friends in England with representations of this country and its inhabitants, which no other person on board could delineate with the same accuracy and elegance. He had always been subject to epileptic fits, one of which seized him on the mountains of Tierra del Fuego; and this disorder being aggravated by a bilious complaint which he contracted on board the ship, at length put an end to his life. It was at first proposed to bury him on shore, but Mr Banks thinking that it might perhaps give offence to the natives, with whose customs we were then wholly unacquainted, we committed his body to the sea, with as much decency and solemnity as our circumstances and situation would admit.

In the forenoon of this day we received a visit from Tubourai Tamaide, and Tootahah, our chiefs, from the west: they brought with them, as emblems of peace, not branches of plantain, but two young trees, and would not venture on board till these had been received; having probably been alarmed by the mischief which had been done at the tent. Each of them also brought, as propitiatory gifts, some bread-fruit, and a hog ready dressed. This was a most acceptable present, as we perceived that hogs were not always to be got; and in return we gave to each of our noble benefactors a hatchet and a nail. In the evening we went on shore and set up a tent, in which Mr Green and myself spent the night, in order to observe an eclipse of the first satellite of Jupiter; but the weather becoming cloudy, we were disappointed.

On the 18th, at daybreak, I went on shore, with as many people as could possibly be spared from the

ship, and began to erect our fort. While some were employed in throwing up entrenchments, others were busy in cutting pickets and fascines, which the natives, who soon gathered round us as they had been used to do, were so far from hindering, that many of them voluntarily assisted us, bringing the pickets and fascines from the wood where they had been cut, with great alacrity. We had, indeed, been so scrupulous of invading their property, that we purchased every stake which was used upon this occasion, and cut down no tree till we had first obtained their consent. The soil where we constructed our fort was sandy, and this made it necessary to strengthen the entrenchments with wood; three sides were to be fortified in this manner; the fourth was bounded by a river, upon the banks of which I proposed to place a proper number of water-casks. This day we served pork to the ship's company for the first time, and the Indians brought down so much bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, that we found it necessary to send away part of them unbought, and to acquaint them by signs, that we should want no more for two days to come. Everything was purchased this day with beads; a single bead, as big as a pea, being the purchase of five or six cocoa-nuts, and as many of the bread-fruit. Mr Banks's tent was got up before night within the works, and he slept on shore for the first time. Proper sentries were placed round it, but no Indian attempted to approach it the whole night.

The next morning, our friend Tubourai Tamaide made Mr Banks a visit at the tent, and brought with him not only his wife and family, but the roof of a house, and several materials for setting it up, with furniture and implements of various kinds, intending, as we understood him, to take up his residence in our neighbourhood. This instance of his confidence and good-will gave us great pleasure, and we determined to strengthen his attachment to us by every means in our power. Soon after his arrival he took Mr Banks by the hand, and leading him out of the line, signified that he should accompany him into the woods. Mr Banks readily consented, and having walked with him about a quarter of a mile, they arrived at a kind of awning which he had already set up, and which seemed to be his occasional habitation. Here he unfolded a bundle of his country cloth, and taking out two garments, one of red cloth, and the other of very neat matting, he clothed Mr Banks in them, and without any other ceremony immediately conducted him back to the tent. His attendants soon after brought him some pork and bread-fruit, which he ate, dipping his meat into salt water instead of sauce; after his meal he retired to Mr Banks's bed, and slept about an hour. In the afternoon, his wife Tomio brought to the tent a young man about two-and-twenty years of age, of a very comely appearance, whom they both seemed to acknowledge as their son, though we afterwards discovered that he was not so. In the evening, this young man and another chief, who had also paid us a visit, went away to the westward, but Tubourai Tamaide and his wife returned to the awning in the skirts of the wood.

Our surgeon, Mr Monkhouse, having walked out this evening, reported that he had seen the body of the man who had been shot at the tents, which he said was wrapped in cloth, and placed on a kind of bier, supported by stakes, under a roof that seemed to have been set up for the purpose; that near it were deposited some instruments of war, and other things, which he would particularly have examined but for the stench of the body, which was intolerable. He said, that he saw also two more sheds of the same kind, in one of which were the bones of a human body that had lain till they were quite dry. We discovered, afterwards, that this was the way in which they usually disposed of their dead.

A kind of market now began to be kept just without the lines, and was plentifully supplied with everything

but pork. Tubourai Tamaide was our constant guest, imitating our manners, even to the using of a knife and fork, which he did very handily.

As my curiosity was excited by Mr Monkhouse's account of the situation of the man who had been shot, I took an opportunity to go with some others to see it. I found the shed under which his body lay, close by the house in which he resided when he was alive, some others being not more than ten yards distant; it was about fifteen feet long, and eleven broad, and of a proportionable height; one end was wholly open, and the other end, and the two sides, were partly enclosed with a kind of wicker work. The bier on which the corpse was deposited was a frame of wood like that in which the sea-beds, called cots, are placed, with a matted bottom, and supported by four posts, at the height of about five feet from the ground. The body was covered first with a mat, and then with white cloth; by the side of it lay a wooden mace, one of their weapons of war, and near the head of it, which lay next to the close end of the shed, lay two cocoa-nut shells, such as are sometimes used to carry water in; at the other end a bunch of green leaves, with some dried twigs, all tied together, were stuck in the ground, by which lay a stone about as big as a cocoa-nut. Near these lay one of the young plantain trees, which are used for emblems of peace, and close by it a stone axe. At the open end of the shed also hung, in several strings, a great number of palm-nuts, and without the shed was stuck upright in the ground the stem of a plantain tree about five feet high, upon the top of which was placed a cocoa-nut shell full of fresh water. Against the side of one of the posts hung a small bag, containing a few pieces of bread-fruit ready roasted, which were not all put in at the same time, for some of them were fresh; and others stale. I took notice that several of the natives observed us with a mixture of solicitude and jealousy in their countenances, *and by their* gestures expressed uneasiness when we went near the body, standing themselves at a little distance while we were making our examination, and appearing to be pleased when we came away.

Our residence on shore would by no means have been disagreeable if we had not been incessantly tormented by the flies, which, among other mischief, made it almost impossible for Mr Parkinson, Mr Bank's natural history painter, to work; for they not only covered his subject so as that no part of its surface could be seen, but even ate the colour off the paper as fast as he could lay it on. We had recourse to mosquito-nets and fly-traps, which, though they made the inconvenience tolerable, were very far from removing it.

On the 22d, Tootahah gave us a specimen of the music of this country: four persons performed upon flutes, which had only two stops, and therefore could not sound more than four notes by half tones. They were sounded like our German flutes, except that the performer, instead of applying it to his mouth, blew into it with one nostril, while he stopped the other with his thumb. To these instruments four other persons sung, and kept very good time; but only one tune was played during the whole concert.

Several of the natives brought us axes, which they had received from on board the Dolphin, to grind and repair; but among others there was one which became the subject of much speculation, as it appeared to be French. After much inquiry, we learned that a ship had been here between our arrival and the departure of the Dolphin, which we then conjectured to have been a Spaniard, but afterwards knew to have been the Boudeuse, commanded by M. de Bougainville.

On the 24th, Mr Banks and Dr Solander examined the country for several miles along the shore to the eastward. For about two miles it was flat and fertile; after that the hills stretched quite to the water's edge, and a little farther ran out into

the sea, so that they were obliged to climb over them. These hills, which were barren, continued for about three miles more, and then terminated in a large plain, which was full of good houses, and people who appeared to live in great affluence. In this place there was a river, much more considerable than that at our fort, which issued from a deep and beautiful valley, and where our travellers crossed it, though at some distance from the sea, was near 100 yards wide. About a mile beyond this river the country became again barren, the rocks everywhere projecting into the sea, for which reason they resolved to return. Just as they had formed this resolution, one of the natives offered them refreshment, which they accepted. They found this man to be of a kind that has been described by various authors as mixed with many nations, but distinct from them all. His skin was of a dead white, without the least appearance of what is called complexion, though some parts of his body were in a small degree less white than others; his hair, eyebrows, and beard were as white as his skin; his eyes appeared as if they were bloodshot, and he seemed to be very short-sighted. At their return they were met by Tubourai Tamaide and his women, who, at seeing them, felt a joy which not being able to express, they burst into tears, and wept some time before their passion could be restrained.

This evening Dr Solander lent his knife to one of these women, who neglected to return it, and the next morning Mr Banks's also was missing. Upon this occasion I must bear my testimony that the people of this country, of all ranks, men and women, are the arrantest thieves upon the face of the earth. The very day after we arrived here, when they came on board us, the chiefs were employed in stealing what they could in the cabin, and their dependants were no less industrious in other parts of the ship: they snatched up everything that it was possible for them to secrete, till they got on shore, even to the glass ports, two of which they carried off undetected. Tubourai Tamaide was the only one except Tootahah who had not been found guilty, and the presumption, arising from this circumstance, that he was exempt from a vice of which the whole nation besides were guilty, could not be supposed to outweigh strong appearances to the contrary. Mr Banks, therefore, though not without some reluctance, accused him of having stolen his knife. He solemnly and steadily denied that he knew anything of it; upon which Mr Banks made him understand that whoever had taken it, he was determined to have it returned. Upon this resolute declaration, one of the natives who was present produced a rag in which three knives were very carefully tied up. One was that which Dr Solander had lent to the woman, another was a table knife belonging to me, and the owner of the third was not known. With these the chief immediately set out in order to make restitution of them to their owners at the tents. Mr Banks remained with the women, who expressed great apprehensions that some mischief was designed against their lord. When he came to the tents, he restored one of the knives to Dr Solander and another to me, the third not being owned, and then began to search for Mr Banks's in all the places where he had ever seen it. After some time, one of Mr Banks's servants, understanding what he was about, immediately fetched his master's knife, which it seems he had laid by the day before, and till now knew nothing of its having been missed. Tubourai Tamaide, upon this demonstration of his innocence, expressed the strongest emotions of mind, both in his looks and gestures; the tears started from his eyes, and he made signs with the knife, that, if he was ever guilty of such an action as had been imputed to him, he would submit to have his throat cut. He then rushed out of the lines, and returned hastily to Mr Banks, with a countenance that severely reproached

him with his suspicions. Mr Banks soon understood that the knife had been received from his servant, and was scarcely less affected at what had happened than the chief; he felt himself to be the guilty person, and was very desirous to atone for his fault. The poor Indian, however violent his passions, was a stranger to sullen resentment; and upon Mr Banks's spending a little time familiarly with him, and making him a few trifling presents, he forgot the wrong that had been done him, and was perfectly reconciled.

Upon this occasion it may be observed that these people have a knowledge of right and wrong from the mere dictates of natural conscience; and involuntarily condemn themselves when they do that to others which they would condemn others for doing to them. That Tubourai Tamaide felt the force of moral obligation, is certain; for the imputation of an action which he considered as indifferent, would not, when it appeared to be groundless, have moved him with such excess of passion. We must indeed estimate the virtue of these people by the conformity of their conduct to what in their opinion is right; but we must not hastily conclude that theft is a testimony of the same depravity in them that it is in us, in the instances in which our people were sufferers by their dishonesty; for their temptation was such as to surmount, would be considered as a proof of uncommon integrity among those who have more knowledge, better principles, and stronger motives to resist the temptations of illicit advantage. An Indian among penny knives and beads, or even nails and broken glass, is in the same state of trial with the meanest servant in Europe among unlocked coffers of jewels and gold.

On the 26th I mounted six swivel guns upon the fort, which I was sorry to see struck the natives with dread. Some fishermen who lived upon the point removed farther off, and Owhaw told us, by signs, that in four days *we should* fire great guns.

On the 27th, Tubourai Tamaide, with a friend, who ate with a voracity that I never saw before, and the three women that usually attended him, whose names were Terapo, Tirao, and Omie, dined at the fort. In the evening they took their leave, and set out for the house which Tubourai Tamaide had set up in the skirts of the wood; but in less than a quarter of an hour he returned in great emotion, and hastily seizing Mr Banks's arm, made signs that he should follow him. Mr Banks immediately complied, and they soon came to a place where they found the ship's butcher, with a reaping-hook in his hand. Here the chief stopped, and, in a transport of rage which rendered his signs scarcely intelligible, intimated that the butcher had threatened, or attempted, to cut his wife's throat with the reaping-hook. Mr Banks then signified to him, that if he could fully explain the offence, the man should be punished. Upon this he became more calm, and made Mr Banks understand that the offender, having taken a fancy to a stone hatchet which lay in his house, had offered to purchase it of his wife for a nail; that she having refused to part with it upon any terms, he had catched it up, and throwing down the nail, threatened to cut her throat if she made any resistance. To prove this charge, the hatchet and the nail were produced; and the butcher had so little to say in his defence, that there was not the least reason to doubt of its truth.

Mr Banks having reported this matter to me, I took an opportunity, when the chief and his women, with other Indians, were on board the ship, to call up the butcher, and after a recapitulation of the charge and the proof, I gave orders that he should be punished, as well to prevent other offences of the same kind, as to acquit Mr Banks of his promise. The Indians saw him stripped and tied up to the rigging with a fixed attention, waiting in silent suspense for the event; but as soon as the first stroke was given, they interfered with great

agitation, earnestly entreating that the rest of the punishment might be remitted. To this, however, for many reasons, I could not consent; and when they found that they could not prevail by their intercession, they gave vent to their pity by tears.

Their tears, indeed, like those of children, were always ready to express any passion that was strongly excited, and, like those of children, they also appeared to be forgotten as soon as shed; of which the following, among many others, is a remarkable instance. Very early in the morning of the 28th, even before it was day, a great number of them came down to the fort, and Terapo being observed among the women on the outside of the gate, Mr Banks went out and brought her in; he saw that the tears then stood in her eyes, and as soon as she entered they began to flow in great abundance. He inquired earnestly the cause, but instead of answering, she took from under her garment a shark's tooth, and struck it six or seven times into her head with great force; a profusion of blood followed, and she talked loud, but in a most melancholy tone, for some minutes, without at all regarding his inquiries, which he repeated with still more impatience and concern, while the other Indians, to his great surprise, talked and laughed, without taking the least notice of her distress. But her own behaviour was still more extraordinary. As soon as the bleeding was over, she looked up with a smile, and began to collect some small pieces of cloth, which during her bleeding she had thrown down to catch the blood; as soon as she had picked them all up, she carried them out of the tent, and threw them into the sea, carefully dispersing them abroad, as if she wished to prevent the sight of them from reviving the remembrance of what she had done. She then plunged into the river, and after having washed her whole body, returned to the tents with the same gaiety and cheerfulness as if nothing had happened.

It is not indeed strange that the sorrows of these artless people should be transient, any more than that their passions should be suddenly and strongly expressed. What they feel they have never been taught either to disguise or suppress, and having no habits of thinking which perpetually recall the past, and anticipate the future, they are affected by all the changes of the passing hour, and reflect the colour of the time, however frequently it may vary. They have no project which is to be pursued from day to day, the subject of unremitted anxiety and solicitude, that first rushes into the mind when they awake in the morning, and is last dismissed when they sleep at night. Yet, if we admit that they are upon the whole happier than we, we must admit that the child is happier than the man, and that we are losers by the perfection of our nature, the increase of our knowledge, and the enlargement of our views.

Canoes were continually coming in during all this forenoon, and the tents at the fort were crowded with people of both sexes from different parts of the island. I was myself busy on board the ship, but Mr Mollineux, our master, who was one of those that made the last voyage in the Dolphin, went on shore. As soon as he entered Mr Banks's tent, he fixed his eyes upon one of the women, who was sitting there with great composure among the rest, and immediately declared her to be the person who at that time was supposed to be the queen of the island; she also, at the same time, acknowledging him to be one of the strangers whom she had seen before. The attention of all present was now diverted from every other object, and wholly engaged in considering a person who had made so distinguished a figure in the accounts that had been given of this island by its first discoverers; and we soon learned that her name was Oberea. She seemed to be about forty years of age, and was not only tall, but of a large make; her skin was white, and there was an uncommon intelligence and sensibility in her eyes. She appeared to have been handsome when

she was young, but at this time little more than memorials of her beauty were left.

As soon as her quality was known, an offer was made to conduct her to the ship. Of this she readily accepted, and came on board with two men and several women, who seemed to be all of her family. I received her with such marks of distinction as I thought would gratify her most, and was not sparing of my presents, among which this august personage seemed particularly delighted with a child's doll. After some time spent on board, I attended her back to the shore; and as soon as we landed, she presented me with a hog, and several bunches of plantains, which she caused to be carried from her canoes up to the fort in a kind of procession, of which she and myself brought up the rear. In our way to the fort we met Tootahah, who, though not king, appeared to be at this time invested with the sovereign authority. He seemed not to be well pleased with the distinction that was shown to the lady, and became so jealous when she produced her doll, that to propitiate him it was thought proper to compliment him with another. At this time he thought fit to prefer a doll to a hatchet; but this preference arose only from a childish jealousy, which could not be soothed but by a gift of exactly the same kind with that which had been presented to Oberea; for dolls in a very short time were universally considered as trifles of no value.

The men who had visited us from time to time had, without scruple, eaten of our provisions; but the women had never yet been prevailed upon to taste a morsel. To day, however, though they refused the most pressing solicitations to dine with the gentlemen, they afterwards retired to the servants' apartment, and ate of plantains very heartily; a mystery of female economy here, which none of us could explain.

On the 29th, not very early in the forenoon, Mr Banks went to pay his court to Oberea, and was told that she *was still asleep* under the awning of her canoe. Thither, therefore, he went, intending to call her up, a liberty which he thought he might take without any danger of giving offence. But, upon looking into her chamber, to his great astonishment he found her in bed with a handsome young fellow about five-and-twenty, whose name was Obadée. He retreated with some haste and confusion, but was soon made to understand that such amours gave no occasion to scandal, and that Obadée was universally known to have been selected by her as the object of her private favours. The lady being too polite to suffer Mr Banks to wait long in her antechamber, dressed herself with more than usual expedition, and, as a token of special grace, clothed him in a suit of fine cloth, and proceeded with him to the tents. In the evening Mr Banks paid a visit to Tubourai Tamaide, as he had often done before, by candle light, and was equally grieved and surprised to find him and his family in a melancholy mood, and most of them in tears. He endeavoured in vain to discover the cause, and therefore his stay among them was but short. When he reported this circumstance to the officers at the fort, they recollected that Owhaw had foretold that in four days we should fire our great guns; and as this was the eve of the third day, the situation in which Tubourai Tamaide and his family had been found, alarmed them. The sentries, therefore, were doubled at the fort, and the gentlemen slept under arms; at two in the morning, Mr Banks himself went round the point, but found everything so quiet that he gave up all suspicions of mischief intended by the natives as groundless. We had, however, another source of security; our little fortification was now complete. The north and south sides consisted of a bank of earth four feet and a half high on the inside, and a ditch without, ten feet broad and six deep; on the west side, facing the bay, there was a bank of earth four feet high, and palisadoes upon that, but no ditch, the works here being at high-water mark; on the east side, upon the bank of the

river, was placed a double row of water-casks filled with water; and, as this was the weakest side, the two 4-pounders were planted there, and six swivel guns were mounted so as to command the only two avenues from the woods. Our garrison consisted of about five-and-forty men with small arms, including the officers, and the gentlemen who resided on shore; and our sentries were as well relieved as on the best regulated frontier in Europe.

We continued our vigilance the next day, though we had no particular reason to think it necessary; but about 10 o'clock in the morning, Tomio came running to the tents, with a mixture of grief and fear in her countenance, and taking Mr Banks, to whom they applied in every emergency and distress, by the arm, intimated that Tubourai Tamaide was dying, in consequence of something which our people had given him to eat, and that he must instantly go with her to his house. Mr Banks set out without delay, and found his Indian friend leaning his head against a post in an attitude of the utmost languor and despondency; the people about him intimated that he had been vomiting, and brought out a leaf folded up with great care, which, they said, contained some of the poison, by the deleterious effects of which he was now dying. Mr Banks hastily opened the leaf, and upon examining its contents, found them to be no other than a chew of tobacco, which the chief had begged of some of our people, and which they had indiscreetly given him. He had observed that they kept it long in the mouth, and being desirous of doing the same, he had chewed it to powder and swallowed the spittle. During the examination of the leaf and its contents, he looked up at Mr Banks with the most piteous aspect, and intimated that he had but a very short time to live. Mr Banks, however, being now master of his disease, directed him to drink plentifully of cocoa-nut milk, which in a short time put an end to his sickness and apprehensions; and he spent the day at the fort with that uncommon flow of cheerfulness and good-humour which is always produced by a sudden and unexpected relief from pain either of body or mind.

Captain Wallis having brought home one of the adzes which these people—having no metal of any kind—make of stone, Mr Stevens, the Secretary to the Admiralty, procured one to be made of iron in imitation of it, which I brought out with me, to show how much we excelled in making tools after their own fashion. This I had not yet produced, as it never happened to come into my mind. But on the 1st of May, Tootahah, coming on board about 10 o'clock in the forenoon, expressed a great curiosity to see the contents of every chest and drawer that was in my cabin. As I always made a point of gratifying him, I opened them immediately; and having taken a fancy to many things that he saw, and collected them together, he at last happened to cast his eye upon this adze. He instantly snatched it up with the greatest eagerness, and, putting away everything which he had before selected, he asked me whether I would let him have that. I readily consented; and, as if he was afraid I should repent, he carried it off immediately in a transport of joy, without making any other request, which, whatever had been our liberality, was seldom the case.

About noon, a chief who had dined with me a few days before, accompanied by some of his women, came on board alone. I had observed that he was fed by his women, but I made no doubt that upon occasion he would condescend to feed himself. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. When my noble guest was seated, and the dinner upon the table, I helped him to some victuals. As I observed that he did not immediately begin his meal, I pressed him to eat; but he still continued to sit motionless like a statue, without attempting to put a single morsel into his mouth, and would certainly have gone without his dinner if one of the servants had not fed him.

In the afternoon of Monday the 1st of May we set up the observatory, and took the astronomical quadrant, with some other instruments, on shore, for the first time. The next morning, about 9 o'clock, I went on shore with Mr Green to fix the quadrant in a situation for use, when, to our inexpressible surprise and concern, it was not to be found. It had been deposited in the tent which was reserved for my use, where, as I passed the night on board, nobody slept. It had never been taken out of the packing-case, which was eighteen inches square, and the whole was of considerable weight; a sentinel had been posted the whole night within five yards of the tent door, and none of the other instruments were missing. We at first suspected that it might have been stolen by some of our own people, who, seeing a deal box, and not knowing the contents, might think it contained nails, or some other subjects of traffic with the natives. A large reward was therefore offered to any one who could find it, as without this we could not perform the service for which our voyage was principally undertaken. Our search in the meantime was not confined to the fort and places adjacent, but as the case might possibly have been carried back to the ship, if any of our own people had been the thieves, the most diligent search was made for it on board. All the parties, however, returned without any news of the quadrant. Mr Banks, therefore, who upon such occasions declined neither labour nor risk, and who had more influence over the Indians than any of us, determined to go in search of it into the woods; he hoped that if it had been stolen by the natives he should find it wherever they had opened the box, as they would immediately discover that to them it would be wholly useless; or, if in this expectation he should be disappointed, that he might recover it by the ascendancy he had acquired over the chiefs. He set out, accompanied by a midshipman and Mr Green, and as he was crossing the river he was met by *Tubourai Tamaide*, who immediately made the figure of a triangle with three bits of straw upon his hand. By this Mr Banks knew that the Indians were the thieves; and that, although they had opened the case, they were not disposed to part with the contents. No time was therefore to be lost, and Mr Banks made Tubourai Tamaide understand that he must instantly go with him to the place whither the quadrant had been carried. He consented, and they set out together to the eastward, the chief inquiring at every house which they passed after the thief by name. The people readily told him which way he was gone, and how long it was since he had been there. The hope which this gave them, that they should overtake him, supported them under their fatigue; and they pressed forward, sometimes walking, sometimes running, though the weather was intolerably hot. When they had climbed a hill at the distance of about four miles, their conductor showed them a point full three miles farther, and gave them to understand that they were not to expect the instrument till they had got thither. Here they paused; they had no arms, except a pair of pistols which Mr Banks always carried in his pocket. They were going to a place that was at least seven miles distant from the fort, where the Indians might be less submissive than at home, and to take from them what they had ventured their lives to get, and what, notwithstanding our conjectures, they appeared desirous to keep. These were discouraging circumstances, and their situation would become more critical at every step. They determined, however, not to relinquish their enterprise, nor to pursue it without taking the best measures for their security that were in their power. It was therefore determined that Mr Banks and Mr Green should go on, and that the midshipman should return to me, and desire that I would send a party of men after them, acquainting me, at the same time, that it was impossible they should return till it was dark. Upon receiving this message, I set out with

such a party as I thought sufficient for the occasion, leaving orders, both at the ship and at the fort, that no canoe should be suffered to go out of the bay, but that none of the natives should be seized or detained.

In the meantime, Mr Banks and Mr Green pursued their journey, under the auspices of Tubourai Tamaide, and in the very spot which he had specified, they met one of his own people, with part of a quadrant in his hand. At this most welcome sight they stopped; and a great number of Indians immediately came up, some of whom pressing rather rudely upon them, Mr Banks thought it necessary to show one of his pistols, the sight of which reduced them instantly to order. As the crowd that gathered round them was every moment increasing, he marked out a circle in the grass, and they ranged themselves on the outside of it, to the number of several hundreds, with great quietness and decorum. Into the middle of this circle, the box, which was now arrived, was ordered to be brought, with several reading glasses, and other small matters, which in their hurry they had put into a pistol-case that Mr Banks knew to be his property—it having been some time before stolen from the tents, with a horse pistol in it, which he immediately demanded, and which was all restored.

Mr Green was impatient to see whether all that had been taken away was returned, and upon examining the box found the stand, and a few small things of less consequence wanting. Several persons were sent in search of these, and most of the small things were returned. But it was signified that the thief had not brought the stand so far, and that it would be delivered to our friends as they went back; this being confirmed by Tubourai Tamaide, they prepared to return, as nothing would then be wanting but what might easily be supplied; and after they had advanced about two miles, I met them with my party, to our mutual satisfaction, congratulating each other upon the recovery of the quadrant, with a pleasure proportioned to the importance of the event.

About 8 o'clock, Mr Banks, with Tubourai Tamaide, got back to the fort; when, to his great surprise, he found Tootahah in custody, and many of the natives in the utmost terror and distress, crowding about the gate. He went hastily in, some of the Indians were suffered to follow him, and the scene was extremely affecting. Tubourai Tamaide pressing forward, ran up to Tootahah, and catching him in his arms, they both burst into tears, and wept over each other, without being able to speak; the other Indians were also in tears for their chief, both he and they being strongly possessed with the notion that he was to be put to death. In this situation they continued till I entered the fort, which was about a quarter of an hour afterwards. I was equally surprised and concerned at what had happened, the confining Tootahah being contrary to my orders, and therefore instantly set him at liberty. Upon inquiring into the affair, I was told, that my going into the woods with a party of men under arms, at a time when a robbery had been committed, which it was supposed I should resent in proportion to our apparent injury by the loss, had so alarmed the natives, that in the evening they began to leave the neighbourhood of the fort, with their effects; that a double canoe having been seen to put off from the bottom of the bay by Mr Gore, the second lieutenant, who was left in command on board the ship, and who had received orders not to suffer any canoe to go out, he sent the boatswain with a boat after her to bring her back; that as soon as the boat came up, the Indians, being alarmed, leaped into the sea and that, Tootahah being unfortunately one of the number, the boatswain took him up and brought him to the ship, suffering the rest of the people to swim on shore; that Mr Gore, not sufficiently attending to the order that none of the people should be confined, had sent him to the fort, and Mr Hicks, the first lieutenant, who commanded there, receiv-

ing him in charge from Mr Gore, did not think himself at liberty to dismiss him. The notion that we intended to put him to death had possessed him so strongly, that he could not be persuaded to the contrary till by my orders he was led out of the fort. The people received him as they would have done a father in the same circumstances, and every one pressed forward to embrace him. Sudden joy is commonly liberal, without a scrupulous regard to merit; and Tootahah, in the first expansion of his heart, upon being unexpectedly restored to liberty and life, insisted upon our receiving a present of two hogs; though, being conscious that upon this occasion we had no claim to favours, we refused them many times.

Mr Banks and Dr Solander attended the next morning in their usual capacity of market-men; but very few Indians appeared, and those who came brought no provisions. Tootahah, however, sent some of his people for the canoe that had been detained, which they took away. A canoe having also been detained that belonged to Oberea, Tupia, the person who managed her affairs when the Dolphin was here, was sent to examine whether anything on board had been taken away; and he was so well satisfied of the contrary, that he left the canoe where he found it, and joined us at the fort, where he spent the day, and slept on board the canoe at night. About noon, some fishing-boats came abreast of the tents, but would part with very little of what they had on board; and we felt the want of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit very severely. In the course of the day, Mr Banks walked out into the woods, that by conversing with the people he might recover their confidence and good-will. He found them civil, but they all complained of the ill-treatment of their chief, who, they said, had been beaten and pulled by the hair. Mr Banks endeavoured to convince them that he had suffered no personal violence, which, to the best of our knowledge, was true; yet, perhaps, the *boatswain had* behaved with a brutality which he was afraid or ashamed to acknowledge. The chief himself being probably, upon recollection, of opinion that we had ill-deserved the hogs which he had left with us as a present, sent a messenger in the afternoon to demand an axe and a shirt in return; but as I was told that he did not intend to come down to the fort for ten days, I excused myself from giving them till I should see him, hoping that his impatience might induce him to fetch them, and knowing that absence would probably continue the coolness between us, to which the first interview might put an end.

The next day we were still more sensible of the inconvenience we had incurred by giving offence to the people in the person of their chief; for the market was so ill supplied that we were in want of necessaries. Mr Banks therefore went into the woods to Tubourai Tamaide, and with some difficulty persuaded him to let us have five baskets of bread-fruit; a very seasonable supply, as they contained above 120. In the afternoon another messenger arrived from Tootahah for the axe and shirt. As it was now become absolutely necessary to recover the friendship of this man, without which it would be scarcely possible to procure provisions, I sent word that Mr Banks and myself would visit him on the morrow, and bring what he wanted with us.

Early the next morning he sent again to remind me of my promise, and his people seemed to wait, till we should set out, with great impatience. I therefore ordered the pinnace, in which I embarked with Mr Banks and Dr Solander about 10 o'clock. We took one of Tootahah's people in the boat with us, and in about an hour we arrived at his place of residence, which is called Eparre, and is about four miles to the westward of the tents.

We found the people waiting for us in great numbers upon the shore, so that it would have been impossible for us to have proceeded, if way had not been made for us by a tall well-

looking man, who had something like a turban about his head, and a long white stick in his hand, with which he laid about him at an unmerciful rate. This man conducted us to the chief, while the people shouted round us, "Taio Tootahah,"—"Tootahah is your friend." We found him, like an ancient patriarch, sitting under a tree, with a number of venerable old men standing round him. He made a sign to us to sit down, and immediately asked for his axe; this I presented to him, with an upper garment of broad cloth, made after the country fashion, and trimmed with tape, to which I also added a shirt. He received them with great satisfaction, and immediately put on the garment; but the shirt he gave to the person who had cleared the way for us upon our landing, who was now seated by us, and of whom he seemed desirous that we should take particular notice. In a short time, Oberea, and several other women whom we knew, came and sat down among us. Tootahah left us several times, but after a short absence returned; we thought it had been to show himself in his new finery to the people, but we wronged him, for it was to give directions for our refreshment and entertainment. While we were waiting for his return the last time he left us, very impatient to be dismissed, as we were almost suffocated in the crowd, word was brought us that he expected us elsewhere. We found him sitting under the awning of our own boat, and making signs that we should come to him. As many of us, therefore, went on board as the boat would hold, and he then ordered bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts to be brought, of both which we tasted, rather to gratify him than because we had a desire to eat. A message was soon after brought him, upon which he went out of the boat, and we were in a short time desired to follow. We were conducted to a large area or court-yard, which was railed round with bamboos about three feet high, on one side of his house, where an entertainment was provided for us, entirely new. This was a wrestling-match. At the upper end of the area sat the chief, and several of his principal men were ranged on each side of him, so as to form a semicircle; these were the judges, by whom the victor was to be applauded. Seats were also left for us, at each end of the line; but we chose rather to be at liberty among the rest of the spectators.

When all was ready, ten or twelve persons, whom we understood to be the combatants, and who were naked, except a cloth that was fastened about the waist, entered the area, and walked slowly round it, in a stooping posture, with their left hands on their right breasts, and their right hands open, with which they frequently struck the left fore-arm so as to produce a quick smart sound. This was a general challenge to the combatants whom they were to engage, or any other person present. After these followed others, in the same manner; and then a particular challenge was given, by which each man singled out his antagonist. This was done by joining the finger ends of both hands, and bringing them to the breast, at the same time moving the elbows up and down with a quick motion. If the person to whom this was addressed accepted the challenge, he repeated the signs, and immediately each put himself into an attitude to engage. The next minute they closed, but, except in first seizing each other, it was a mere contest of strength; each endeavoured to lay hold of the other, first by the thigh, and if that failed by the hand, the hair, the cloth, or elsewhere as he could. When this was done they grappled, without the least dexterity or skill, till one of them, by having a more advantageous hold, or greater muscular force, threw the other on his back. When the contest was over, the old men gave their plaudit to the victor in a few words, which they repeated together in a kind of tune; his conquest was also generally celebrated by three huzzas. The entertainment was then suspended for a few minutes, after which another couple of wrestlers came forward and engaged in the same manner. If it happened that neither

was thrown, after the contest had continued about a minute, they parted, either by consent or the intervention of their friends; and in this case each slapped his arm, as a challenge to a new engagement, either with the same antagonist or some other. While the wrestlers were engaged, another party of men performed a dance, which lasted also about a minute; but neither of these parties took the least notice of each other, their attention being wholly fixed on what they were doing. We observed with pleasure, that the conqueror never exulted over the vanquished, and that the vanquished never repined at the success of the conqueror; the whole contest was carried on with perfect good-will and good-humour, though in the presence of at least 500 spectators, of whom some were women. The number of women, indeed, was comparatively small; none but those of rank were present; and we had reason to believe that they would not have been spectators of this exercise but in compliment to us.

This lasted about two hours; during all which time, the man who had made a way for us when we landed, kept the people at a proper distance, by striking those who pressed forward very severely with his stick. Upon inquiry we learned that he was an officer belonging to Tootahah, acting as master of the ceremonies. It is scarcely possible, for those who are acquainted with the athletic sports of very remote antiquity, not to remark a rude resemblance of them in this wrestling-match among the natives of a little island in the midst of the Pacific Ocean. And female readers may recollect the account given of them by Fenelon in his Telemachus, where, though the events are fictitious, the manners of the age are faithfully transcribed from authors by whom they are supposed to have been truly related.

When the wrestling was over, we were given to understand that two hogs, and a large quantity of bread-fruit, were preparing for our dinner; which, as our appetites were now keen, was very agreeable intelligence. Our host, however, seemed to repent of his liberality; for, instead of setting his two hogs before us, he ordered one of them to be carried into our boat: at first we were not sorry for this new disposition of matters, thinking that we should dine more comfortably in the boat than on shore, as the crowd would more easily be kept at a distance; but when we came on board, he ordered us to proceed with his hog to the ship. This was mortifying, as we were now to row four miles while our dinner was growing cold; however, we thought fit to comply, and were at last gratified with the cheer that he had provided, of which he and Tubourai Tamaide had a liberal share.

Our reconciliation with this man operated upon the people like a charm; for he was no sooner known to be on board, than bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other provisions were brought to the fort in great plenty. Affairs now went on in the usual channel; but pork being still a scarce commodity, our master, Mr Mollineux, and Mr Green, went in the pinnace to the eastward, on the 8th, early in the morning, to see whether they could procure any hogs or poultry in that part of the country. They proceeded in that direction twenty miles; but though they saw many hogs, and one turtle, they could not purchase either at any price. The people everywhere told them, that they all belonged to Tootahah, and that they could sell none of them without his permission. We now began to think that this man was indeed a great prince; for an influence so extensive and absolute could be acquired by no other. And we afterwards found that he administered the government of this part of the island, as sovereign, for a minor whom we never saw all the time that we were upon it. When Mr Green returned from this expedition he said he had seen a tree of a size which he was afraid to relate, it being no less than sixty yards in circumference; but Mr Banks and Dr Solander soon explained to him that it was a species of the fig, the branches of which, bending down,

take fresh root in the earth, and thus form a congeries of trunks, which being very close to each other, and all joined by a common vegetation, might easily be mistaken for one.

Though the market at the fort was now tolerably supplied, provisions were brought more slowly; a sufficient quantity used to be purchased between sun-rise and eight o'clock, but it was now become necessary to attend the greatest part of the day. Mr Banks, therefore, fixed his little boat up before the door of the fort, which was of great use as a place to trade in. Hitherto we had purchased cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit for beads; but the market becoming rather slack in these articles, we were now, for the first time, forced to bring out our nails. One of our smallest size, which was about four inches long, procured us twenty cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit in proportion, so that in a short time our first plenty was restored.

On the 9th, soon after breakfast, we received a visit from Oberea, being the first that she had made us after the loss of our quadrant and the unfortunate confinement of Tootahah; with her came her present favourite, Obadée, and Tupia. They brought us a hog and some bread-fruit, in return for which we gave her a hatchet. We had now afforded our Indian friends a new and interesting object of curiosity—our forge, which, having been set up some time, was almost constantly at work. It was now common for them to bring pieces of iron, which we suppose they must have got from the Dolphin, to be made into tools of various kinds; and as I was very desirous to gratify them, they were indulged, except when the smith's time was too precious to be spared. Oberea, having received her hatchet, produced as much old iron as would have made another, with a request that another might be made of it; in this, however, I could not gratify her, upon which she brought out a broken axe, and desired it might be mended. I was glad of an opportunity to compromise the difference between us; her axe was mended, and she appeared to be content. They went away at night, and took with them the canoe, which had been a considerable time at the point, but promised to return in three days.

On the 10th, I put some seeds of melons and other plants into a spot of ground which had been turned up for the purpose; they had all been sealed up by the person of whom they were bought, in small bottles, with rosin; but none of them came up except mustard; even the cucumbers and melons failed, and Mr Banks is of opinion that they were spoiled by the total exclusion of fresh air.

This day we learned the Indian name of the island, which is Otaheite, and by that name I shall hereafter distinguish it. But after great pains taken we found it utterly impossible to teach the Indians to pronounce our names; we had, therefore, new names, consisting of such sounds as they produced in the attempt. They called me "Toote;" Mr Hicks, "Hete;" Mollineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the master "Boba," from his christian name Robert; Mr Gore was "Toarro;" Dr Solander, "Torano;" and Mr Banks, "Tapane;" Mr Green, "Eteree;" Mr Parkinson, "Patini;" Mr Sporing, "Polini;" Petersgill, "Pedrodero;" and in this manner they had now formed names for almost every man in the ship. In some, however, it was not easy to find any traces of the original, and they were perhaps not mere arbitrary sounds, formed upon the occasion, but significant words in their own language. Monkhouse, the midshipman who commanded the party that killed the man for stealing the musket, they called "Matte;" not merely by an attempt to imitate in sound the first syllable of Monkhouse, but because "Matte" signifies dead; and this might probably be the case with others.

Friday, the 12th of May, was distinguished by a visit from some ladies whom we had never seen before, and who introduced themselves with very singular ceremonies. Mr Banks was trading in his boat at the gate of the fort as usual, in company with Too-

tahah, who had that morning paid him a visit, and some other of the natives. Between 9 and 10 o'clock, a double canoe came to the landing-place, under the awning of which sat a man and two women. The Indians that were about Mr Banks made signs that he should go out to meet them, which he hasted to do; but by the time he could get out of the boat, they had advanced within ten yards of him; they then stopped, and made signs that he should do so too, laying down about a dozen young plantain trees, and some other small plants. He complied, and, the people having made a lane between them, the man, who appeared to be a servant, brought six of them to Mr Banks by one of each at a time, passing and repassing six times, and always pronouncing a short sentence when he delivered them. Tupia, who stood by Mr Banks, acted as his master of the ceremonies, and, receiving the branches as they were brought, laid them down in the boat. When this was done, another man brought a large bundle of cloth, which having opened, he spread piece by piece upon the ground, in the space between Mr Banks and his visitors. There were nine pieces, and having laid three pieces one upon another, the foremost of the women, who seemed to be the principal, and who was called Oorattoos, stepped upon them, and taking up her garments all around her to the waist, turned about, with great composure and deliberation, and with an air of perfect innocence and simplicity, three times. When this was done, she dropped the veil, and stepping off the cloth, three more pieces were laid on, and she repeated the ceremony, then stepping off as before; the last three were laid on, and the ceremony was repeated in the same manner the third time. Immediately after this the cloth was rolled up, and given to Mr Banks as a present from the lady, who, with her friend, came up and saluted him. He made such presents to them both as he thought would be most acceptable, and after having stayed about an hour they went away. In the evening the gentlemen at the fort had a visit from Oberea, and her favourite female attendant, whose name was Otheothea, an agreeable girl, whom they were the more pleased to see, because, having been some days absent, it had been reported she was either sick or dead.

On the 13th, the market being over about 10 o'clock, Mr Banks walked into the woods with his gun, as he generally did, for the benefit of the shade in the heat of the day. As he was returning, he met Tubourai Tamaide, near his occasional dwelling, and stopping to spend a little time with him, he suddenly took the gun out of Mr Banks's hand, cocked it, and holding it up in the air, drew the trigger; fortunately for him it flashed in the pan. Mr Banks immediately took it from him, not a little surprised how he had acquired sufficient knowledge of a gun to discharge it, and reproved him with great severity for what he had done. As it was of infinite importance to keep the Indians totally ignorant of the management of fire-arms, he had taken every opportunity of intimating that they could never offend him so highly as by even touching his piece; it was now proper to enforce this prohibition, and he therefore added threats to his reproof. The Indian bore all patiently; but the moment Mr Banks crossed the river, he set off with all his family and furniture for his house at Eparre. This being quickly known from the Indians at the fort, and great inconvenience being apprehended from the displeasure of this man, who upon all occasions had been particularly useful, Mr Banks determined to follow him without delay, and solicit his return. He set out the same evening accompanied by Mr Mollineux, and found him sitting in the middle of a large circle of people, to whom he had probably related what had happened, and his fears of the consequences. He was himself the very picture of grief and dejection, and the same passions were strongly marked in the countenances of all the people that surrounded him.

When Mr Banks and Mr Mollineux went into the circle, one of the women expressed her trouble as Terapo had done upon another occasion, and struck a shark's tooth into her head several times till it was covered with blood. Mr Banks lost no time in putting an end to this universal distress; he assured the chief that everything which had passed should be forgotten, that there was not the least animosity remaining on one side, nor anything to be feared on the other. The chief was soon soothed into confidence and complacency, a double canoe was ordered to be got ready, they all returned together to the fort before supper, and, as a pledge of perfect reconciliation, both he and his wife slept all night in Mr Banks's tent. Their presence, however, was no palladium; for, between 11 and 12 o'clock, one of the natives attempted to get into the fort by scaling the walls, with a design, no doubt, to steal whatever he should happen to find. He was discovered by the sentinel, who happily did not fire, and he ran away much faster than any of our people could follow him. The iron and iron-tools which were in continual use at the armourer's forge that was set up within the works, were temptations to theft which none of these people could withstand.

On the 14th, which was Sunday, I directed that divine service should be performed at the fort. We were desirous that some of the principal Indians should be present; but when the hour came, most of them were returned home. Mr Banks, however, crossed the river, and brought back Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio, hoping that it would give occasion to some inquiries on their part, and some instruction on ours. Having seated them, he placed himself between them, and during the whole service they very attentively observed his behaviour, and very exactly imitated it; standing, sitting, or kneeling, as they saw him do. They were conscious that we were employed about somewhat serious and important, as appeared by their calling to the Indians without the fort to be silent; yet when the service was over, neither of them asked any questions, nor would they attend to any attempt that was made to explain what had been done.

On the 14th and 15th, we had another opportunity of observing the general knowledge which these people had of any design that was formed among them. In the night between the 13th and 14th, one of the water-casks was stolen from the outside of the fort. In the morning there was not an Indian to be seen who did not know that it was gone; yet they appeared not to have been trusted, or not to have been worthy of trust; for they seemed all of them disposed to give intelligence where it might be found. Mr Banks traced it to a part of the bay where he was told it had been put into a canoe; but, as it was not of great consequence, he did not complete the discovery. When he returned, he was told by Tubourai Tamaide that another cask would be stolen before the morning. How he came by this knowledge it is not easy to imagine; that he was not a party in the design is certain, for he came with his wife and family to the place where the water-casks stood, and placing their beds near them, he said he would himself be a pledge for their safety, in despite of the thief. Of this, however, we would not admit, and making them understand that a sentry would be placed to watch the casks till the morning, he removed the beds into Mr Banks's tent, where he and his family spent the night, making signs to the sentry when he retired, that he should keep his eyes open. In the night this intelligence appeared to be true; about 12 o'clock the thief came, but discovering that a watch had been set, he went away without his booty.

Mr Banks's confidence in Tubourai Tamaide had greatly increased since the affair of the knife, in consequence of which he was at length exposed to temptations which neither his integrity nor his honour was able to resist.

They had withstood many allurements, but were at length ensnared by the fascinating charms of a basket of nails. These nails were much larger than any that had yet been brought into trade, and had, with perhaps some degree of criminal negligence, been left in a corner of Mr Banks's tent, to which the chief had always free access. One of these nails Mr Banks's servant happened to see in his possession, upon his having inadvertently thrown back that part of his garment under which it was concealed. Mr Banks being told of this, and knowing that no such thing had been given him either as a present or in barter, immediately examined the basket, and discovered that out of seven nails five were missing. He then, though not without great reluctance, charged him with the fact, which he immediately confessed, and, however he might suffer, was probably not more hurt than his accuser. A demand was immediately made for restitution; but this he declined, saying that the nails were at Eparre. However, Mr Banks appearing to be much in earnest, and using some threatening signs, he thought fit to produce one of them. He was then taken to the fort, to receive such judgment as should be given against him by the general voice. After some deliberation, that we might not appear to think too lightly of his offence, he was told, that if he would bring the other four nails to the fort, it should be forgotten. To this condition he agreed; but I am sorry to say he did not fulfil it. Instead of fetching the nails, he removed with his family before night, and took all his furniture with him.

As our long-boat had appeared to be leaky, I thought it necessary to examine her bottom, and to my great surprise, found it so much eaten by the worms, that it was necessary to give her a new one. No such accident had happened to the Dolphin's boats, as I was informed by the *officers* on board, and therefore it was a misfortune that I did not expect. I feared that the pinnace also might be nearly in the same condition, but, upon examining her, I had the satisfaction to find that not a worm had touched her, though she was built of the same wood, and had been as much in the water. The reason of this difference I imagine to be that the long-boat was payed with varnish of pine, and the pinnace painted with white lead and oil; the bottoms of all boats, therefore, which are sent into this country should be painted like that of the pinnace, and the ships should be supplied with a good stock, in order to give them a new coating when it should be found necessary.

Having received repeated messages from Tootahah, that if we would pay him a visit he would acknowledge the favour by a present of four hogs, I sent Mr Hicks, my first lieutenant, to try if he could not procure the hogs upon easier terms, with orders to show him every civility in his power. Mr Hicks found that he was removed from Eparre to a place called Tettahah, five miles farther to the westward. He was received with great cordiality; one hog was immediately produced, and he was told that the other three, which were at some distance, should be brought in the morning. Mr Hicks readily consented to stay; but the morning came without the hogs; and it not being convenient to stay longer, he returned in the evening with the one he had got.

On the 25th, Tubourai Tamaide and his wife Tomio made their appearance at the tent, for the first time since he had been detected in stealing the nails. He seemed to be under some discontent and apprehension, yet he did not think fit to purchase our countenance and good-will by restoring the four which he had sent away. As Mr Banks and the other gentlemen treated him with a coolness and reserve which did not at all tend to restore his peace or good-humour, his stay was short, and his departure abrupt. Mr Monkhouse, the surgeon, went the next morning

in order to effect a reconciliation, by persuading him to bring down the nails; but he could not succeed.

On the 27th, it was determined that we should pay our visit to Tootahah, though we were not very confident that we should receive the hogs for our pains. I therefore set out early in the morning, with Mr Banks and Dr Solander, and three others, in the pinnace. He was now removed from Tettahah, where Mr Hicks had seen him, to a place called Atahourou, about six miles farther; and as we could not go above half-way thither in the boat, it was almost evening before we arrived. We found him in his usual state, sitting under a tree, with a great crowd about him. We made our presents in due form, consisting of a yellow stuff petticoat and some other trifling articles, which were graciously received; a hog was immediately ordered to be killed and dressed for supper, with a promise of more in the morning. However, as we were less desirous of feasting upon our journey than of carrying back with us provisions, which would be more welcome at the fort, we procured a reprieve for the hog, and supped upon the fruits of the country. As night now came on, and the place was crowded with many more than the houses and canoes would contain, there being Oberea, with her attendants, and many other travellers whom we knew, we began to look out for lodgings. Our party consisted of six. Mr Banks thought himself fortunate in being offered a place by Oberea in her canoe, and wishing his friends a good-night, took his leave. He went to rest early, according to the custom of the country, and taking off his clothes, as was his constant practice, the nights being hot, Oberea kindly insisted upon taking them into her own custody, for otherwise, she said, they would certainly be stolen. Mr Banks, having such a safe guard, resigned himself to sleep with all imaginable tranquillity; but waking about 11 o'clock, and wanting to get up, he searched for his clothes where he had seen them deposited by Oberea when he lay down to sleep, and soon perceived that they were amissing. He immediately awakened Oberea, who, starting up and hearing his complaint, ordered lights, and prepared in great haste to recover what he had lost. Tootahah himself slept in the next canoe, and being soon alarmed, he came to them, and set out with Oberea in search of the thief. Mr Banks was not in a condition to go with them, for of his apparel scarce anything was left him but his breeches. His coat and his waistcoat, with his pistols, powder-horn, and many other things that were in the pockets, were gone. In about half-an-hour his two noble friends returned, but without having obtained any intelligence of his clothes or of the thief. At first he began to be alarmed; his musket had not indeed been taken away, but he had neglected to load it. Where I and Dr Solander had disposed of ourselves he did not know; and therefore, whatever might happen, he could not have recourse to us for assistance. He thought it best, however, to express neither fear nor suspicion of those about him; and giving his musket to Tupia, who had been waked in the confusion and stood by him, with a charge not to suffer it to be stolen, he betook himself again to rest, declaring himself perfectly satisfied with the pains that Tootahah and Oberea had taken to recover his things, though they had not been successful. As it cannot be supposed that in such a situation his sleep was very sound, he soon after heard music, and saw lights at a little distance on shore. This was a concert or assembly, which they call a Heiva, a common name for every public exhibition; and as it would necessarily bring many people together, and there was a chance of my being among them with his other friends, he rose and made the best of his way towards it. He was soon led by the lights and the sound to the hut where I lay, with three other gentlemen of our party; and easily distinguishing us from the rest, he made up to us more than half naked, and told us his melancholy story. We

gave him such comfort as the unfortunate generally give to each other, by telling him that we were fellow-sufferers. I showed him that I was myself without stockings, they having been stolen from under my head, though I was sure I had never been asleep; and each of my associates convinced him by his appearance that he had lost a jacket. We determined nevertheless to hear out the concert, however deficient we might appear in our dress. It consisted of three drums, four flutes, and several voices. When this entertainment, which lasted about an hour, was over, we retired again to our sleeping places, having agreed that nothing could be done toward the recovery of our things till the morning.

We rose at daybreak, according to the custom of the country. The first man that Mr Banks saw was Tupia, faithfully attending with his musket; and soon after, Oberea brought him some of her country clothes as a succedaneum for his own; so that when he came to us he made a most motley appearance, half Indian and half English. Our party soon got together, except Dr Solander, whose quarters we did not know, and who had not assisted at the concert. In a short time Tootahah made his appearance, and we pressed him to recover our clothes; but neither he nor Oberea could be persuaded to take any measure for that purpose, so that we began to suspect that they had been parties in the theft. About 8 o'clock we were joined by Dr Solander, who had fallen into honester hands, at a house about a mile distant, and had lost nothing. Having given up all hope of recovering our clothes, which indeed were never afterwards heard of, we spent all the morning in soliciting the hogs which we had been promised; but in this we had no better success. We therefore, in no very good humour, set out for the boat about 12 o'clock, with only that which we had redeemed from the butcher and the cook the night before.

As we were returning to the boat, *however*, we were entertained with a sight that in some measure compensated for our fatigue and disappointment. In our way we came to one of the few places where access to the island is not guarded by a reef, and consequently a high surf breaks upon the shore. A more dreadful one indeed I had seldom seen. It was impossible for any European boat to have lived in it; and if the best swimmer in Europe had by any accident been exposed to its fury, I am confident that he would not have been able to preserve himself from drowning, especially as the shore was covered with pebbles and large stones. Yet in the midst of these breakers were ten or twelve Indians swimming for their amusement. Whenever a surf broke near them they dived under it, and, to all appearance with infinite facility, rose again on the other side. This diversion was greatly improved by the stern of an old canoe, which they happened to find upon the spot. They took this before them, and swam out with it as far as the outermost breach; then two or three of them, getting into it, and turning the square end to the breaking wave, were driven in towards the shore with incredible rapidity, sometimes almost to the beach; but generally the wave broke over them before they got half way, in which case they dived, and rose on the other side with the canoe in their hands. They then swam out with it again, and were again driven back, just as our holiday youth climb the hill in Greenwich Park for the pleasure of rolling down it. At this wonderful scene we stood gazing for more than half-an-hour, during which time none of the swimmers attempted to come on shore, but seemed to enjoy their sport in the highest degree. We then proceeded on our journey, and late in the evening got back to the fort.

Among other Indians that had visited us, there were some from a neighbouring island which they called Eimeo or Imao, the same to which Captain Wallis had given the name of the Duke of York's Island; and they gave us an account of no less

than two-and-twenty islands that lay in the neighbourhood of Otaheite.

As the day of observation now approached, I determined, in consequence of some hints which had been given me by Lord Morton, to send out two parties to observe the transit from other situations, hoping that if we should fail at Otaheite, they might have better success. We were, therefore, now busily employed in preparing our instruments, and instructing such gentlemen in the use of them as I intended to send out. On Thursday the 1st of June, the Saturday following being the day of the transit, I despatched Mr Gore in the long-boat to Imao, with Mr Monkhouse and Mr Sporing, a gentleman belonging to Mr Banks, Mr Green having furnished them with proper instruments. Mr Banks himself thought fit to go upon this expedition; and several natives, particularly Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio, were also of the party. Very early on the Friday morning, I sent Mr Hicks, with Mr Clerk and Mr Petersgill, the master's mates, and Mr Saunders, one of the midshipmen, in the pinnace to the eastward, with orders to fix on some convenient spot at a distance from our principal observatory, where they also might employ the instruments with which they had been furnished for the same purpose.

The long-boat not having been got ready till Thursday in the afternoon, though all possible expedition was used to fit her out, the people on board, after having rowed most part of the night, brought her to a grappling just under the land of Imao. Soon after daybreak they saw an Indian canoe, which they hailed, and the people on board showed them an inlet through the reef, into which they pulled, and soon fixed upon a coral rock, which rose out of the water about 150 yards from the shore, as a proper situation for their observatory. It was about eighty yards long and twenty broad, and in the middle of it was a bed of white sand, large enough for the tents to stand upon. Mr Gore and his assistants immediately began to set them up, and make other necessary preparations for the important business of the next day. While this was doing, Mr Banks, with the Indians of Otaheite, and the people whom they had met in the canoe, went ashore upon the main island to buy provisions; of which he procured a sufficient supply before night. When he returned to the rock he found the observatory in order, and the telescopes all fixed and tried. The evening was very fine, yet their solicitude did not permit them to take much rest in the night; one or other of them was up every half-hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky—now encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears by an account that it was hazy.

At daybreak they got up, and had the satisfaction to see the sun rise without a cloud. Mr Banks then wishing the observers, Mr Gore and Mr Monkhouse, success, repaired again to the island, that he might examine its produce and get a fresh supply of provisions. He began by trading with the natives, for which purpose he took his station under a tree; and to keep them from pressing upon him in a crowd, he drew a circle round him, which he suffered none of them to enter. About 8 o'clock he saw two canoes coming towards the place, and was given to understand by the people about him that they belonged to Tarrao, the king of the island, who was coming to make him a visit. As soon as the canoes came near the shore, the people made a lane from the beach to the trading-place, and his majesty landed with his sister, whose name was Nuna. As they advanced towards the tree where Mr Banks stood, he went out to meet them, and, with great formality, introduced them into the circle from which the other natives had been excluded. As it is the custom of these people to sit during all their conferences, Mr Banks unwrapped a kind of turban of Indian cloth, which he wore upon his head instead of a

hat, and spreading it upon the ground, they all sat down upon it together. The royal present was then brought, which consisted of a hog and a dog, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of the like kind. Mr Banks then despatched a canoe to the observatory for his present, and the messengers soon returned with an adze, a shirt, and some beads, which were presented to his majesty, and received with great satisfaction. By this time Tubourai Tamaide and Tomio joined them from the observatory. Tomio said that she was related to Tarrao, and brought him a present of a long nail, at the same time complimenting Nuna with a shirt.

The first internal contact of the planet with the sun being over, Mr Banks returned to the observatory, taking Tarrao, Nuna, and some of their principal attendants, among whom were three very handsome young women, with him. He showed them the planet upon the sun, and endeavoured to make them understand that he and his companions had come from their own country on purpose to see it. Soon after Mr Banks returned with them to the island, where he spent the rest of the day in examining its produce, which he found to be much the same with that of Otaheite. The people whom he saw there also exactly resembled the inhabitants of that island, and many of them were persons whom he had seen upon it; so that all those whom he had dealt with knew of what his trading articles consisted, and the value they bore. The next morning, having struck the tents, they set out on their return, and arrived at the fort before night.

The observation was made with equal success by the persons whom I had sent to the eastward, and at the fort. There not being a cloud in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, the whole passage of the planet Venus over the sun's disc was observed with great advantage by Mr Green, Dr Solander, and myself. Mr Green's telescope and mine were of *the same* magnifying power, but that of Dr Solander's was greater. We all saw an atmosphere or dusky cloud round the body of the planet, which very much disturbed the times of contact, especially of the internal ones; and we differed from each other in our accounts of the times of the contacts much more than might have been expected. According to Mr Green,

	Ho.	Min.	Sec.	
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the Sun, was . .	9	25	42	Morning.
The first internal contact, or total emersion, was . .	9	44	4	Morning.
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion, . .	3	14	8	Afternoon.
The second external contact, or total emersion, . . .	3	32	10	Afternoon.

The latitude of the observatory was found to be 17° 29′ 15″, and the longitude 149° 32′ 30″ W. of Greenwich.

But if we had reason to congratulate ourselves upon the success of our observation, we had scarce less cause to regret the diligence with which that time had been improved by some of our people to another purpose. While the attention of the officers was engrossed by the transit of Venus, some of the ship's company broke into one of the store-rooms and stole a quantity of spike nails, amounting to no less than one hundredweight. This was a matter of public and serious concern; for these nails, if circulated by the people among the Indians, would do us irreparable injury, by reducing the value of iron, our staple commodity. One of the thieves was detected, but only seven nails were found in his custody. He was punished with two dozen lashes, but would impeach none of his accomplices.

On the 5th we kept his Majesty's birthday; for, though it is the 4th, we were unwilling to celebrate it during the absence of the two parties who had been sent out to observe the

transit. We had several of the Indian chiefs at our entertainment, who drank his Majesty's health by the name of "Kihiargo," which was the nearest imitation they could produce of King George.

About this time died an old woman of some rank, who was related to Tomio, which gave us an opportunity to see how they disposed of the body, and confirmed us in our opinion that these people, contrary to the present custom of all other nations now known, never bury their dead. In the middle of a small square, neatly railed in with bamboo, the awning of a canoe was raised upon two posts, and under this the body was deposited upon such a frame as has before been described. It was covered with fine cloth, and near it was placed bread-fruit, fish, and other provisions. We supposed that the food was placed there for the spirit of the deceased, and consequently that these Indians had some confused notion of a separate state; but upon our applying for further information to Tubourai Tamaide, he told us that the food was placed there as an offering to their gods. They do not, however, suppose that the gods eat, any more than the Jews supposed that Jehovah could dwell in a house. The offering is made here upon the same principle as the temple was built at Jerusalem—as an expression of reverence and gratitude, and a solicitation of the more immediate presence of the Deity. In the front of the area was a kind of stile, where the relations of the deceased stood to pay the tribute of their sorrow; and under the awning were innumerable small pieces of cloth, on which the tears and blood of the mourners had been shed; for in their paroxysms of grief it is a universal custom to wound themselves with the shark's tooth. Within a few yards two occasional houses were set up, in one of which some relations of the deceased constantly resided, and in the other the chief mourner—who is always a man, and who keeps there a very singular dress, in which a ceremony is performed that will be described in its turn. Near the place where the dead are thus set up to rot, the bones are afterwards buried.

Having observed that bread-fruit had for some days been brought in less quantities than usual, we inquired the reason, and were told, that there being a great show of fruit upon the trees, they had been thinned all at once, in order to make a kind of sour paste, which the natives call "mahie," and which, in consequence of having undergone a fermentation, will keep a considerable time, and supply them with food when no ripe fruit is to be had.

On the 10th, the ceremony was to be performed in honour of the old woman whose sepulchral tabernacle has been described, by the chief mourner; and Mr Banks had so great a curiosity to see all the mysteries of the solemnity, that he determined to take a part in it, being told that he could be present upon no other condition. In the evening, therefore, he repaired to the place where the body lay, and was received by the daughter of the deceased, and several other persons, among whom was a boy about fourteen years old, who were to assist in the ceremony. Tubourai Tamaide was to be the principal mourner; and his dress was extremely fantastical, though not unbecoming. Mr Banks was stripped of his European clothes, and, a small piece of cloth being tied round his middle, his body was smeared with charcoal and water, as low as the shoulders, till it was as black as that of a Negro. The same operation was performed upon several others, among whom were some women, who were reduced to a state as near to nakedness as himself; the boy was blacked all over, and then the procession set forward. Tubourai Tamaide uttered something, which was supposed to be a prayer, near the body, and did the same when he came up to his own house. When this was done, the procession was continued towards the fort, permission having been obtained to approach it upon this occasion. It is the custom of the Indians to fly from these pro-

cessions with the utmost precipitation, so that as soon as those who were about the fort saw it at a distance, they hid themselves in the woods. It proceeded from the fort along the shore, and put to flight another body of Indians, consisting of more than 100, every one hiding himself under the first shelter that he could find. It then crossed the river, and entered the woods, passing several houses, all which were deserted, and not a single Indian could be seen during the rest of the procession, which continued more than half-an-hour. The office that Mr Banks performed was called that of the Nineveh, of which there were two besides himself; and the natives having all disappeared, they came to the chief mourner, and said, "Imitata"—"There are no people," after which the company was dismissed to wash themselves in the river, and put on their customary apparel.

On the 12th, complaint being made to me by some of the natives that two of the seamen had taken from them several bows and arrows, and some strings of plaited hair, I examined the matter, and finding the charge well supported, I punished each of the criminals with two dozen lashes. Their bows and arrows have not been mentioned before, nor were they often brought down to the fort. This day, however, Tubourai Tamaide brought down his, in consequence of a challenge which he had received from Mr Gore. The chief supposed it was to try who could send the arrow farthest; Mr Gore, who best could hit a mark; and as Mr Gore did not value himself upon shooting to a great distance, nor the chief upon hitting a mark, there was no trial of skill between them. Tubourai Tamaide, however, to show us what he could do, drew his bow, and sent an arrow, none of which are feathered, 274 yards, which is something more than a seventh, and something less than a sixth part of a mile. Their manner of shooting is somewhat singular; they kneel down, and, the moment the arrow is discharged, drop the bow.

Mr Banks, in his morning walk this day, met a number of the natives, whom, upon inquiry, he found to be travelling musicians; and having learned where they were to be at night, we all repaired to the place. The band consisted of two flutes and three drums, and we found a great number of people assembled upon the occasion. The drummers accompanied the music with their voices, and, to our great surprise, we discovered that we were generally the subject of the song. We did not expect to have found among the uncivilised inhabitants of this sequestered spot, a character which has been the subject of such praise and veneration where genius and knowledge have been most conspicuous; yet these were the bards or minstrels of Otaheite. Their song was unpremeditated, and accompanied with music; they were continually going about from place to place, and they were rewarded by the master of the house, and the audience, with such things as one wanted and the other could spare.

On the 14th, we were brought into new difficulties and inconvenience by another robbery at the fort. In the middle of the night, one of the natives contrived to steal an iron coal-rake that was made use of for the oven. It happened to be set up against the inside of the wall, so that the top of the handle was visible from without; and we were informed that the thief, who had been seen lurking there in the evening, came secretly about three o'clock in the morning, and, watching his opportunity when the sentinel's back was turned, very dexterously laid hold of it with a long crooked stick, and drew it over the wall. I thought it of some consequence, if possible, to put an end to these practices at once, by doing something that should make it the common interest of the natives themselves to prevent them. I had given strict orders that they should not be fired upon, even when detected in these attempts, for which I had many reasons. The common sentinels were

by no means fit to be entrusted with a power of life and death, to be exerted whenever they should think fit, and I had already experienced that they were ready to take away the lives that were in their power upon the slightest occasion; neither, indeed, did I think that the thefts which these people committed against us, were, in them, crimes worthy of death. That thieves are hanged in England, I thought no reason why they should be shot in Otaheite, because, with respect to the natives, it would have been an execution by a law *ex post facto*. They had no such law among themselves, and it did not appear to me that we had any right to make such a law for them. That they should abstain from theft, or be punished with death, was not one of the conditions under which they claimed advantages of civil society, as it is among us; and I was not willing to expose them to fire-arms loaded with shot, neither could I perfectly approve of firing only with powder. At first, indeed, the noise and the smoke would alarm them, but when they found that no mischief followed, they would be led to despise the weapons themselves, and proceed to insults which would make it necessary to put them to the test, and from which they would be deterred by the very sight of a gun, if it was never used but with effect.

At this time, an accident furnished me with what I thought a happy expedient. It happened that above twenty of their sailing canoes were just come in with a supply of fish. Upon these I immediately seized, and, bringing them into the river behind the fort, gave public notice that except the rake, and all the rest of the things which from time to time had been stolen, were returned, the canoes should be burned. This menace I ventured to publish, though I had no design to put it into execution, making no doubt but that it was well known in whose possession the stolen goods were, and that, as restitution was thus made a common cause, they would all of them in a short time be brought back. A list of the things was made out, consisting principally of the rake, the musket which had been taken from the marine when the Indian was shot, the pistols which Mr Banks lost with his clothes at Atahourou, a sword belonging to one of the petty officers, and the water cask. About noon the rake was restored, and great solicitation was made for the release of the canoes; but I still insisted upon my original condition. The next day came, and nothing further was restored, at which I was much surprised, for the people were in the utmost distress for the fish, which in a short time would be spoilt; I was, therefore, reduced to a disagreeable situation, either of releasing the canoes, contrary to what I had solemnly and publicly declared, or detaining them, to the great injury of those who were innocent, without answering any good purpose to ourselves. As a temporary expedient I permitted them to take the fish, but still detained the canoes. This very license, however, was productive of new confusion and injury; for, it not being easy at once to distinguish to what particular person the several lots of fish belonged, the canoes were plundered, under favour of this circumstance, by those who had no right to any part of their cargo. Most pressing instances were still made that the canoes might be restored; and I, having now the greatest reason to believe either that the things for which I detained them were not in the island, or that those who suffered by their detention had not sufficient influence over the thieves to prevail upon them to relinquish their booty, determined at length to give them up, not a little mortified at the bad success of my project.

Another accident also about this time was, notwithstanding all our caution, very near embroiling us with the Indians. I sent the boat on shore, with an officer, to get ballast for the ship; and, not immediately finding stones convenient for the purpose, he began to pull down some part of an enclosure where they deposited the

bones of their dead. This the Indians violently opposed, and a messenger came down to the tents to acquaint the officers that they would not suffer it. Mr Banks immediately repaired to the place, and an amicable end was soon put to the dispute, by sending the boat's crew to the river, where stones enough were to be gathered without a possibility of giving offence. It is very remarkable, that these Indians appeared to be much more jealous of what was done to the dead than the living. This was the only measure in which they ventured to oppose us, and the only insult that was offered to any individual among us was upon a similar occasion. Mr Monkhouse happening one day to pull a flower from a tree which grew in one of their sepulchral enclosures, an Indian, whose jealousy had probably been upon the watch, came suddenly behind him, and struck him. Mr Monkhouse laid hold of him, but he was instantly rescued by two more, who took hold of Mr Monkhouse's hair and forced him to quit his hold of their companion, and then ran away without offering him any further violence.

In the evening of the 19th, while the canoes were still detained, we received a visit from Oberea, which surprised us not a little, as she brought with her none of the things that had been stolen, and knew that she was suspected of having some of them in her custody. She said, indeed, that her favourite Obadée, whom she had beaten and dismissed, had taken them away; but she seemed conscious that she had no right to be believed. She discovered the strongest signs of fear, yet she surmounted it with astonishing resolution; and was very pressing to sleep with her attendants in Mr Banks's tent. In this, however, she was not gratified; the affair of the jacket was too recent, and the tent was, besides, filled with other people. Nobody else seemed willing to entertain her; and she therefore, with great appearance of mortification and disappointment, spent the night in *her canoe*. The next morning early, she returned to the fort, with her canoe and everything that it contained, putting herself wholly into our power, with something like greatness of mind, which excited our wonder and admiration. As the most effectual means to bring about a reconciliation, she presented us with a hog, and several other things, among which was a dog. We had learned that these animals were esteemed by the Indians as more delicate food than their pork; and upon this occasion we determined to try the experiment. The dog, which was very fat, we consigned over to Tupia, who undertook to perform the double office of butcher and cook. He killed him by holding his hands close over his mouth and nose, an operation which continued above a quarter of an hour. While this was doing, a hole was made in the ground about a foot deep, in which a fire was kindled, and some small stones placed in layers alternately with the wood to heat; the dog was then singed by holding him over the fire, and, by scraping him with a shell, the hair taken off as clean as if he had been scalded in hot water. He was then cut up with the same instrument, and his entrails, being taken out, were sent to the sea, where, being carefully washed, they were put into cocoa-nut shells, with what blood had come from the body. When the hole was sufficiently heated, the fire was taken out, and some of the stones, which were not so hot as to discolour anything that they touched, being placed at the bottom, were covered with green leaves. The dog, with the entrails, was then placed upon the leaves, and other leaves being laid upon them, the whole was covered with the rest of the hot stones, and the mouth of the hole close stopped with mould. In somewhat less than four hours it was again opened, and the dog taken out excellently baked; and we all agreed that he had made a very good dish. The dogs which are here bred to be eaten, taste no animal food, but are kept wholly upon bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, and other vegetables of the like kind. All

the flesh and fish eaten by the inhabitants is dressed in the same way.

On the 21st, we were visited at the fort by a chief, called Oamo, whom we had never seen before, and who was treated by the natives with uncommon respect. He brought with him a boy about seven years old, and a young woman about sixteen; the boy was carried upon a man's back, which we considered as a piece of state, for he was as well able to walk as any present. As soon as they were in sight, Oberea and several other natives who were in the fort went out to meet them, having first uncovered their heads and bodies as low as the waist. As they came on, the same ceremony was performed by all the natives who were without the fort. Uncovering the body, therefore, is in this country probably a mark of respect; and as all parts are here exposed with equal indifference, the ceremony of uncovering it from the waist downwards, which was performed by Oorattooa, might be nothing more than a different mode of compliment adapted to persons of a different rank. The chief came into the tent, but no entreaty could prevail upon the young woman to follow him, though she seemed to refuse contrary to her inclination. The natives without were indeed all very solicitous to prevent her; sometimes, when her resolution seemed to fail, almost using force. The boy also they restrained in the same manner; but Dr Solander, happening to meet him at the gate, took him by the hand, and led him in before the people were aware of it. As soon, however, as those that were within saw him, they took care to have him sent out.

These circumstances having strongly excited our curiosity, we inquired who they were, and were informed that Oamo was the husband of Oberea, though they had been a long time separated by mutual consent; and that the young woman and the boy were their children. We learned also, that the boy, whose name was Terridiri, was heir-apparent to the sovereignty of the island, and that his sister was intended for his wife, the marriage being deferred only till he should arrive at a proper age. The sovereign at this time was a son of Whappai, whose name was Outou, and who, as before has been observed, was a minor. Whappai, Oamo, and Tootahah, were brothers; Whappai was the eldest, and Oamo the second; so that, Whappai having no child but Outou, Terridiri, the son of his next brother Oamo, was heir to the sovereignty. It will, perhaps, seem strange that a boy should be sovereign during the life of his father; but, according to the custom of the country, a child succeeds to a father's title and authority as soon as it is born. A regent is then elected, and the father of the new sovereign is generally continued in his authority, under that title, till his child is of age; but, at this time, the choice had fallen upon Tootahah, the uncle, in consequence of his having distinguished himself in a war. Oamo asked many questions concerning England and its inhabitants, by which he appeared to have great shrewdness and understanding.

On Monday the 26th, about 3 o'clock in the morning, I set out in the pinnace, accompanied by Mr Banks, to make the circuit of the island, with a view to sketch out the coast and harbours. We took our route to the eastward, and about eight in the forenoon we went on shore, in a district called Oahounue, which is governed by Ahio, a young chief, whom we had often seen at the tents, and who favoured us with his company to breakfast. Here also we found two other natives of our old acquaintance, Tituboalo and Hoona, who carried us to their houses, near which we saw the body of the old woman at whose funeral rites Mr Banks had assisted, which had been removed hither from the spot where it was first deposited —this place having descended from her by inheritance to Hoona, and it being necessary on that account that it should lie here. We then proceeded on foot, the boat attending within call, to the harbour in which Mr Bougain-

ville lay, called Ohidea, where the natives showed us the ground upon which his people pitched their tent, and the brook at which they watered, though no trace of them remained, except the holes where the poles of the tent had been fixed, and a small piece of potsherd which Mr Banks found in looking narrowly about the spot. We met, however, with Orette, a chief who was their principal friend, and whose brother Outorrou went away with them. This harbour lies on the west side of a great bay, under shelter of a small island called Boourou, near which is another called Taawirrii. The breach in the reefs is here very large, but the shelter for the ships is not the best.

Soon after we had examined this place we took boat, and asked Tituboalo to go with us to the other side of the bay; but he refused, and advised us not to go, for he said the country there was inhabited by people who were not subject to Tootahah, and who would kill both him and us. Upon receiving this intelligence, we did not, as may be imagined, relinquish our enterprise; but we immediately loaded our pieces with ball. This was so well understood by Tituboalo as a precaution, which rendered us formidable, that he now consented to be of our party. Having rowed till it was dark, we reached a low neck of land, or isthmus, at the bottom of the bay, that divides the island into two peninsulas, each of which is a district or government wholly independent of the other. From Port Royal, where the ship was at anchor, the coast trends E. by S. and ESE. ten miles, then S. by E. and S. eleven miles to the isthmus. In the first direction the shore is in general open to the sea; but in the last it is covered by reefs of rocks, which form several good harbours, with safe anchorage, in sixteen, eighteen, twenty, and twenty-four fathoms of water, with other conveniences. As we had not yet got into our enemy's country, we determined to sleep on shore. We landed, and, though we found but few houses, *we saw* several double canoes, whose owners were well known to us, and who provided us with supper and lodging, of which Mr Banks was indebted for his share to Oorattoos, the lady who had paid him her compliments in so singular a manner at the fort.

In the morning we looked about the country, and found it to be a marshy flat, about two miles over, across which the natives haul their canoes to the corresponding bay on the other side. We then prepared to continue our route for what Tituboalo called the other kingdom. He said that the name of it was Tiarrabou, or Otaheite Ete; and that of the chief who governed it, Waheatua. Upon this occasion, also, we learned that the name of the peninsula where we had taken our station was Opoureonu, or Otaheite Nue. Our new associate seemed to be now in better spirits than he had been the day before. The people in Tiarrabou would not kill us, he said; but he assured us that we should be able to procure no victuals among them; and indeed we had seen no bread-fruit since we set out.

After rowing a few miles, we landed in a district which was the dominion of a chief called Maraitata, "the burying-place of men," whose father's name was Pahairedo, "the stealer of boats." Though these names seemed to favour the account that had been given by Tituboalo, we soon found that it was not true. Both the father and the son received us with the greatest civility, gave us provisions, and, after some delay, sold us a very large hog for a hatchet. A crowd soon gathered round us, but we saw only two people that we knew; neither did we observe a single bead or ornament among them that had come from our ship, though we saw several things which had been brought from Europe. In one of the houses lay two 12-pound shot, one of which was marked with the broad arrow of England, though the people said they had them from the ships that lay in Bougainville's harbour.

We proceeded on foot till we came to the district which was immediately

under the government of the principal chief, or king, of the peninsula, Waheatua. Waheatua had a son, but whether, according to the custom of Opoureonu, he administered the government as regent or in his own right, is uncertain. This district consists of a large and fertile plain watered by a river so wide that we were obliged to ferry over it in a canoe; our Indian train, however, chose to swim, and took to the water with the same facility as a pack of hounds. In this place we saw no house that appeared to be inhabited, but the ruins of many that had been very large. We proceeded along the shore, which forms a bay called Oaitipeha, and at last found the chief sitting near some pretty canoe awnings, under which, we supposed, he and his attendants slept. He was a thin old man, with a very white head and beard, and had with him a comely woman, about five-and-twenty years old, whose name was Toudidde. We had often heard the name of this woman, and, from report and observation, we had reason to think that she was the Oberea of this peninsula. From this place—between which and the isthmus there are other harbours, formed by the reefs that lie along the shore, where shipping may lie in perfect security, and from whence the land trends SSE. and S. to the SE. part of the island—we were accompanied by Tearee, the son of Waheatua, of whom we had purchased a hog. The country we passed through appeared to be more cultivated than any we had seen in other parts of the island; the brooks were everywhere banked into narrow channels with stone, and the shore had also a facing of stone, where it was washed by the sea. The houses were neither large nor numerous, but the canoes that were hauled up along the shore were almost innumerable, and superior to any that we had seen before, both in size and make. They were longer, the sterns were higher, and the awnings were supported by pillars. At almost every point there was a sepulchral building, and there were many of them also inland. They were of the same figure as those in Opoureonu, but cleaner and better kept, and decorated with many carved boards, which were set upright, and on the top of which were various figures of birds and men. On one, in particular, there was the representation of a cock, which was painted red and yellow, to imitate the feathers of that animal; and rude images of men were, in some of them, placed one upon the head of another. But in this part of the country, however fertile and cultivated, we did not see a single bread-fruit; the trees were entirely bare, and the inhabitants seemed to subsist principally upon nuts which are not unlike a chestnut, and which they call Ahee.

When we had walked till we were weary, we called up the boat, but both our Indians, Tituboalo and Tuahow, were missing. They had, it seems, stayed behind at Waheatua's, expecting us to return thither, in consequence of a promise which had been extorted from us, and which we had it not in our power to fulfil. Tearee, however, and another, embarked with us, and we proceeded till we came abreast of a small island called Otooareite. It being then dark, we determined to land, and our Indians conducted us to a place where they said we might sleep. It was a deserted house, and near it was a little cove in which the boat might lie with great safety and convenience. We were, however, in want of provisions, having been very sparingly supplied since we set out; and Mr Banks immediately went into the woods to see whether any could be procured. As it was dark he met with no people, and could find but one house that was inhabited. A bread-fruit and a half, a few ahees, and some fire, were all that it afforded; upon which, with a duck or two and a few curlews, we made our supper, which, if not scanty, was disagreeable by the want of bread, with which we had neglected to furnish ourselves, as we depended upon meeting with bread-fruit. We took up our lodging under the awning of a canoe belonging to Tearee, which followed us.

The next morning, after having spent some time in another fruitless attempt to procure a supply of provisions, we proceeded round the south-east point, part of which is not covered by any reef, but lies open to the sea; and here the hill rises directly from the shore. At the southernmost part of the island the shore is again covered by a reef, which forms a good harbour, and the land about it is very fertile. We made this route partly on foot and partly in the boat. When we had walked about three miles, we arrived at a place where we saw several large canoes and a number of people with them, whom we were agreeably surprised to find were of our intimate acquaintance. Here, with much difficulty, we procured some cocoa-nuts, and then embarked, taking with us Tuahow, one of the Indians who had waited for us at Waheatua's, and had returned the night before, long after it was dark.

When we came abreast of the south-east end of the island we went ashore, by the advice of our Indian guide, who told us that the country was rich and good. The chief, whose name was Mathiabo, soon came down to us, but seemed to be a total stranger both to us and to our trade. His subjects, however, brought us plenty of cocoa-nuts and about twenty bread-fruit. The bread-fruit we bought at a very dear rate, but his excellency sold us a pig for a glass bottle, which he preferred to everything else that we could give him. We found in his possession a goose and a turkey-cock, which, we were informed, had been left upon the island by the Dolphin; they were both enormously fat, and so tame that they followed the Indians, who were fond of them to excess, wherever they went.

In a long house in this neighbourhood we saw what was altogether new to us. At one end of it, fastened to a semicircular board, hung fifteen human jaw-bones; they appeared to be fresh, and there was not one of them that wanted a single tooth. A *sight so extraordinary* strongly excited *our curiosity*, and we made many inquiries about it; but at this time could get no information, for the people either could not or would not understand us.

When we left this place, the chief, Mathiabo, desired leave to accompany us, which was readily granted. He continued with us the remainder of the day, and proved very useful by piloting us over the shoals. In the evening we opened the bay on the north-west side of the island, which answered to that on the south-east, so as at the isthmus, or carrying-place, almost to intersect the island, as I have observed before; and when we had coasted about two-thirds of it we determined to go on shore for the night. We saw a large house at some distance, which, Mathiabo informed us, belonged to one of his friends; and soon after several canoes came off to meet us, having on board some very handsome women, who, by their behaviour, seemed to have been sent to entice us on shore. As we had before resolved to take up our residence here for the night, little invitation was necessary. We found that the house belonged to the chief of the district, whose name was Wiverou; he received us in a very friendly manner, and ordered his people to assist us in dressing our provision, of which we had now got a tolerable stock. When our supper was ready, we were conducted into that part of the house where Wiverou was sitting in order to eat it. Mathiabo supped with us, and Wiverou calling for his supper at the same time, we ate our meal very sociably, and with great good humour. When it was over we began to inquire where we were to sleep, and a part of the house was shown us, of which we were told we might take possession for that purpose. We then sent for our cloaks, and Mr Banks began to undress, as his custom was; and, with a precaution which he had been taught by the loss of the jackets at Atahourou, sent his clothes aboard the boat, proposing to cover himself with a piece of Indian cloth. When Mathiabo perceived what was doing, he also pretended to want a cloak; and, as he had

behaved very well, and done us some service, a cloak was ordered for him. We lay down, and observed that Mathiabo was not with us; but we supposed that he was gone to bathe, as the Indians always do before they sleep. We had not waited long, however, when an Indian, who was a stranger to us, came and told Mr Banks that the cloak and Mathiabo had disappeared together. This man had so far gained our confidence that we did not at first believe the report; but it being soon after confirmed by Tuahow, our own Indian, we knew no time was to be lost.

As it was impossible for us to pursue the thief with any hope of success, without the assistance of the people about us, Mr Banks started up, and telling our case, required them to recover the cloak; and to enforce this requisition, showed one of his pocket-pistols, which he always kept about him. Upon the sight of the pistol, the whole company took the alarm, and, instead of assisting to catch the thief, or recover what had been stolen, began with great precipitation to leave the place; one of them, however, was seized, upon which he immediately offered to direct the chase. I set out therefore with Mr Banks, and though we ran all the way, the alarm had got before us, for in about ten minutes we met a man bringing back the cloak, which the thief had relinquished in great terror; and as we did not then think fit to continue the pursuit, he made his escape. When we returned, we found the house, in which there had been between 200 and 300 people, entirely deserted. It being, however, soon known that we had no resentment against anybody but Mathiabo, the chief, Wiverou, our host, with his wife and many others, returned and took up their lodgings with us for the night. In this place, however, we were destined to more confusion and trouble; for about 5 o'clock in the morning our sentry alarmed us with an account that the boat was missing. He had seen her, he said, about half-an-hour before, at her grappling, which was not above fifty yards from the shore; but, upon hearing the sound of oars, he had looked out again, and could see nothing of her. At this account we started up greatly alarmed, and ran to the water-side. The morning was clear and star-light, so that we could see to a considerable distance, but there was no appearance of the boat. Our situation was now such as might justify the most terrifying apprehensions; as it was a dead calm, and we could not therefore suppose her to have broken from her grappling, we had great reason to fear that the Indians had attacked her, and, finding the people asleep, had succeeded in their enterprise. We were but four, with only one musket and two pocket-pistols, without a spare ball or charge of powder for either. In this state of anxiety and distress we remained a considerable time, expecting the Indians every moment to improve their advantage—when to our unspeakable satisfaction, we saw the boat return, which had been driven from her grappling by the tide; a circumstance to which, in our confusion and surprise, we did not advert. As soon as the boat returned, we got our breakfast, and were impatient to leave the place, lest some other vexatious accident should befall us. It is situated on the north side of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, or division, of the island, and at the distance of about five miles south-east from the isthmus, having a large and commodious harbour, inferior to none in the island, about which the land is very rich in produce. Notwithstanding we had little communication with this division, the inhabitants everywhere received us in a friendly manner; we found the whole of it fertile and populous, and, to all appearance, in a more flourishing state than Opoureonu, though it is not above one-fourth part as large.

The next district in which we landed, was the last in Tiarrabou, and governed by a chief, whose name we understood to be Omoe. Omoe

was building a house, and being therefore very desirous of procuring a hatchet, he would have been glad to have purchased one with anything that he had in his possession; it happened, however, rather unfortunately for him and us, that we had not one hatchet left in the boat. We offered to trade with nails, but he would not part with anything in exchange for them. We therefore re-embarked, and put off our boat; but the chief being unwilling to relinquish all hope of obtaining something from us that would be of use to him, embarked in a canoe, with his wife Whanno-ouda, and followed us. After some time, we took them into the boat, and when we had rowed about a league, they desired we would put ashore. We immediately complied with his request, and found some of his people, who had brought down a very large hog. We were as unwilling to lose the hog, as the chief was to part with us, and it was indeed worth the best axe we had in the ship; we therefore hit upon an expedient, and told him that if he would bring his hog to the fort at Matavai—the Indian name for Port Royal Bay—he should have a large axe and a nail into the bargain for his trouble. To this proposal, after having consulted with his wife, he agreed, and gave us a large piece of his country-cloth as a pledge that he would perform his agreement, which, however, he never did.

At this place we saw a very singular curiosity. It was the figure of a man, constructed of basket-work, rudely made, but not ill designed; it was something more than seven feet high, and rather too bulky in proportion to its height. The wicker skeleton was completely covered with feathers, which were white where the skin was to appear, and black in the parts which it is their custom to paint or stain, and upon the head where there was to be a representation of hair. Upon the head also were four protuberances, three in front *and one behind*, which we should *have called horns*, but which the Indians dignified with the name of "Tate Ete"—little men. The image was called Manioe, and was said to be the only one of the kind in Otaheite. They attempted to give us an explanation of its use and design, but we had not then acquired enough of their language to understand them. We learned, however, afterwards, that it was a representation of Mauwe, one of their Eatuas, or gods of the second class.

After having settled our affairs with Omoe, we proceeded on our return, and soon reached Opoureonu, the north-west peninsula. After rowing a few miles, we went on shore again, but the only thing we saw worth notice, was a repository for the dead, uncommonly decorated. The pavement was extremely neat, and upon it was raised a pyramid, about five feet high, which was entirely covered with the fruits of two plants peculiar to the country. Near the pyramid was a small image of stone, of very rude workmanship, and the first instance of carving in stone that we had seen among these people. They appeared to set a high value upon it, for it was covered from the weather by a shed that had been erected on purpose.

We proceeded in the boat, and passed through the only harbour, on the south side of Opoureonu, that is fit for shipping. It is situated about five miles to the westward of the isthmus, between two small islands that lie near the shore, about a mile distant from each other; and affords good anchorage in eleven and twelve fathoms water. We were now not far from the district called Paparra, which belonged to our friends Oamo and Oberea, where we proposed to sleep. We went on shore about an hour before night, and found that they were both absent, having left their habitations to pay us a visit at Matavai. This, however did not alter our purpose; we took up our quarters at the house of Oberea, which, though small, was very neat, and at this time had no inhabitant but her father, who received us with looks that bid us welcome. Having taken possession, we

were willing to improve the little day-light that was left us, and therefore walked out to a point upon which we had seen, at a distance, trees that are here called "etoa," which generally distinguish the places where these people bury the bones of their dead. Their name for such burying-grounds, which are also places of worship, is "morai." We were soon struck with the sight of an enormous pile, which, we were told, was the Morai of Oamo and Oberea, and the principal piece of Indian architecture in the island. It was a pile of stone-work, raised pyramidically, upon an oblong base, or square, two hundred and sixty-seven feet long, and eighty-seven wide. It was built like the small pyramidal mounts upon which we sometimes fix the pillar of a sun-dial, where each side is a flight of steps; the steps, however, at the sides, were broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated not in a square of the same figure with the base, but in a ridge, like the roof of a house. There were eleven of these steps, each of which was four feet high, so that the height of the pile was forty-four feet; each step was formed of one course of white coral-stone, which was neatly squared and polished; the rest of the mass, for there was no hollow within, consisted of round pebbles, which, from the regularity of their figure, seemed to have been wrought. Some of the coral-stones were very large; we measured one of them, and found it three feet and a half by two feet and a half. The foundation was of rock stones, which were also squared; and one of them measured four feet seven inches by two feet four. Such a structure, raised without the assistance of iron-tools to shape the stones, or mortar to join them, struck us with astonishment. It seemed to be as compact and firm as it could have been made by any workman in Europe, except that the steps, which range along its greatest length, are not perfectly straight, but sink in a kind of hollow in the middle, so that the whole surface, from end to end, is not a right line, but a curve. The quarry stones, as we saw no quarry in the neighbourhood, must have been brought from a considerable distance; and there is no method of conveyance here but by hand. The coral must also have been fished from under the water, where, though it may be found in plenty, it lies at a considerable depth, never less than three feet. Both the rock-stone and the coral could be squared only by tools made of the same substance, which must have been a work of incredible labour; but the polishing was more easily effected by means of the sharp coral sand, which is found everywhere upon the sea-shore in great abundance. In the middle of the top stood the image of a bird, carved in wood; and near it lay the broken one of a fish, carved in stone. The whole of this pyramid made part of one side of a spacious area or square, nearly of equal sides, being 360 feet by 354, which was walled in with stone, and paved with flat stones in its whole extent; though there were growing in it, notwithstanding the pavement, several of the trees which they call "etoa," and plantains. About a hundred yards to the west of this building, was another paved area or court, in which were several small stages raised on wooden pillars, about seven feet high, which are called by the Indians "ewattas,"[1] and seem to be a kind of altars, as upon these are placed provisions of all kinds as offerings to their gods. We have since seen whole hogs placed upon them, and we found here the skulls of above fifty, besides the skulls of a great number of dogs.

The principal object of ambition among these people is to have a magnificent Morai, and this was a striking memorial of the rank and power of Oberea. It has been remarked that we did not find her invested with the same authority she exercised

[1] Subsequently described in the account of the stay at Tongataboo (Voyage III.) under the designation of "whattas."

when the Dolphin was at this place, and we now learned the reason of it. Our way from her house to the Morai lay along the seaside, and we observed everywhere under our feet a great number of human bones, chiefly ribs and vertebræ. Upon inquiring into the cause of so singular an appearance, we were told that in the then last month of Owarahew, which answered to our December, 1768, about four or five months before our arrival, the people of Tiarrabou, the SE. peninsula which we had just visited, made a descent at this place, and killed a great number of people, whose bones were those that we saw upon the shore; that upon this occasion Oberea and Oamo, who then administered the government for his son, had fled to the mountains; and that the conquerors burned all the houses, which were very large, and carried away the hogs and what other animals they found. We learned also that the turkey and goose which we had seen when we were with Mathiabo, the stealer of cloaks, were among the spoils. This accounted for their being found among people with whom the Dolphin had little or no communication; and upon mentioning the jawbones which we had seen hanging from a board in a long house, we were told that they also had been carried away as trophies, the people here carrying away the jaw-bones of their enemies, as the Indians of North America do the scalps.

After having thus gratified our curiosity, we returned to our quarters, where we passed the night in perfect security and quiet. By the next evening we arrived at Atahourou, the residence of our friend Tootahah, where, last time we passed the night under his protection, we had been obliged to leave the best part of our clothes behind us. This adventure, however, seemed now to be forgotten on both sides. Our friends received us with great pleasure, and gave us a good supper and a good lodging, where we suffered neither loss nor disturbance.

The next day, Saturday, July the 1st, we got back to our fort at Matavai, having found the circuit of the island, including both peninsulas, to be about thirty leagues. Upon our complaining of the want of bread-fruit, we were told that the produce of the last season was nearly exhausted, and that what was seen sprouting upon the trees would not be fit to use in less than three months. This accounted for our having been able to procure so little of it in our route. While the bread-fruit is ripening upon the flats, the inhabitants are supplied in some measure from the trees which they have planted upon the hills to preserve a succession; but the quantity is not sufficient to prevent scarcity. They live therefore upon the sour paste which they call "mahie," upon wild plantains, and ahee-nuts, which at this time are in perfection. How it happened that the Dolphin, which was here at this season, found such plenty of bread-fruit upon the trees I cannot tell, except the season in which they ripen varies.

At our return, our Indian friends crowded about us, and none of them came empty-handed. Though I had determined to restore to their owners the canoes which had been detained, it had not yet been done; but I now released them as they were applied for. Upon this occasion I could not but remark with concern that these people were capable of practising petty frauds against each other, with a deliberate dishonesty which gave me a much worse opinion of them, than I had ever entertained from the robberies they committed under the strong temptation, to which a sudden opportunity of enriching themselves with the inestimable metal and manufactures of Europe exposed them. Among others who applied to me for the release of a canoe was one Potattow, a man of some consequence, well known to us all. I consented, supposing the vessel to be his own, or that he applied on behalf of a friend. He went immediately to the beach, and took possession of one of the boats, which, with the assistance of his people, he

began to carry off; upon this, however, it was eagerly claimed by the right owners, who, supported by the other Indians, clamorously reproached him for invading their property, and prepared to take the canoe from him by force. Upon this he desired to be heard, and told them that the canoe did indeed once belong to those who claimed it; but that I, having seized it as a forfeit, had sold it to him for a pig. This silenced the clamour; the owners, knowing that from my power there was no appeal, acquiesced; and Potattow would have carried off his prize if the dispute had not fortunately been overheard by some of our people, who reported it to me. I gave orders immediately that the Indians should be undeceived; upon which the right owners took possession of their canoe, and Potattow was so conscious of his guilt that neither he nor his wife, who was privy to his knavery, could look us in the face for some time afterwards.

On the 3d, Mr Banks set out early in the morning, with some Indian guides, to trace our river up the valley from which it issues, and examine how far its banks were inhabited. For about six miles they met with houses, not far distant from each other, on each side of the river, and the valley was everywhere about 400 yards wide from the foot of the hill on one side to the foot of that on the other. But they were now shown a house which they were told was the last that they would see. When they came up to it, the master of it offered them refreshments of cocoa-nuts and other fruits, of which they accepted. After a short stay, they walked forward for a considerable time. In bad way it is not easy to compute distances, but they imagined that they had walked about six miles farther, following the course of the river, when they frequently passed under vaults formed by fragments of the rock, in which they were told people who were benighted frequently passed the night. Soon after they found the river banked by steep rocks, from which a cascade falling with great violence, formed a pool so steep that the Indians said they could not pass it. They seemed, indeed, not much to be acquainted with the valley beyond this place, their business lying chiefly upon the declivity of the rocks on each side, and the plains which extended on their summits, where they found plenty of wild plantain, which they called Vae. The way up these rocks from the banks of the river was in every respect dreadful; the sides were nearly perpendicular, and in some places 100 feet high; they were also rendered exceeding slippery by the water of innumerable springs which issued from the fissures on the surface. Yet up these precipices a way was to be traced by a succession of long pieces of the bark of the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, which served as a rope for the climber to take hold of, and assisted him in scrambling from one ledge to another, though upon these ledges there was footing only for an Indian or a goat. One of these ropes was nearly thirty feet in length, and their guides offered to assist them in mounting this pass, but recommended another, at a little distance lower down, as less difficult and dangerous. They took a view of this "better way," but found it so bad that they did not choose to attempt it, as there was nothing at the top to reward their toil and hazard but a grove of the wild plantain or Vae tree, which they had often seen before.

During this excursion Mr Banks had an excellent opportunity to examine the rocks, which were almost everywhere naked, for minerals; but he found not the least appearance of any. The stones everywhere, like those of Madeira, showed manifest tokens of having been burned; nor is there a single specimen of any stone among all those that were collected in the island upon which there are not manifest and indubitable marks of fire, except, perhaps, some small pieces of the hatchet-stone, and even of that other fragments were collected which were burned almost to a pumice. Traces of fire are also manifest

in the very clay upon the hills; and it may therefore not unreasonably be supposed that this and the neighbouring islands are either shattered remains of a continent, which some have supposed to be necessary in this part of the globe to preserve an equilibrium of its parts, which were left behind when the rest sank by the mining of a subterraneous fire, so as to give a passage to the sea over it; or were torn from rocks which, from the creation of the world, had been the bed of the sea, and thrown up in heaps to a height which the waters never reach. One or other of these suppositions will perhaps be thought the more probable, as the water does not gradually grow shallow as the shore is approached, and the islands are almost everywhere surrounded by reefs which appear to be rude and broken, as some violent concussion would naturally leave the solid substance of the earth.

On the 4th, Mr Banks employed himself in planting a great quantity of the seeds of water-melons, oranges, lemons, limes, and other plants and trees which he had collected at Rio de Janeiro. For these he prepared ground on each side of the fort, with as many varieties of soil as he could choose; and there is little doubt that they will succeed. He also gave liberally of these seeds to the Indians, and planted many of them in the woods. Some of the melon seeds having been planted soon after our arrival, the natives showed him several of the plants, which appeared to be in the most flourishing condition, and were continually asking him for more.

We now begin to prepare for our departure, by bending the sails and performing other necessary operations on board the ship—our water being already on board, and the provisions examined. In the meantime we had another visit from Oamo, Oberea, and their son and daughter; the Indians expressing their respect by uncovering the upper parts of their body as they had done before. The daughter, whose name we understand to be *Toimata, was very* desirous to see the fort, but her father would by no means suffer her to come in. Tearee, the son of Waheatua, the sovereign of Tiarrabou, the south-east peninsula, was also with us at this time; and we received intelligence of the landing of another guest, whose company was neither expected nor desired. This was no other than the ingenious gentleman who contrived to steal our quadrant. We were told that he intended to try his fortune again in the night; but the Indians all offered zealously to assist us against him, desiring that, for this purpose, they might be permitted to lie in the fort. This had so good an effect, that the thief relinquished his enterprise in despair.

On the 7th, the carpenters were employed in taking down the gates and palisadoes of our little fortification, for fire-wood on board the ship; and one of the Indians had dexterity enough to steal the staple and hook upon which the gate turned. He was immediately pursued, and after a chase of six miles, he appeared to have been passed, having concealed himself among some rushes in the brook. The rushes were searched, and though the thief had escaped, a scraper was found which had been stolen from the ship some time before; and soon after our old friend Tubourai Tamaide brought us the staple. On the 8th and 9th we continued to dismantle our fort, and our friends still flocked about us; some, I believe, sorry at the approach of our departure, and others desirous to make as much as they could of us while we stayed. We were in hopes that we should now leave the island without giving or receiving any other offence, but it unfortunately happened otherwise. Two foreign seamen having been out with my permission, one of them was robbed of his knife, and endeavouring to recover it, probably with circumstances of great provocation, the Indians attacked him and dangerously wounded him with a stone; they wounded his companion also slightly on the head, and then fled into the mountains. As I should have been

sorry to take any further notice of the affair, I was not displeased that the offenders had escaped; but I was immediately involved in a quarrel which I very much regretted, and which yet it was not possible to avoid.

In the middle of the night between the 8th and 9th, Clement Webb and Samuel Gibson, two of the marines, both young men, went privately from the fort, and in the morning were not to be found. As public notice had been given that all hands were to go on board on the next day, and that the ship would sail on the morrow of that day or the day following, I began to fear that the absentees intended to stay behind. I knew that I could take no effectual steps to recover them without endangering the harmony and goodwill which at present subsisted among us, and therefore determined to wait a day for the chance of their return. On Monday morning the 10th, the marines, to my great concern, not being returned, an inquiry was made after them of the Indians, who frankly told us that they did not intend to return, and had taken refuge in the mountains, where it was impossible for our people to find them. They were then requested to assist in the search, and after some deliberation, two of them undertook to conduct such persons as I should think proper to send after them to the place of their retreat. As they were known to be without arms, I thought two would be sufficient, and accordingly despatched a petty officer and a corporal of marines, with the Indian guides, to fetch them back. As the recovery of these men was a matter of great importance, as I had no time to lose, and as the Indians spoke doubtfully of their return—telling us that they had each of them taken a wife, and were become inhabitants of the country,—it was intimated to several of the chiefs who were in the fort with their women, among whom were Tubourai Tamaide, Tomio, and Oberea, that they would not be permitted to leave it till our deserters were brought back. This precaution I thought the more necessary, as, by concealing them a few days, they might compel me to go without them; and I had the pleasure to observe that they received the intimation with very little signs either of fear or discontent, assuring me that my people should be secured and sent back as soon as possible. While this was doing at the fort, I sent Mr Hicks in the pinnace to fetch Tootahah on board the ship; which he did, without alarming either him or his people. If the Indian guides proved faithful and in earnest, I had reason to expect the return of my people with the deserters before evening. Being disappointed, my suspicions increased; and night coming on, I thought I was not safe to let the people whom I had detained as hostages continue at the fort, and I therefore ordered Tubourai Tamaide, Oberea, and some others, to be taken on board the ship. This spread a general alarm, and several of them, especially the women, expressed their apprehensions with great emotion and many tears when they were put into the boat. I went on board with them, and Mr Banks remained on shore, with some others whom I thought it of less consequence to secure.

About 9 o'clock Webb was brought back by some of the natives, who declared that Gibson and the petty officer and corporal would be detained till Tootahah should be set at liberty. The tables were now turned upon me, but I had proceeded too far to retreat. I immediately despatched Mr Hicks in the long-boat with a strong party of men, to rescue the prisoners, and told Tootahah that it behoved him to send some of his people with them, with orders to afford them effectual assistance, and to demand the release of my men in his name, for that I should expect him to answer for the contrary. He readily complied; this party recovered my men without the least opposition, and, about 7 o'clock in the morning, returned with them to the ship, though they had not been able to recover the arms which had been taken from them when they were seized. These, however, were brought on board in less than half-an-hour,

and the chiefs were immediately set at liberty.

When I questioned the petty officer concerning what had happened on shore, he told me that neither the natives who went with them, nor those whom they met in their way, would give them any intelligence of the deserters, but, on the contrary, became very troublesome; that, as he was returning for further orders to the ship, he and his comrade were suddenly seized by a number of armed men, who, having learned that Tootahah was confined, had concealed themselves in a wood for that purpose, and who having taken them at a disadvantage, forced their weapons out of their hands, and declared that they would detain them till their chief should be set at liberty. He said, however, that the Indians were not unanimous in this measure; that some were for setting them at liberty, and others for detaining them; that an eager dispute ensued, and from words they came to blows, but the party for detaining them at length prevailed; that soon after Webb and Gibson were brought in by a party of the natives as prisoners, that they also might be secured as hostages for the chief; but that it was after some debate resolved to send Webb to inform me of their resolution, to assure me that his companions were safe, and direct me where I might send my answer. Thus it appears that, whatever were the disadvantages of seizing the chiefs, I should never have recovered my men by any other method. When the chiefs were set on shore from the ship, those at the fort were also set at liberty, and, after staying with Mr Banks about an hour, they all went away. Upon this occasion, as they had done upon another of the same kind, they expressed their joy by an undeserved liberality, strongly urging us to accept of four hogs. These we absolutely refused as a present, and they as absolutely refusing to be paid for them, the hogs did not change masters. Upon examining the deserters, we found that the account which the Indians had given of them was true,—they had strongly attached themselves to two girls, and it was their intention to conceal themselves till the ship had sailed, and take up their residence upon the island. This night everything was got off from the shore, and everybody slept on board.

Among the natives who were almost constantly with us, was Tupia, whose name has been often mentioned in this narrative. He had been, as I have before observed, the first minister of Oberea, when she was in the height of her power. He was also the chief tahowa or priest of the island, consequently well acquainted with the religion of the country, as well with respect to its ceremonies as principles. He had also great experience and knowledge in navigation, and was particularly acquainted with the number and situation of the neighbouring islands. This man had often expressed a desire to go with us, and on the 12th, in the morning, having, with the other natives, left us the day before, he came on board with a boy about thirteen years of age, his servant, and urged us to let him proceed with us on our voyage. To have such a person on board was certainly desirable for many reasons; by learning his language, and teaching him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay among them could give us: I therefore gladly agreed to receive them on board. As we were prevented from sailing to-day, by having found it necessary to make new stocks to our small and best bower anchors, the old ones having been totally destroyed by the worms, Tupia said he would go once more on shore, and make a signal for the boat to fetch him off in the evening. He went accordingly, and took with him a miniature picture of Mr Banks's to show his friends, and several little things to give them as parting presents.

After dinner, Mr Banks, being desirous to procure a drawing of the Morai belonging to Tootahah at

Eparre, I attended him thither, accompanied by Dr Solander, in the pinnace. As soon as we landed, many of our friends came to meet us, though some absented themselves in resentment of what had happened the day before. We immediately proceeded to Tootahah's house, where we were joined by Oberea, with several others who had not come out to meet us, and a perfect reconciliation was soon brought about; in consequence of which they promised to visit us early the next day, to take a last farewell of us, as we told them we should certainly set sail in the afternoon. At this place, also, we found Tupia, who returned with us, and slept this night on board the ship for the first time.

On the next morning, Thursday the 13th of July, the ship was very early crowded with our friends, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes, which were filled with the natives of an inferior class. Between eleven and twelve we weighed anchor, and as soon as the ship was under sail, the Indians on board took their leaves, and wept, with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender. The people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief. Tupia sustained himself in this scene with a firmness and resolution truly admirable. He wept, indeed, but the effort that he made to conceal his tears concurred with them to do him honour. He sent his last present, a shirt, by Otheothea, to Potomia, Tootahah's favourite mistress, and then went with Mr Banks to the masthead, waving to the canoes as long as they continued in sight.

Thus we took leave of Otaheite and its inhabitants, after a stay of just three months. For much the greater part of the time we lived together in the most cordial friendship, and a perpetual reciprocation of good offices. The accidental differences which now and then happened could not be more sincerely regretted on their part, than they were on ours. The principal causes were such as necessarily resulted from our situation and circumstances, in conjunction with the infirmities of human nature; from our not being able perfectly to understand each other; and from the disposition of the inhabitants to theft, which we could not all times bear with or prevent. They had not, however, except in one instance, been attended with any fatal consequence; and to that accident were owing the measures I took to prevent others of the same kind. I hoped indeed to have availed myself of the impression which had been made upon them by the lives sacrificed in their contest with the Dolphin, so as that the intercourse between us should have been carried on wholly without bloodshed; by this hope all my measures were directed during the whole of my continuance at the island; and I sincerely wish that whoever shall next visit it may be still more fortunate. Our traffic here was carried on with as much order as in the best regulated market in Europe. It was managed principally by Mr Banks, who was indefatigable in procuring provision and refreshments while they were to be had; but during the latter part of our time they became scarce, partly by the increased consumption at the fort and ship, and partly by the coming on of the season in which cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit fail. All kinds of fruit we purchased for beads and nails, but no nails less than forty-penny were current. After a very short time we could never get a pig of more than ten or twelve pounds for less than a hatchet; because, though these people set a high value upon spike-nails, yet, these being an article with which many people in the ship were provided, the women found a much more easy way of procuring them than by bringing down provisions. The best articles for traffic here are axes, hatchets, spikes, large nails, looking-glasses, knives, and beads, for some of which, everything that the natives have may be procured. They are, indeed, fond

of fine linen cloth, both white and printed; but an axe worth half-a-crown will fetch more than a piece of cloth worth twenty shillings.

[Although the account in the Cabinet Cyclopædia of Cook's stay at Otaheite has been in great measure anticipated, some particulars there go beyond what Dr Hawkesworth himself relates, founding his narrative on the observations and memoranda of the distinguished navigator.]

"The mild and judicious conduct of Cook completely won the confidence of the Otaheitans, and enabled him to form a more accurate opinion of their character than the voyagers who had previously visited their island. They were remarkably friendly and affectionate, and indeed their attachments alone seemed exempted from the characteristic levity which prevented them from fixing their attention on the same object for any length of time. They are a handsome people, finely made, and with open vivacious countenances; their ingenuity was in nothing more conspicuous than in the fine cloth, or rather paper, which they made of the inner bark of a tree. The garments of this material, which they wore, were becoming and even elegant, and were arranged by the women so as to produce an effect little short of the classic draperies of antiquity. Their houses were little more than sheds, erected in the neighbourhood of the trees under which they reclined and took their meals during the day. These habitations stood very thick in the groves which cover the low margin of the island. High mountains rose behind, and a number of small streams stole down the declivities to the sea-shore; the whole presenting, from a distance, a most enchanting picture.

"It was conjectured by M. de Bougainville that the inhabitants of Otaheite were composed of two different races, and that one of these was in a servile condition. Cook also notices the superiority of the chiefs *in figure* and appearance, but does *not venture to* ascribe this difference to any circumstances of origin or descent. He does not seem to have observed the power which the chiefs usually exercised over their retainers, and which the French navigator, with perhaps too little reason, seems to have considered as absolutely despotic. But the king, it was evident, though treated with respect by all, possessed no power but what was derived from the voluntary attachment of the chiefs, whose obedience or support in every enterprise could be secured only by consulting them. The rule of succession among these islanders is singular in the extreme. The son, as soon as he is born, succeeds to the authority of his father, who at once becomes only a regent instead of a king, if he be fitted for that office. Associations of a licentious character existed among the chief persons in these islands, and among other bad effects, tended to encourage the crime of infanticide; a crime to which the law of inheritance just mentioned may have held out some inducement, as the ambition of the parent was at once blighted by the birth of a son.

"At the time of Cook's visit, the sovereignty had devolved on a boy only seven years old, the son of Oamo and Oberea, the latter of whom had figured so conspicuously in Captain Wallis's narrative as queen of the island. She lived separate from her husband, and though still treated as a noble, no longer enjoyed the same degree of power and consideration which had rendered her friendship so valuable to the commander of the Dolphin. As a further proof of the progress made by these islanders towards civilisation, it deserves to be remarked, that their women were not condemned to labour, as is usually the case amongst rude nations. They had, indeed, abundance of domestic occupation, in making and dyeing their cloth, preparing the meals, and similar offices; but though they were not permitted to eat with the men, they were in general treated with respect and attention.

"When M. de Bougainville arrived here, he found the islanders already

acquainted with the use of iron, which they called 'aouri,' a name which he supposed them to have learned from the English who had preceded him; but Captain Wallis observed that they were not wholly ignorant of that metal in his time, though he does not mention by what name they called it; for as soon as they were presented with iron nails, they began to sharpen them, while they took no such pains with pieces of brass and copper. Cook circumnavigated and surveyed the coasts of Otaheite, which he found to have a circumference of about thirty leagues; and after a stay of about three months he prepared to depart. In leaving the affectionate islanders, he remarks, 'that, allowing for their theft, they need not fear a comparison with any people on earth.' A native named Tupia, one of Oberea's ministers, and well instructed in all the learning of his countrymen, offered to accompany the English, and the proposal was readily accepted. The Otaheitans, it appeared, sometimes ventured 200 or 300 miles through the ocean in their open canoes; and Tupia had a vague knowledge of above eighty islands, the position of many of which he attempted to describe. He was well acquainted with the heavens; and, in every part of the subsequent voyage in the Endeavour, he was enabled to point out the direction of his native island.

"On leaving Otaheite, Cook visited the neighbouring islands of Ulietea, Borabora, Otahah, Huaheine, and Raiataia. Tupia related, that in the time of his grandfather a friendly ship had called at the last named island, and he also stated that a ship had been wrecked on a low island called Oanna. These ships were probably those of Admiral Roggewein's squadron, and Oanna may have been the Schadelyk or Pernicious Island of that navigator. At Huaheine, Cook contracted a friendship with Oree, the old chief of the island, from whom he experienced unremitting kindness, and to whom, at his departure, he gave, along with some valuable presents, a small bag containing coins and medals, and a pewter plate with an inscription, as a memorial of his visit to this part of the world. These gifts the old chief promised to keep in safety. The people of Borabora had invaded some of the islands in the neighbourhood, and with such success that they were looked upon as invincible, and were become objects of dread to the simple islanders. Tupia was anxious that the English should terrify those haughty conquerors, and exhibit their superiority by firing great guns at Borabora; and at length, to calm his importunity, a ball was fired towards the island when the ship was at least seven leagues distant from the shore. To the group of islands which Cook now quitted, he gave the collective name of the Society Islands.

"After sailing four days to the west and south-west, an island was discovered to which Tupia gave the name of Oheteroa. The natives crowded on the shore to resist the landing of the strangers. They were a handsome, vigorous people, and seemed far to excel the natives of the Society Islands in the beauty of their dress. The cloth was dyed in various patterns, and of several colours, though bright yellow seemed to predominate. Their robes being collected round their waist by a belt of red cloth, gave them a gay and warlike appearance. Some had caps made of the feathers of the tropic bird, while others wore small turbans of a very elegant appearance. Their canoes were well constructed, and, as well as the javelins, were carved in a manner highly creditable to their taste and ingenuity. But no anchorage could be found near the island; and as the natives seemed bent on hostility, our navigators gave up all thoughts of cultivating an acquaintance with them, and pursued their voyage.

"On the 15th of August they sailed from Oheteroa, and in the beginning of October perceived, in the colour of the sea, in the weeds with which it was covered, and the birds which flew around them, unequivocal signs of the proximity of land. At length,

on the 6th of that month, land was distinctly seen stretching to a great extent in the horizon; several ranges of hills were distinguished rising one above another, and a chain of mountains of an enormous height terminated the picture in the rear. The general opinion was, that they had discovered the 'Terra Australis Incognita,' but it was soon perceived that this must be a part of New Zealand or Staaten Land, discovered by Abel Tasman in 1642. A party who went on shore in order to open an intercourse with the natives met with no success. They were fierce, and obstinately hostile; but it was discovered, to the surprise and pleasure of our navigators, that when Tupia spoke to them in his native language, he was perfectly understood. In a quarrel which ensued, one of them was killed, and his dress appeared, on examination, to correspond exactly with the drawing appended to Tasman's voyage. As it was found impossible to commence an amicable correspondence with them by gentle means, it was determined to resort to force, and, according to the method followed by the first Spanish navigators, to capture the Indians first, in order to have an opportunity of treating them with kindness. This plan of proceeding can hardly be justified upon principles of reason or morality, and it has never been attended with such unequivocal success as to palliate its demerits. Two canoes were seen entering the bay, and the ship's boats proceeded immediately to intercept them; in one, the natives escaped by paddling; but those in the other, which was a sailing canoe, finding it impossible to get off, boldly prepared for battle. Of seven Indians who were in the canoe, four were killed on the first discharge of musketry, and the other three, who were all young, immediately jumped overboard, and attempted to save themselves by swimming; they were, however, overtaken and picked up by the boat, though not without some difficulty. They expected to be put *to death at once*; but as the studious kindness with which they were treated soon convinced them of their error, their consternation gave way to transports of joy. They conversed freely with Tupia; and after having been kept a day on board the ship, were again sent ashore.

"The account which the boys gave to their countrymen of their treatment on board the ship led to a correspondence, which did not, however, bear the appearance of confirmed friendship. The New Zealanders still maintained a fierce and independent carriage, and acted so little in concert, that the behaviour of different individuals was often of a totally opposite character; but their distrust could not be generally overcome, nor an intercourse established which was likely to prove safe and advantageous. An attempt was made by them to carry off Tayeto, Tupia's boy, and they nearly succeeded; but guns being fired at the canoe as it paddled off, the natives, in a moment of fear, let go their hold, and the boy leaped into the water. The New Zealanders made great exertions to secure their prize, but the ship's boats finally succeeded in picking up the youth, whose terror at the violent conduct of these savages was increased by the conviction which our navigators had obtained, that they were cannibals, and even that they regarded human flesh as a dainty.

"This bay, in which no provisions could be procured, was named Poverty Bay; and our voyagers, on leaving it, proceeded along the coast towards the north. They gave the name of Mercury Bay to the inlet in which they anchored while observing a transit of that planet over the sun. They were surprised to find that the natives, notwithstanding their ferocity, were not unacquainted with the art of cultivating the ground. They had gardens, in which they reared gourds and several kinds of fruits. A decked canoe also was found on this shore, which indicated their proficiency in maritime affairs. Their 'heppahs' or hamlets were forts neatly constructed on elevated situations, defended by

lines and trenches, and accessible only by a steep and narrow entrance. They had no knowledge of iron when our voyagers first touched here, although iron sand was found in the beds of several streams. The women were thickly painted with oil and red ochre, and the men were tattooed after the usual fashion of the South Seas. They were strong and active, not deficient in intelligence, or in sentiments of generosity, notwithstanding the cruelty of disposition engendered by their habits of continual warfare. Tupia conversed much with their priests; and from the superiority of his knowledge and the variety of his superstitious lore, he was regarded by them with peculiar respect and veneration.

"In prosecuting his examination of the coast towards the north, Cook entered a deep inlet terminating in a large river, which he explored to the distance of fourteen miles; from the magnitude of this river, and the general appearance of the country round it, he named it the Thames. The timber which grew here was of enormous size, trees being seen nearly twenty feet in girth six feet from the ground, and above eighty feet in height to the branches.

"Having finished the examination of the north-western shore of New Zealand, Cook experienced such severe gales, though it was now midsummer in these latitudes, that in five weeks he did not advance above fifty leagues in his course along the western shore. He at length reached a secure and capacious harbour, which he named Queen Charlotte's Sound. The country was here taken possession of, and the sound carefully surveyed. Wood, water, and fish were in the greatest abundance, the natives friendly, and plants of an anti-scorbutic quality were gathered on the shore, which soon restored the crew to perfect health. Here our voyagers were particularly struck with the exquisite warbling of the birds, which, like our nightingales, sing only during the night.

"On ascending a height in the neighbourhood of the sound, Cook was surprised on descrying the sea to the south-east, and thus found that the land, the continuity of which he had not before suspected, was divided by a strait. Passing through this strait, to which geographers have unanimously given the name of its discoverer, he directed his course towards the north till he arrived near the point where his examination of this country had commenced. He then resumed his course to the south-east, and followed the coast of the southernmost of the two islands comprised under the name of New Zealand, returning again from the south to Queen Charlotte's Sound. The southern island, or, as the natives call it, Tavai Poenammoo, is a rugged country, with mountains of prodigious height, and covered with snow the greater part of the year. The inhabitants also, though not more fierce, are ruder than their northern neighbours. They differ likewise in dialect from the inhabitants of Eaheinomauwe, as the northern island is called, where, as the climate is more genial and the soil more luxuriant, the population is considerably greater, and the arts as well as the institutions of rude society much more advanced.

"Of the natives of New Zealand Cook entertained a highly favourable opinion, notwithstanding their cannibalism, of which he saw numerous incontestable proofs. He could not collect from them any tradition respecting the arrival of Tasman on their shores; but they heard of a country called Ulimaroa, situated NW. by W., where the people ate hogs, and whence some canoes seemed to have accidently arrived in their country. The circumnavigation of New Zealand was the first grand discovery of Cook. When Tasman touched on that country, he imagined it to be a part of the great Terra Australis, or continent supposed to extend to the South Pole. Our navigator was satisfied with having disproved this supposition; and as the lateness of the season would not permit him to continue his researches in higher latitudes, he determined to direct his course to the eastern coast of New Holland, respecting which

the learned world was still in total ignorance.

"He took leave of New Zealand on the 31st of March 1770, and in twenty days discovered the coast of New Holland, at no great distance from the point where the survey of Tasman had terminated. In proceeding to the north, an inlet was entered, in which the ship rode securely for some days. Inhabitants were seen, but, from their shyness and timidity, they could not be induced to approach the strangers; they seemed to be sunk in that brutal condition which is insensible even to the promptings of curiosity. From the variety of new plants collected here by the naturalists of the expedition, this inlet received the name of Botany Bay. No rivers were discovered by Cook in his voyage along this coast, which has since been found abundantly supplied with fine streams. The natives, wherever they were seen, manifested the same repugnance to the strangers, and the same indifference to the trinkets presented to them. Towards the north the country grew more hilly, and the navigation of the coast became more dangerous and intricate.

"No accident had yet occurred in a voyage of 2000 miles along a coast hitherto unexplored; but in Lat. 16° S., a high headland being in sight, which from the circumstance was afterwards named Cape Tribulation, the ship during the night struck on some coral rocks with so much force that there seemed imminent danger of her going to pieces. The planks which formed her sheathing were seen floating off, and the water rushed in with such impetuosity that, though all the pumps were manned, the leak could hardly be kept under. As day broke, land was descried eight leagues distant, without an island between to which the boats might convey the crew in case of the ship's foundering. The guns and all the stores that could be spared were thrown overboard, and preparations were made to heave the ship off the rocks, although it was *thought* probable that she would sink *soon after*. On the following night, however, she was got afloat, and, to the surprise of all, it was found that the leakage did not increase. By constant exertion and cool perseverance the ship was navigated to a small harbour opportunely discovered on the coast—the only harbour, indeed, seen by our people during the whole voyage, which could have afforded them the same relief. On examining the injury done to the vessel, it was found that a large piece of the coral rock, having forced its way through the timbers, had remained fixed in the aperture; but for this providential circumstance the ship must have sunk the moment she was got off the reef.

"The cove in which our navigators found shelter is situated at the mouth of a small stream, to which was given the name of Endeavour River. Here the natives appeared rather more familiar, but they set little value on anything offered to them, except food. When some turtle, which they coveted, was refused them, they avenged the affront by setting fire to the long grass near the tents, an action which had nearly been attended with disagreeable consequences. Mr Banks and Dr Solander found here abundance of employment; almost everything connected with the animal and vegetable kingdoms being absolutely new. Our naturalists were particularly pleased with the animal called by the natives kangaroo. They saw several at a distance, but a long time elapsed before they could succeed in shooting one.

"The ship being repaired, our voyagers left the harbour; and, after much patient labour and anxiety, at length gained the deep sea, having been three months entangled within the reefs. They now prosecuted their voyage to the north, flattering themselves that the danger was gone by, when the wind abated, and the ship was found to be drifting fast towards the reefs which lined this coast nearly in its whole extent, and on which the great waves of the Southern Ocean break with a tremendous surf. Her destruction seemed inevitable, when a narrow channel through the reefs was

descried at no great distance; and although the attempt was attended with great risk, yet the ship was steered to run through it. Having thus entered from necessity a second time within the reef, Cook resolved to persevere through all difficulties in following the coast lest he might lose the strait that separates New Holland from New Guinea, 'if,' as he doubtfully expresses it, 'such a strait there be.' He at length reached a point of land from which he could discern an open sea to the south-west, and was thus convinced that he had found the strait in question. He then landed, and in the name of his Sovereign took possession of the immense line of coast that he had discovered, to which he gave the name of New South Wales. The little island on which the ceremony was performed received the name of Possession Island.

"The crew of the Endeavour had suffered so much from sickness and fatigue that it was not deemed advisable to prolong the voyage by an examination of the coasts of New Guinea. Our navigator, therefore, held his course for Batavia, where he wished to refit his vessel; but the noxious climate of this place proved more fatal to the men than all their preceding hardships—scarcely ten remained in a condition to do duty. Tupia and his poor boy Tayeto, who had been afflicted with the scurvy during the whole voyage, were among the first victims to the pestilential air of Batavia. The seeds of illness lingered in the ship long after she had left the place; and before her arrival at the Cape she had lost no less than thirty persons, among whom were Mr Green the astronomer, Dr Solander, and the surgeon; the life of Mr Banks also was for some time despaired of. On the 10th of June, land, which proved to be the Lizard, was discovered by the same boy who had first seen New Zealand; and on the 12th, Cook came to an anchor in the Downs, having been employed two years and eleven months in his voyage round the earth."

COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

"The first important discovery made by Cook was effected by the circumnavigation of New Zealand. When Tasman described that country, he supposed it to be a part of the great Terra Australis Incognita, extending probably across the southern Pacific Ocean; but Cook's voyage at once overturned this theory. An opinion, however, which has long existed, cannot be at once dispelled, although utterly groundless; and many still continued to believe in the existence of a southern continent, although Cook's discoveries had cut off the connection between their theory and the facts which hitherto had been adduced in its support. But to set the question of a southern continent completely at rest, another expedition was necessary; and the English Government, having now made the advancement of science the object of national exertions, resolved to continue their laudable researches. The King was partial to the scheme; and the Earl of Sandwich, who was at the head of the Admiralty, possessed a mind sufficiently liberal and comprehensive to second effectively the wishes of his Sovereign.

"Captain Cook was named at once as the fittest person to command the new expedition. Two ships, the Resolution and the Adventure, the former of 462, the latter of 336 tons burthen, were fitted out for the voyage; and, that no opportunity might be lost to science from the want of persons capable of observing nature under every aspect, astronomers and naturalists

of eminent ability were engaged to accompany the expedition; Messrs Wales and Bayley proceeding in the former, Reinhold Forster and his son in the latter, capacity. The ships were amply stored and provided for a long and difficult voyage, particularly with anti-scorbutics, and whatever was thought likely to preserve the health of the crews. Cook sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July 1772, on his second voyage of discovery. On his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, he was induced, by the entreaties of Mr Forster, to allow the celebrated naturalist Sparmann to join the expedition. He now directed his course to the south, in search of the land said to have been discovered by the French navigator Bouvet, but violent gales drove him far to the east of the meridian in which it was supposed to lie. After long struggling with adverse winds, he at length reached the same meridian, some leagues to the south of the latitude assigned to Cape Circumcision. Having thus proved that the land said to have been seen by Bouvet, if it existed at all, was certainly no part of a southern continent, he continued his course to the south and east.

"On the 10th of December our navigators first met with islands of ice, and on the following days these occurred in greater numbers and of larger size; some of them were nearly two miles in circuit, and sixty feet high; yet such was the force of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. This was at first view a gratifying spectacle, but the sentiment of pleasure was soon swallowed up in the horror which seized on the mind from the contemplation of danger; for a ship approaching these islands on the weather side would be dashed to pieces in a moment. Amidst the obstructions to which our navigators were exposed from the ice islands continually succeeding one another, they derived the advantage of having an abundant supply of fresh water; large *masses* of ice were carried off, and *stowed on* deck, and the water produced from its melting was found perfectly sweet and well tasted.

"On the 17th of January 1773, our navigators had reached the Latitude of 67° 15′ S., and they saw the ice extending from east to west-south-west, without the least appearance of an opening. It was vain, therefore, to persist any longer in a southerly course; and as there was some danger of being surrounded by the ice, prudence dictated a retreat to the north. On the 8th of February, the weather being extremely thick and hazy, it was found that the Adventure had parted company; the rendezvous appointed in case of this accident, was Queen Charlotte's Sound in New Zealand, and thither Cook directed his course. In the Latitude of 62° S., on the 17th of the same month, between midnight and 3 o'clock in the morning, lights were seen in the heavens, similar to those that are known in the northern hemisphere by the name of the Aurora Borealis. Captain Cook had never heard that the Aurora Australis had been seen before, but the same phenomenon was witnessed repeatedly in the sequel of this voyage. During his run to the eastward in this high latitude, he had ample reason to conclude that no land lay to the south, unless at a very great distance. At length, after having been 117 days at sea, during which time he had sailed 3660 leagues without having come once within sight of land, he saw the shores of New Zealand on the 25th of March, and on the following day came to an anchor in Dusky Bay. Notwithstanding the length and hardships of his voyage, there was no sickness in the ship; the attention which he paid to the health of the men, by enforcing cleanliness, by keeping the vessel dry and well ventilated, and by the judicious use of anti-scorbutic diet, being attended with complete success. Having surveyed Dusky Bay, he proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where Captain Furneaux had arrived before him.

"The Adventure, after parting company with the Resolution, had fol-

lowed a more northerly course, and traced the coasts of Van Dieman's Land along the southern and eastern shores. Captain Furneaux reported, "that in his opinion there are no straits between this land and New Holland, but a very deep bay." Cook had intended to investigate this point, but, considering it to be now settled by the judgment of his colleague, he resolved to prosecute his researches to the east, between the Latitudes of 41° and 46°. But before he left Queen Charlotte's Sound, he succeeded in establishing a friendly and mutually advantageous intercourse with the natives. He endeavoured to give them substantial proofs of his kind intentions, by making an addition to their stock of useful animals. He put on shore a ewe and ram, and also two goats, a male and female. A garden also was dug, and a variety of seeds of culinary vegetables, adapted to the climate, were sown in it.

"Although it was the winter season, Cook determined not to lose his time in utter inactivity. His ships being sound, and his crews healthy, he thought that he might safely proceed to examine the Southern Ocean within the Latitude of 46°; and then, refreshing at some of the islands between the tropics, return in the summer season to carry his researches to a higher latitude. His voyage from New Zealand towards the east was not productive of any interesting discoveries, nor diversified by any but the ordinary details of navigation. He felt convinced, from the great sea that rolled from the south, that no land of any extent could lie near him in that direction. When he had advanced so far as to find himself to the north of Carteret's track, he could no longer entertain any hope of finding a continent; and this circumstance, with the sickly state of the Adventure's crew, induced him to direct his course to the Society Islands. During this part of his voyage, he saw a number of those small low islands which compose the Dangerous Archipelago of Bougainville.

"The ships narrowly escaped destruction by drifting on the coral reefs at Otaheite; they were saved only by the promptness of their commander, and the unremitting exertions of the crew. On the 24th of August they anchored in their old station in Matavai Bay. The men on board the Resolution were at this time in perfect health; but the crew of the Adventure, on the other hand, suffered dreadfully from the scurvy, though the two ships were equipped alike, and the same precautionary system to preserve the health of the men was prescribed to both; but zeal on the part of the officers was requisite to give efficacy to the orders, and their example was necessary to encourage the men to sacrifice old habits in order to preserve their constitutions.

"During this visit to Otaheite, our navigators obtained a more intimate acquaintance with the manners and character of the natives. Of their religious doctrines they were unable to acquire a distinct knowledge; but they ascertained that human victims were often sacrificed to their gods. They also witnessed the "Heavas" or dramatic representations of the people, and found them not devoid of archness and ingenuity. The performance was generally extemporaneous, founded upon some incidents presented at the moment, and in which our navigators usually made a prominent figure. Otoo, the present king of Otaheite, a man of fine figure but of remarkably timid disposition, contracted an intimate friendship with Captain Cook. Oberea, who, when the island was first visited by Captain Wallis, was so conspicuous a character, was now reduced to an humble station, and had declined as much in personal appearance as in rank. It is remarkable that few inquiries were made after Tupia, who had accompanied Cook in his former voyage, or after Aootooroo, the native of Otaheite, who had accompanied Bougainville to Europe; but, though the islanders were neglectful of their own countrymen, they were uniformly solicitous in inquiring after Mr Banks.

"On leaving Otaheite, Cook visited the other islands of the group, where he found provisions in greater abundance. Oree, the chief of Huaheine, evinced towards him the most affectionate regard. Omai, a native of Ulietea, being desirous to accompany the English, was admitted by Captain Furneaux on board the Adventure; he was not of the higher class, and, consequently, not a favourable specimen of these islanders as far as regarded person and deportment; but his docility and general propriety of conduct eventually justified the choice of Captain Furneaux. A young native of Borabora, named Hete-Hete, or Oedidee (as our great navigator named him), was at the same time allowed by Captain Cook to embark in the Resolution.

"On quitting the Society Islands, Cook directed his course to the west, where he had reason to believe, from the accounts of the natives, that much yet remained to be explored. At the island named Middleburg by Roggewein, he was well treated by a chief called Tioony; at Amsterdam Island his reception was equally favourable. The language of these islanders differed but little from that of Otaheite, and they were evidently of the same race. Some of our navigators thought them much handsomer; but others, and among these Cook himself, were of a different opinion. The men were grave and stately; but the women, on the contrary, were remarkably vivacious, and prattled unceasingly to the strangers, regardless of the mortifying fact that the latter could not understand them. But these people were chiefly distinguished from the natives of the Society Islands by their superior industry. On the Island of Amsterdam, Captain Cook was struck with admiration, when he surveyed the cultivation and the beauty of the scene; he thought himself transported into the most fertile plains of Europe; there was not an inch of waste ground. The roads or paths occupied no more space than *was absolutely* necessary, and the fences did not take up above four inches each; nor was this small portion of ground wholly lost, for the fences themselves contained in general useful trees or plants. The scene was everywhere the same; and nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere assumed a more splendid appearance than in these islands.

"Cook now directed his course again to New Zealand; but, on approaching that country, the ships had to encounter a succession of severe gales and continued bad weather, during which the Adventure was again lost sight of and never afterwards rejoined. On the 3d of November the Resolution anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound. The winter had been spent not unprofitably in revictualling the ships, restoring the health of the crews, and obtaining a more accurate knowledge of the islands between the tropics. And now, as summer approached, it was Cook's intention to run from New Zealand, where wood and water were to be procured in abundance, and to explore the high southern latitudes from west to east, in which course he might reckon upon having the winds and currents in his favour. While the Resolution lay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, indubitable proofs presented themselves that cannibalism was common among the natives. One of them who carried some human flesh in his canoe, was allowed to broil and eat it on board the Resolution, in order to satisfy the doubts of some of the officers. Oedidee, who witnessed all this, was shocked beyond measure at the spectacle. At first he stood motionless as a statue, but his horror at length gave way to rage, which vented itself not only on the New Zealander, but on the officers who had encouraged him; and he could not be induced even to touch the knife which had been employed to cut the human flesh.

"On the 26th of November, Cook sailed to prosecute his examination of the Antarctic seas. His crew were in good health and high spirits, not at all dejected by the arduous task which

was before them. In a few days they crossed the antipodes of London, and were thus on the point of the globe which was most distant from their home. The first ice island was seen on the 12th of December; and, on the 30th of that month, our navigators had reached the 71st degree of southern latitude; but here the ice was so compact that it was impossible to proceed any further towards the south; and it was also obvious that no continent existed in that direction but what must be inaccessible from the ice. It was Cook's intention to winter again within the tropic; but in proceeding thither, he wished to satisfy himself as to the southern land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez. He sailed sufficiently near the position assigned to that supposed continent to assure himself that it could not have been anything more than an island of moderate size. He now directed his course in search of Davis's Land or Easter Island, which had been sought in vain by Byron, Carteret, and Bougainville. Cook, however, succeeded better, and made the island on the 11th of March 1774. The natives were found to speak a language radically the same with that of Otaheite, and which thus reaches across the Pacific Ocean from New Zealand to the sequestered islands in the East. Easter Island was found to be remarkably barren, ill supplied with water, and wholly without wood. But the attention of the English was forcibly attracted by the great statues seen on the island by Roggewein. About fifteen yards from the landing-place was found a perpendicular wall of square hewn stones, about eight feet in height, and nearly sixty in length; another wall parallel to the first, and about forty feet distant from it, was raised to the same height; the whole area between the walls was filled up and paved with square stones of blackish lava. The stones of the walls were so carefully fitted as to make a durable piece of architecture. In the midst of the area was a pillar consisting of a single stone, about twenty feet high and about five feet wide, representing the human figure down to the waist. The workmanship was rude but not bad; nor were the features of the face ill formed, but the ears were long beyond proportion. On the top of the head was placed upright a huge round cylinder of stone, above five feet in height and in diameter; this cap, which resembled the head-dress of an Egyptian divinity, was formed of a kind of stone different from that which composed the rest of the pillar, and had a hole on each side, as if it had been made round by turning. It appeared as difficult to explain how the natives of this island, who were but few in number, could carve such huge statues with no better tools than those made of bones or shells, or how they raised them on their pedestals when finished, as to divine for what purpose they undertook such gigantic labours; for it did not appear that the statues were objects of worship; yet on the eastern side of the island they were numerous enough to employ the male population of the island for many centuries in their construction. The skill of this people in carving was still more manifest in the ornaments of their canoes, and in small wooden figures, of which the English brought home many curious specimens.

"From Easter Island Cook directed his course to the Marquesas, discovered by Mendana in 1595; and on the 6th of April he got sight of one island of the group, which was, however, a new discovery, and received, from the gentleman who first descried it, the name of Hood's Island. The other islands seen by Mendana, St Pedro, Dominica, and St Christiana, were afterwards discovered in succession. The ship with much difficulty anchored in Mendana's Port in the last-mentioned island. Magdalena, the fifth island of the group, was seen only at a distance. Of the inhabitants of these islands Captain Cook tells us, that collectively they are without exception the finest race of people in this sea; for fine shape and regular features they perhaps

surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Islands shows that they are originally of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, though the English could not, and it was obvious that their languages were nearly the same. In their manners and arts the people resembled the natives of Otaheite, but appeared to be rather less ingenious and refined. Forts, or strongholds, were seen on the summits of the highest hills; but they were not visited by the English, who had not become sufficiently acquainted with the natives to venture into the interior.

"Cook, having rediscovered the Marquesas of Mendana, proceeded to Otaheite, and passing by a group, to which he gave the name of Palliser's Islands, and some others which had been seen by Byron, he anchored in Matavai Bay on the 22d of April. At this time there were no sick on board; but as the island seemed to abound with provisions, our navigator was willing to prolong his stay here. His original stock in trade was, indeed, now exhausted; but he found that the people of Otaheite set a great value on the red parrot feathers, of which he had brought a considerable supply from Amsterdam and Middleburg Islands. He thus accidentally learned an advantageous and easy course of traffic in the South Sea.

"Among other entertainments with which our navigators were treated during this visit to Otaheite was a grand naval review. The vessels of war consisted of 160 great canoes, from fifty to ninety feet in length; they were decorated with flags and streamers; and the chiefs, together with all those who were on the fighting stages, were dressed in their war habits. The whole fleet made a noble appearance, such as our voyagers had never before seen, and could not have expected in this part of the world. *Besides* the vessels of war, there there *170 sail of* smaller double canoes, which seemed to be designed for transports and victuallers. Upon each of them was a small house or shed; and they were rigged with a mast and sail, which was not the case with the war canoes. Captain Cook estimated, at a moderate computation, that there could not be less than 7760 men in the fleet; but the immense number of natives assembled as spectators astonished the English more than the splendour of the armament, and they were still further surprised to learn that this fleet was the naval force of only one of the twenty districts into which the island is divided. On these equivocal grounds they were led to form an extremely exaggerated calculation of the population of Otaheite, which they estimated to be at least 200,000 souls; a number exceeding the truth, perhaps, in the proportion of ten to one.

"From Otaheite our navigators proceeded to visit the Society Islands, at Huaheine. Cook was affectionately received by the old chief Oree, who still carefully preserved the medals, coins, and pewter plate with an inscription commemorating the voyage, which our commander had given him on his former visit. Oedidee, who for seven months had been the faithful companion of our voyagers, and had made with them the tour of the Pacific, was put on shore at Ulietea. He left the English with regret demonstrative of a strong attachment to them; and nothing could have torn him from them but the fear of never returning to his native country. He was a fine young man, of a docile and humane disposition, and of the better class of natives, being nearly related to Opoony, the formidable chief of Borabora. But from his inexperience and imperfect acquaintance with the traditionary knowledge of his countrymen, but little could be learned from him respecting their history.

"Cook again directed his course to the west, and repeated his visit to the Friendly Islands. This name he gave to a group extending through about

three degrees of latitude and two degrees of longitude, and comprising Anamooka, which Tasman, who first discovered it, named Rotterdam, Tongataboo or Amsterdam, Eaoowee or Middleburg, and Pylstart Islands. But this appellation, to which these islands were entitled by the firm alliance and friendship which seemed to exist among their inhabitants, and their courteous behaviour to strangers, might perhaps be extended much farther, so as to include the Boscawen and Keppel Isles discovered by Captain Wallis, and inhabited by people of the same friendly manners.

"Pursuing their course to the west, our navigators discovered on the 16th of July, land, which was justly conjectured to be the 'Terra Australis del Espirito Santo' of Quiros. After exploring the coast for a few days, Cook came to an anchor in a harbour in the Island of Mallicolo. The inhabitants of this island were the most ugly and deformed race which our navigators had yet seen, and differed in every respect from the other inhabitants of the Southern Ocean. They were dark coloured, of small stature, with long heads, flat faces, and countenances resembling that of a monkey. Their language, also, was found not to have any discoverable affinity with that prevailing through the islands with which the English had any acquaintance. This people differed likewise from the great Polynesian race not more by their language and figure than by their scrupulous honesty. As our navigators proceeded towards the south from Mallicolo, they passed by a group which Cook named Shepherd's Isles. Farther to the south was discovered a large island agreeably diversified with woods and lawns over the whole surface, and exhibiting a most beautiful and delightful prospect. This our navigator named Sandwich Island in compliment to his friend and patron the Earl of Sandwich. Still farther to the south was seen another large island, called by the natives Erromango, which he coasted for three days, and then came to an anchor in the intention of procuring a supply of wood and water. This, however, could not be effected without a violent conflict with the natives, who were both fierce and treacherous. It was observed that they differed from the inhabitants of Mallicolo both in language and physical conformation; they were well shaped and had tolerable features, but dark coloured, and with hair crisp and somewhat woolly. From this place Cook sailed for an island which had been descried some time before at a distance. He found that it was called Tanna by the inhabitants, from whom also he learned the names of three other islands in its neighbourhood, Inmer, Erronan, and Anaton. Two languages were found to be spoken in Tanna; one of them, which was said to have been introduced from Erronan, was nearly the same with that of the Friendly Islands; the other, which our navigators considered peculiar to Tanna, Erromango, and Anaton, was different from any they had hitherto met with in the course of their researches. The people at Tanna were well proportioned, but not robust. They had good features and agreeable countenances. Though active, and fond of martial exercises, they seemed incapable of patient labour. It appeared that they practised circumcision, and that they were eaters of human flesh; though, as their island abounded with hogs and fowls, and a variety of fruits, they could not be driven by necessity to adopt this horrid practice.

"Captain Cook devoted above a month to the survey of this archipelago, with which previous navigators had made but a superficial acquaintance. The northern islands were discovered in 1606 by Quiros, who supposed them to be portions of the great southern continent. Bougainville, in 1768, dispelled this idea, though he did not proceed to examine the islands near which he sailed; but Captain Cook, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of the islands already known, explored the whole group; and, conceiving that in consequence he had a right to name

them, bestowed on them the appellation of the New Hebrides.

"The season was now approaching when it would be necessary to resume his researches in a high southern latitude, and he hastened therefore to New Zealand, where he intended to refresh his people and prepare for a navigation of considerable length. He sailed from the New Hebrides on the 1st of September, and on the 4th discovered land, near which the Resolution came to anchor the next day. The inhabitants were a strong, active, and handsome race, bearing some resemblance to the people of Tanna, and those of the Friendly Isles. The same mixed character was observed in their language. They had never seen Europeans before, but were friendly and obliging in their behaviour; and what is still more remarkable in the South Seas, strictly honest in all their dealings. To this island Captain Cook gave the name of New Caledonia; and though compelled by necessity to leave it before it was fully surveyed, he had, nevertheless, examined it sufficiently to prove, that, excepting New Zealand, it is perhaps the largest island in the South Pacific Ocean. As the Resolution pursued her course from New Caledonia, land was discovered, which, on a nearer approach, was found to be an island of good height, and about five leagues in circuit. It was uninhabited, and probably our English navigators were the first persons who had ever set foot on it. In its vegetable productions it bore a close resemblance to New Zealand. The flax plant of that country was here particularly luxuriant; but the chief produce of the island was a majestic species of pine, of such a size that, breast high, two men could scarcely clasp the trunk. This little spot was named Norfolk Island. Its fine woods and fertile soil allured, some years later, a party of British settlers; who finally abandoned it, however, from the inaccessible nature of its coast.

"On the 18th of October the Resolution came to anchor in Queen Charlotte's Sound. This was the third time of touching at New Zealand during this voyage. On searching for the bottle which Cook had left behind on his last visit, containing the particulars of his arrival, it was found to have been taken away; and from other circumstances it was evident that the Adventure had visited the harbour after the Resolution had left it. While the Resolution remained here, the intercourse maintained with the natives was of the most friendly description. Captain Cook continued his efforts to stock the island with useful animals, and for that purpose ordered a boar and sow to be put on shore.

"On the 10th of November he left New Zealand to pursue his voyage to the east. Towards the close of that month, he had reached the Latitude of 55° 48′ S., when, deeming it useless to search any longer for a continent in that direction, he bore away for Cape Horn; and on the 17th of December had sight of Tierra del Fuego. This is the first instance of a run quite across the Southern Pacific. It now only remained for our navigator to cross also the Southern Atlantic to the point whence he had commenced his explorations. Having completed his examination of Tierra del Fuego and Staaten Land, he proceeded towards the east; and, after a voyage of ten days, land was seen at a distance, nearly covered with snow. On approaching the shore, it was found to be terminated in many places by perpendicular ice cliffs of considerable height. Pieces continually broke off with a noise like the report of cannon, and floated out to sea. The general aspect of the country was savage and horrid in the extreme. The wild rocks raised their lofty summits till they were lost in the clouds, and the valleys lay covered with everlasting snow. Our navigator, who at first view of this land supposed that it might be a continent, confesses that he was not much disappointed on discovering his error; 'for to judge of the bulk by the sample, it would not be worth discovering.' In Latitude 59°, and about eight degrees to the east of New Georgia, as this inhospit-

able shore was named, land was again seen, presenting an elevated coast, whose lofty snow-clad summits reached above the clouds. To this bleak region Cook gave the name of the Southern Thule, as it was the most southern land which had yet been discovered; but on leaving the coast he gave to the whole country the general appellation of Sandwich Land, which he concluded to be either a group of islands or a point of the southern continent. But the great quantities of ice which he met with led him to infer the existence of a large tract of land near the South Pole. He now sailed as far as the latitude assigned to Bouvet's supposed discovery; but no indications of land occurred, nor was it possible to believe any longer in the existence of Cape Circumcision.

"Cook had now made a circuit of the Southern Ocean in a high latitude, and traversed it in such a manner as to demonstrate that no southern continent existed unless near the Pole, and beyond the reach of navigation. During this circumnavigation of the globe, from the time of his leaving the Cape of Good Hope to his return to it again, he had sailed no less than 20,000 leagues. On the 13th of July 1775, he landed at Portsmouth, having been absent from Great Britain three years and eighteen days, during which time, and under all changes of climate, he had lost but four men, and only one of them by sickness.

"It has been related above that Captain Cook, on approaching New Zealand for the second time in the course of this voyage, lost sight of the Adventure, and never joined company with that ship again. Captain Furneaux was long baffled by adverse winds in his attempt to reach Queen Charlotte's Sound, which was appointed the rendezvous for the ships in case of separation. At length, on the 30th of November, the Adventure got safe into the desired port. The Resolution not being there, Captain Furneaux and his company began to entertain doubts of her safety; but on going on shore they observed on an old stump of a tree these words cut out—'Look underneath.' They dug accordingly, and soon found a bottle corked and waxed down, with a letter in it from Captain Cook, signifying his arrival on the 3d and departure on the 24th. Great exertions were now made to get the Adventure ready for sea, and on the 17th of December, the preparations being completed, Mr Rowe, a midshipman, with nine men, were sent in the large cutter to gather a stock of wild greens for the ship's company. As the boat did not return the same evening nor the next morning, and the ship was now ready for sea, Mr Burney, the second lieutenant, proceeded in search of her in the launch, manned with the boat's crew and ten marines. The launch proceeded, firing guns into all the coves by way of signals, but no traces of the cutter were found till they reached Grass Cove. Here a great many baskets were seen lying on the beach tied up; when cut open, some of them were found to be full of roasted flesh, and some of fern root, which served the natives for bread. On further search, some shoes were picked up and a hand, which was immediately known to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of the forecastle men, the initials of his name being marked on it with an Otaheitan tatooing instrument. The natives were collected in considerable numbers round Grass Cove, shouting and inviting the English to land, but evidently with no friendly intentions. From their numbers, and the suspicion which their conduct excited in our people, Lieutenant Burney did not deem it prudent to trust himself among them; but he pursued his examination far enough to obtain a melancholy certainty as to the fate of his unfortunate companions. 'On the beach,' he says, 'were two bundles of celery, which had been gathered for loading the cutter; a broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes, a proof that the attack had been made here. I then searched all along at the back of the beach to see if the cutter was there. We found no boat, but instead

of her such a shocking scene of carnage and barbarity as can never be mentioned nor thought of but with horror; for the heads, hearts, and lungs of several of our people were seen lying on the beach; and, at a little distance, the dogs gnawing their entrails.' The men who had thus fallen victims to the barbarity of the natives were among the healthiest and best of the ship's crew.

"The Adventure was detained in the sound four days after this lamentable occurrence, during which time no natives were seen. On the 23d of December, however, she got to sea; and in little more than a month reached Cape Horn, being favoured by a strong current running to the east, and by westerly winds which blow continually in the summer season in the great ocean. Captain Furneaux continued his course eastward to the Cape of Good Hope, where he refitted his ship and refreshed his people. He then sailed for England, and anchored at Spithead on the 14th of July 1774.

"In 1769 some discoveries of importance were made in the South Seas by a French mercantile adventurer. Two ships were fitted out in Bengal by MM. Law and Chevalier for a trading voyage to Peru, and were placed under the command of M. de Surville. While he was preparing to embark, news arrived in India that the English had discovered in the South Sea, 700 leagues from Peru, and in Lat. 27° S., an island exceedingly rich, and inhabited by Jews. This story gained credit, being congenial to the avaricious cravings of mankind; and even those who suspected fiction in the mention of Jews were still willing to believe that the newly-discovered country was eminently rich. Surville, touching at the Bashee Islands, carried off three of the natives to supply the deficiencies of his crew, thus furnishing a conspicuous example of that overbearing violence which has almost universally forced weak and uncivilised nations to regard Europeans as their natural *enemies*. In running to the south-east from New Guinea he discovered land, to which he gave the name of the Land of the Arsacides, and which was, in fact, a part of that long chain of islands that had already been seen by Bougainville, who gave the name of Louisiade to the portion which he had examined. Surville, in his intercourse with the natives, found them to be of a fierce, intractable, and treacherous disposition, and chose to designate them Arsacides, a name which he supposed to be equivalent to the word assassins. Surville afterwards visited New Zealand, and anchored in a bay, to which he gave the name of Lauriston. Captain Cook, who named it Double Bay, was at the same time employed in surveying its shores, yet these two navigators did not meet nor descry each other. The French commander, having lost his boat while anchoring here, went on shore with an armed party to punish the natives, whom he supposed to have stolen it. In a short time he burned several villages, and carried off a native chief. This outrage, perpetrated by some of the first Europeans who visited them, was soon afterwards repaid with cruel reprisals by the New Zealanders. The chief died at Juan Fernandez, and Surville was drowned while going on shore at Valparaiso.

"The Land of the Arsacides, which Surville had coasted on the north-eastern side, was again discovered in 1789 by Lieutenant Shortland of the British navy on his voyage from Port Jackson to the East Indies. He followed its southern shores, to which he gave the name of New Georgia, and passed through the Straits of Bougainville, which he named from himself, being apparently ignorant of the discoveries of the French navigators. The chain of large islands thus seen successively and partially by Bougainville, Surville, and Shortland, and which stretch from north-west to south-east, between New Guinea and the New Hebrides, are unquestionably the Salomon Islands of the early Spanish navigators. The Egmont Island of Carteret, who sought the Salomon Islands, and who

approached them very closely without being aware of it, may be considered as belonging to the archipelago.

"It has been already mentioned that Bougainville brought home with him to France a native of Otaheite named Aootooroo. When the fame of Cook's discoveries began to excite a general interest in Europe, Captain Marion du Fresne, animated with a desire to emulate the glory of the English navigator, offered to take back the Otaheitean to his native land from the Isle of France at his own expense. The offer was accepted, and Kerguelen, a navigator of some note, was commissioned to carry Aootooroo to the Isle of France, and then to proceed to examine more carefully the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean. The Otaheitean died at Madagascar, but Marion did not on that account relinquish his plans, but proceeded in the ardent hope of making some important discoveries. He arrived at New Zealand without any accident, and anchored in the Bay of Islands, where his people lived on terms of familiarity, and apparently of cordial friendship with the natives; but some offence was given unawares to the passionate and capricious savages. Marion was murdered, with sixteen officers and men who had accompanied him on shore. Another party of eleven men, who were employed cutting wood in a different quarter, were at the same time set upon suddenly, and only one escaped to the ships to relate the dismal fate of his companions. When the French landed to seek the remains of their unfortunate commander, the natives insultingly cried to them from their fastnesses, 'Tacowry (the chief of the district) has killed and eaten Marion.' After this melancholy accident the ships returned to the Isle of France under the command of M. Duclesmeur, all plans of discovery being abandoned.

"Kerguelen, in the meantime, sailed from the Isle of France in January 1772; and, on the 12th of February, discovered in Lat. 50° 5′ S., high land, near the coast of which he remained six days. During this time he was separated from the corvette which accompanied him. To the bleak and sterile shores which he had discovered he gave his own name; took formal possession of them for his sovereign; and, on his return to France, described their appearance in such glowing terms, that Louis XV., deceived by his representations, hung to his button-hole, with his own hand, the cross of St Louis. Kerguelen's enemies, however, insisted that he had seen ice at a distance, and mistaken it for land; they called on him to show some of the productions of the country as a proof of his discovery, and insinuated that he had purposely got rid of his comrade that he might be at liberty to indulge in gross fictions. The King, however, afforded him the means of refuting these aspersions. Kerguelen sailed again to the Southern Atlantic, and, in December 1773, again discovered land: by the 6th of January following he had traced its coasts above eighty leagues. It was, however, a barren, inhospitable, and, in general, an unapproachable shore, affording nothing that could satisfy the French nation of the importance of his discoveries. On his return he was accused of culpable indifference to the safety of his men and officers, or rather of purposely exposing those whom he disliked to dangers which eventually proved fatal. Being unable to exculpate himself, he was deprived of his rank and thrown into prison.

"No expedition, fitted out for the purpose of maritime discovery, had ever equalled that from which Captain Cook had now returned, in the magnitude and arduous nature of its peculiar object; and none had ever so completely answered its intentions and performed its task with so little loss of life or injury to the ships. The success of Cook's voyage was gratifying in the highest degree to those who had patronised the undertaking. The Earl of Sandwich was still at the head of the Admiralty, and felt naturally disposed to reward liberally one whose courage and

skill had so well justified his expectations. Cook was immediately raised to the rank of post captain, and obtained a more substantial mark of favour, being appointed one of the captains of Greenwich Hospital, which afforded him a liberal maintenance and repose from his professional labours. In February 1776, only a few months after his return, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the evening of his first appearance there, a paper was read containing an account of the method he had taken to preserve the health of the crew of his Majesty's ship, the Resolution, during her voyage round the world. The humane and successful attention which Cook bestowed on his ship's company was soon after rewarded by the Copley medal, a prize annually bestowed by the Royal Society on the author of the best experimental paper of the year. In the discourse which the president, Sir John Pringle, delivered on the occasion of bestowing the medal, he uses the following emphatic expressions:

"'What inquiry can be so useful as that which has for its object the saving the lives of men? and where shall we find one more successful than that before us? Here are no vain boastings of the empiric, nor ingenious and delusive theories of the dogmatist; but a concise and artless, and an uncontested, relation of the means by which, under divine favour, Captain Cook, with a company of 118 men, performed a voyage of three years and eighteen days, throughout all the climates from Lat. 52° N., to 71° S., with the loss of only one man by sickness. I would now inquire of the most conversant with the bills of mortality, whether, in the most healthy climate and the best condition of life, they have ever found so small a number of deaths within that space of time? How great and agreeable, then, must our surprise be, after perusing the histories of long navigations in former days, when so many perished by marine diseases, to find the air of the sea acquitted of all malignity; and, *in fine*, that a voyage round the world may be undertaken with less danger perhaps to health than a common tour in Europe.'

"The great question as to the existence of a southern continent was finally set at rest by the result of this voyage; not but that immense tracks of land might exist in the neighbourhood of the South Pole. But Cook's researches reduced the limits of the southern continent, if it exist at all within such high latitudes, as completely to dispel all those hopes of unbounded wealth and fertility with which imagination had hitherto graced that undiscovered country. One grand problem still divided the opinions of speculative geographers, and eluded every attempt made at a practical solution. The English nation had always felt a peculiar interest in the question of a north-west passage. Their earliest and most constant efforts in the career of discovery were directed towards Hudson's and Baffin's Bays, in search of a communication with the Pacific Ocean, so that they might sail by a shorter navigation to China and Japan. In consequence of the disputes between Mr Dobbs and Captain Middleton, respecting the feasibility of the scheme, the agitation of the question was tolerably recent in the public mind, and, Government adopting the views of the former gentleman, a reward of £20,000 was offered by Act of Parliament to those who should discover the desired passage.

"The British Government, captivated with the glory that might result from expeditions destined for the improvement of science, resolved now to direct its exertions towards the north-west; and, as a preliminary measure, Captain Phipps (afterwards Lord Mulgrave) was despatched towards the North Pole, to ascertain how far navigation was practicable in that quarter. After struggling obstinately with innumerable difficulties and dangers, arising from the quantity of ice that beset him, he was obliged to return, after having penetrated to the Latitude of 80° 30', or within nine degrees and a half of the Terrestrial Pole.

"The hope of finding a passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans was not, however, abandoned; and consultations were held by Lord Sandwich with Sir Hugh Palliser and other experienced officers, relative to the plan which should be adopted in the expedition, and to the choice of a commander. Captain Cook had earned, by his eminent services, the privilege of honourable repose; and no one thought of imposing on him, for the third time, the dangers and hardships of a voyage of discovery round the world: but being invited to dine with Lord Sandwich, in order that he might lend the light of his valuable experience to the various particulars under discussion, he was so fired with the observations that were made on the benefits likely to redound to science, to navigation, and the intercourse of mankind, from the projected expedition, that he voluntarily offered to take the command of it himself. This proposal was too much in accordance with the wishes of Lord Sandwich to be rejected through motives of mere delicacy; and Captain Cook was appointed accordingly to the command of the expedition, in February 1776. The Act of Parliament, passed in 1745, which secured a reward of £20,000 to ships *belonging to any of his Majesty's subjects*, which should make the proposed discovery, was now also amended so as to include ships *belonging to his Majesty*, and proceeding in *any direction*, for the old Act referred only to ships which should find a passage through Hudson's Bay; whereas Cook was directed by his instructions to proceed into the Pacific Ocean, and to commence his researches on the north-west coast of America, in the Latitude of 65°, and not to lose time in exploring rivers or inlets until he had reached that latitude."

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.[1]

BOOK I.

TRANSACTIONS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE VOYAGE TILL OUR DEPARTURE FROM NEW ZEALAND.

CHAPTER I.

HAVING, on the 9th day of February 1776, received a commission to command his Majesty's sloop the Resolution, I went on board the next day, hoisted the pendant, and began to enter men. At the same time the

[1] The account of this voyage was originally published in 1784, in three quarto volumes, the first and second being written by Cook himself, the third by Captain King, who had sailed as one of the Resolution's lieutenants, but returned to England in command of the Discovery. The title was as follows: "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean; undertaken by the command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere, to determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America, its Distance from Asia, and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the

Discovery, of 300 tons burthen, was purchased into the service, and the command of her given to Captain Clerke, who had been my second lieutenant on board the Resolution in my second voyage round the world, from which we had lately returned. These two ships were at this time in the dock at Deptford, under the hands of the shipwrights, being ordered to be equipped to make further discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, under my direction.

On the 9th of March the Resolution was hauled out of dock into the river, where we completed her rigging, and took on board the stores and provisions requisite for a voyage of such duration. Both ships, indeed, were supplied with as much of every necessary article as we could conveniently stow, and with the best of every kind that could be procured. And besides this, everything that had been found by the experience acquired during our former extensive voyages to be of any utility in preserving the health of seamen, was supplied in abundance.[1]

It was our intention to have sailed to Long Reach on the 6th of May, when a pilot came on board to carry us thither; but it was the 29th before the wind would permit us to move, and the 30th before we arrived at that station, where our artillery, powder, shot, and other ordnance stores were received. While we lay in Long Reach thus employed, the Earl of Sandwich, Sir Hugh Palliser, and others of the Board of Admiralty, as the last mark of the very great attention they had all along shown to this equipment, paid us a visit on the 8th of June, to examine whether everything had been completed conformably to their intentions and orders, and to the satisfaction of all who were to embark in the voyage. They and several other noblemen and gentlemen, their friends, honoured me with their company at dinner on that day; and on their coming on board, and also on their going ashore, we saluted them with seventeen guns, and three cheers.

With the benevolent view of conveying some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite, and of the

---

Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty." In the portion of the work specially ascribed to Captain Cook, however, there are many valuable contributions from the pen of Mr Anderson, surgeon of the Resolution, usually on the physical features and natural products of the countries visited, the habits, ethnography, and language of the inhabitants, &c. In more than one instance the original editor of the book — Dr Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, who, at the request of Lord Sandwich, undertook that task—preferred Mr Anderson's notes of actual incidents to Cook's own story; and not without wisdom, as any one will admit who reads the surgeon's account of the dances and entertainments shown off before the white strangers at Haapee (B. II., Ch. V.), and at Tongataboo (B. II., Ch. VII.). Necessities of space have compelled the omission of many passages directly ascribed to Mr Anderson by Cook himself; but in every case these are scientific and technical in their character, and the lapse of a century has given us abundant light on many matters which at the time of Cook's last voyage were but imperfectly known, or subjects of crude and vague speculation. Dr Douglas prefixed to the voyage an elaborate introductory treatise on the possibility of finding a north-east passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, and also enriched the volumes with many learned notes, comparatively few of which have been retained in the present edition, as, dealing with matters of controversy long since settled, and with *records of* travel all but totally forgot*ten, they* could only confuse the reader.

[1] Contrast the excellence of Cook's equipment and the perfect success of his arrangements for securing the health of his ships' companies, with the wretched plight in which Anson left port thirty-six years before, and the miserable fate of his crews.

other islands in the Pacific Ocean, whom we might happen to visit, his Majesty having commanded some useful animals to be carried out, we took on board, on the 10th, a bull, two cows, with their calves, and some sheep, with hay and corn for their subsistence, intending to add to these other useful animals when I should arrive at the Cape of Good Hope. I was also, from the same laudable motives, furnished with a sufficient quantity of such of our European garden seeds as could not fail to be a valuable present to our newly-discovered islands, by adding fresh supplies of food to their own vegetable productions. Many other articles calculated to improve the condition of our friends in the other hemisphere in various ways, were at the same time delivered to us by order of the Board of Admiralty. And both ships were provided with a proper assortment of iron tools and trinkets, as the means of enabling us to traffic, and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants of such new countries as we might be fortunate enough to meet with.

The same humane attention was extended to our own wants. Some additional clothing, adapted to a cold climate, was ordered for our crews; and nothing was denied to us that could be supposed in the least conducive to health, or even to convenience. Nor did the extraordinary care of those at the head of the naval department stop here. They were equally solicitous to afford us every assistance towards rendering our voyage of public utility. Accordingly, we received on board, next day, several astronomical and nautical instruments, which the Board of Longitude intrusted to me and to Mr King, my second lieutenant; we having engaged to that Board to make all the necessary observations during the voyage for the improvement of astronomy and navigation, and, by our joint labours, to supply the place of a professed observator.

Mr Anderson, my surgeon, who, to skill in his immediate profession, added great proficiency in natural history, was as willing as he was well qualified to describe everything in that branch of science which should occur worthy of notice. As he had already visited the South Sea islands in the same ship, and been of singular service by enabling me to enrich my relation of that voyage with various useful remarks on men and things, I reasonably expected to derive considerable assistance from him, in recording our new proceedings. I had several young men amongst my sea-officers, who, under my direction, could be usefully employed in constructing charts, in taking views of the coasts and headlands near which we should pass, and in drawing plans of the bays and harbours in which we should anchor.

Every preparation being now completed, I received an order to proceed to Plymouth, and to take the Discovery under my command. I accordingly gave Captain Clerke two orders; one to put himself under my command, and the other to carry his ship round to Plymouth. On the 15th, the Resolution sailed from Long Reach, with the Discovery in company, and the same evening they anchored at the Nore. Next day the Discovery proceeded in obedience to my order; but the Resolution was ordered to remain at the Nore till I should join her, being at this time in London.

As we were to touch at Otaheite and the Society Islands in our way to the intended scene of our fresh operations, it had been determined not to omit this opportunity (the only one ever likely to happen) of carrying Omai back to his native country.

Omai left London with a mixture of regret and satisfaction. When we talked about England, and about those who, during his stay, had honoured him with their protection or friendship, I could observe that his spirits were sensibly affected, and that it was with difficulty he could refrain from tears. But the instant the conversation turned to his own islands, his eyes began to sparkle with joy. He was deeply impressed with a sense of the good treatment he had met with in England, and entertained the high-

est ideas of the country and of the people. But the pleasing prospect he now had before him of returning home, loaded with what he well knew would be esteemed invaluable treasures there, and the flattering hope which the possession of these gave him of attaining to a distinguished superiority amongst his countrymen, were considerations which operated by degrees to suppress every uneasy sensation; and he seemed to be quite happy when he got on board the ship. He was furnished by his Majesty with an ample provision of every article which, during our intercourse with his country, we had observed to be in any estimation there, either as useful or as ornamental. He had, besides, received many presents of the same nature from Lord Sandwich, Mr[1] Banks, and several other gentlemen and ladies of his acquaintance. In short, every method had been employed, both during his abode in England, and at his departure, to make him the instrument of conveying to the inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific Ocean the most exalted opinion of the greatness and generosity of the British nation.

On the 25th, about noon, we weighed anchor, and made sail for the Downs, through the Queen's Channel, with a gentle breeze at NW. by W. At nine in the evening we anchored, with the North Foreland bearing S. by E., and Margate Point SW. by S. Next morning, at 2 o'clock, we weighed and stood round the Foreland. At 8 o'clock the same morning, we anchored in the Downs. Two boats had been built for us at Deal, and I immediately sent on shore for them. I was told that many people had assembled there to see Omai; but, to their great disappointment, he did not land. Having received the boats on board, and a light breeze at SSE. springing up, we got under sail the next day at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. But the breeze soon died away, and we were obliged to anchor again till 10 o'clock at night. We then weighed, with the wind at east, and proceeded down the Channel. On the 30th, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we anchored in Plymouth Sound, where the Discovery had arrived only three days before. I saluted Admiral Amherst, whose flag was flying on board the Ocean, with thirteen guns, and he returned the compliment with eleven. It was the first object of our care, on arriving at Plymouth, to replace the water and provisions that we had expended, and to receive on board a supply of port wine. This was the employment which occupied us on the 1st and 2d of July.

It could not but occur to us as a singular and affecting circumstance, that at the very instant of our departure upon a voyage, the object of which was to benefit Europe by making fresh discoveries in North America, there should be the unhappy necessity of employing others of his Majesty's ships, and of conveying numerous bodies of land forces, to secure the obedience of those parts of that continent which had been discovered and settled by our countrymen in the last century. On the 6th, his Majesty's ships Diamond, Ambuscade, and Unicorn, with a fleet of transports, consisting of sixty-two sail, bound to America, with the last division of the Hessian troops, and some horse,[2] were forced into the Sound by a strong north-west wind. On the 8th, I received by express, my instructions for the voyage, and an order to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope with the Resolution. I was also directed to leave an order for Captain Clerke to follow us, as soon as he should join his ship; he being, at this time, detained in London.

The Resolution was fitted out with the same complement of officers and men she had before;[3] and the Discovery's establishment varied from that of the Adventure, in the single instance of her having no marine

[1] *Afterwards* Sir Joseph.

[2] To reinforce Sir William Howe, then confronting General Washington, near New York.

[3] In setting out on the second voyage in 1772.

officer on board. This arrangement was to be finally completed at Plymouth; and, on the 9th, we received the party of marines allotted for our voyage. Colonel Bell, who commanded the division at this port, gave me such men for the detachment as I had reason to be satisfied with. And the supernumerary seamen, occasioned by this reinforcement, being turned over into the Ocean man-of-war, our several complements remained fixed, as represented in the following table:

RESOLUTION.			DISCOVERY.	
Officers and Men.	No.	*Officers' Names.*	No.	*Officers' Names.*
Captain,	1	James Cook.	1	Charles Clerke.
Lieutenants,	3	John Gore.	2	James Burney.
		James King.		John Rickman.
		John Williamson.		
Master,	1	William Bligh.[1]	1	Thomas Edgar.
Boatswain,	1	William Ewin.	1	Eneas Atkins.
Carpenter.	1	James Clevely.	1	Peter Reynolds.
Gunner,	1	Robert Anderson.	1	William Peckover.
Surgeon,	1	William Anderson.	1	John Law.
Master's Mates,	3	. . . .	2	
Midshipmen,	6	. . . .	4	
Surgeon's Mates,	2	. . . .	2	
Captain's Clerk,	1	. . . .	1	
Master at Arms,	1	. . . .	1	
Corporal,	1	. . . .		
Armourer,	1	. . . .	1	
Ditto Mate,	1	. . . .	1	
Sailmaker,	1	. . . .	1	
Ditto Mate,	1	. . . .	1	
Boatswain's Mates,	3	. . . .	2	
Carpenter's Ditto,	3	. . . .	2	
Gunner's Ditto,	2	. . . .	1	
Carpenter's Crew,	4	. . . .	4	
Cook,	1	. . . .	1	
Ditto Mate,	1	. . . .		
Quarter-Masters,	6	. . . .	4	
Able Seamen,	45	. . . .	33	
		Marines.		
Lieutenant,	1	Molesworth Philips.		
Sergeant,	1	. . . .	1	
Corporals,	2	. . . .	1	
Drummer,	1	. . . .	1	
Privates,	15	. . . .	8	
Total,	112		80	

[1] Afterwards captain of the Bounty, famous for his voyage of nearly 4000 miles in an open boat, into which he and twenty of his crew had been forced after the mutiny on board that vessel.

On the 10th, the commissioner and pay-clerks came on board, and paid the officers and crew up to the 30th of last month. The petty officers and seamen had, besides, two months' wages in advance. Such indulgence to the latter, is no more than what is customary in the navy. But the payment of what was due to the superior officers was humanely ordered by the Admiralty, in consideration of our peculiar situation, that we might be better able to defray the very great expense of furnishing ourselves with a stock of necessaries for a voyage which, probably, would be of unusual duration, and to regions where no supply could be expected.

Nothing now obstructing my departure but a contrary wind, which blew strong at SW., in the morning of the 11th, I delivered into the hands of Mr Burney, first lieutenant of the Discovery, Captain Clerke's sailing orders, a copy of which I also left with the officer commanding his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, to be delivered to the captain immediately on his arrival. In the afternoon, the wind moderating, we weighed with ebb, and got farther out, beyond all the shipping in the Sound, where, after making an unsuccessful attempt to get to sea, we were detained most of the following day, which was employed in receiving on board a supply of water; and, by the same vessel that brought it, all the empty casks were returned. We weighed again at eight in the evening, and stood out of the Sound, with a gentle breeze at NW. by W.

CHAPTER II.

WE had not been long out of Plymouth Sound before the wind came more westerly, and blew fresh, so that we were obliged to ply[1] down the Channel; and it was not till the 14th, at eight in the evening, that we were off the Lizard. On the 16th, at noon, St Agnes's Lighthouse, on the Isles of Scilly, bore NW. by W., distant seven or eight miles. On the 17th[2] and 18th we were off Ushant. With a strong gale at S. on the 19th, we stood to the westward till 8 o'clock in the morning, when, the wind shifting to the W. and NW., we tacked and stretched to the southward. At this time we saw nine sail of large ships, which we judged to be French men-of-war. They took no particular notice of us, nor we of them. At 10 o'clock in the morning of the 22d, we saw Cape Ortegal. After two days of calm weather we passed Cape Finisterre, on the afternoon of the 24th, with a fine gale at NNE. On the 30th, at six minutes and thirty-eight seconds past 10 o'clock at night, apparent time, I observed with a night telescope the moon totally eclipsed. By the ephemeris,[3] the same happened at Greenwich at nine minutes past 11 o'clock, the difference being one hour, two minutes, and twenty-two seconds, or 15° 35′ 30″ of Longitude. No other observation could be made on this eclipse, as the moon was hid behind the clouds the greater part of the time; and, in particular, when the beginning and end of total darkness and the end of the eclipse happened.

Finding that we had not hay and corn sufficient for the subsistence of the stock of animals on board till our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, I determined to touch at Teneriffe to get a supply of these and of the usual refreshments for ourselves, thinking that island, for such purposes, better adapted than Madeira. At four in the afternoon of the 31st we saw Teneriffe, and steered for the eastern part. At

[1] To "ply," in nautical terminology, is to boat to windward, or sail against *the direction* of the wind by alternate *tacks*.

[2] It appears from Captain Cook's log-book that he began his judicious operations for preserving the health of his crew very early in the voyage. On the 17th the ship was smoked between decks with gunpowder. The spare sails also were then well aired.—*Note in Original Edition.*

[3] Nautical almanac.

nine, being near it, we hauled up, and stood off and on during the night. At daylight on the morning of the 1st of August we sailed round the east point of the island, and about 8 o'clock anchored on the SE. side of it, in the road of Santa Cruz, in twenty-three fathoms water, the bottom sand and ooze.

No sooner had we anchored than we were visited by the master of the port, who satisfied himself with asking the ship's name. Upon his leaving us, I sent an officer ashore to present my respects to the Governor, and to ask his leave to take in water, and to purchase such articles as we were in want of. All this he granted with the greatest politeness, and soon after sent an officer on board to compliment me on my arrival. In the afternoon I waited upon him in person, accompanied by some of my officers; and, before I returned to my ship, bespoke some corn and straw for the live stock; ordered a quantity of wine from Mr M'Carrick, the contractor; and made an agreement with the master of a Spanish boat to supply us with water, as I found that we could not do it ourselves.

Were we to judge from the appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, it might be concluded that Teneriffe is a barren spot, insufficient to maintain even its own inhabitants. The ample supplies, however, which we received, convinced us that they had enough to spare for visitors. Besides wine, which is the chief produce of the island, beef may be had at a moderate price. The oxen are small and bony, and weigh about ninety pounds a quarter. The meat is but lean, and was, at present, sold for half a bit (threepence sterling) a pound. I, unadvisedly, bought the bullocks alive, and paid considerably more. Hogs, sheep, goats, and poultry, are likewise to be bought at the same moderate rate; and fruits are in great plenty. At this time we had grapes, figs, pears, mulberries, plantains, and musk melons. There is a variety of other fruits produced here, though not in season at this time. Their pumpkins, onions, and potatoes, are exceedingly good of their kind, and keep better at sea than any I ever before met with. The Indian corn, which is also their produce, cost me about three shillings and sixpence a bushel; and the fruits and roots were, in general, very cheap. They have not any plentiful supply of fish from the adjoining sea, but a very considerable fishery is carried on by their vessels upon the coast of Barbary, and the produce of it sells at a reasonable price. Upon the whole, I found Teneriffe to be a more eligible place than Madeira for ships bound on long voyages to touch at, though the wine of the latter, according to my taste, is as much superior to that of the former as strong beer is to small. To compensate for this, the difference of prices is considerable, for the best Teneriffe wine was now sold for twelve pounds a pipe, whereas a pipe of the best Madeira would have cost considerably more than double that sum.[1]

CHAPTER III.

HAVING completed our water, and got on board every other thing we wanted at Teneriffe, we weighed anchor on the 4th of August, and proceeded on our voyage, with a fine gale at NE. At 9 o'clock in the evening on the 10th,[2] we saw the Island of

[1] The remainder of this Chapter, which is omitted, is occupied with a technical account of observations for fixing the longitude of Teneriffe, and with a description, from the pen of Mr Anderson, the surgeon, of the natural features and products of the island.

[2] As a proof of Captain Cook's attention, both to the discipline and to the health of his ship's company, it may be worth while to observe here, that it appears from his log-book he exercised them at great guns and small arms, and cleared and smoked the ship below decks, twice in the interval between the 4th and the 10th of August.—*Note in Original Edition.*

Bonavista bearing S., distant little more than a league; though, at this time, we thought ourselves much farther off; but this proved a mistake. For, after hauling to the eastward till 12 o'clock, to clear the sunken rocks that lie about a league from the SE. point of the island, we found ourselves, at that time, close upon them, and did but just weather the breakers. Our situation, for a few minutes, was very alarming. I did not choose to sound, as that might have heightened the danger without any possibility of lessening it. As soon as we were clear of the rocks, we steered SSW. till daybreak next morning, and then hauled to the westward, to go between Bonavista and the Isle of Mayo; intending to look into Port Praya for the Discovery, as I had told Captain Clerke that I should touch there, and did not know how soon he might sail after me. At one in the afternoon, we saw the rocks that lie on the SW. side of Bonavista, bearing SE., distant three or four leagues. Next morning at 6 o'clock the Isle of Mayo bore SSE., distant about five leagues. In this situation we sounded, and found ground at sixty fathoms. . . .

At 9 o'clock in the morning of the 13th, we arrived before Port Praya, in the Island of St Jago, where we saw two Dutch East India ships and a small brigantine at anchor. As the Discovery was not there, and we had expended but little water in our passage from Teneriffe, I did not think proper to go in, but stood to the southward. The day after we left the Cape de Verd Islands, we lost the NE. trade-wind; but did not get that which blows from the SE. till the 30th, when we were in the Latitude of 2° N., and in the 25th degree of W. Longitude. During this interval, the wind was mostly in the SW. quarter. Sometimes it blew fresh, and in squalls; but for the most part a gentle breeze. The calms were few, and of short duration. Between the Latitude of 12° and of 7° N., the weather was generally dark and gloomy, with frequent rains, which enabled us to save as much water as filled most of our empty casks.

These rains, and the close sultry weather accompanying them, too often bring on sickness in this passage. Every bad consequence, at least, is to be apprehended from them; and commanders of ships cannot be too much upon their guard, by purifying the air between decks with fires and smoke, and by obliging the people to dry their clothes at every opportunity. These precautions were constantly observed on board the Resolution[1] and Discovery; and we certainly profited by them, for we had now fewer sick than on either of my former voyages. We had, however, the mortification to find our ship exceedingly leaky in all her upper works. The hot and sultry weather we had just passed through had opened her seams, which had been badly calked at first, so wide, that they admitted the rain water through as it fell. There was hardly a man that could lie dry in his bed; and the officers in the gun-room were all driven out of their cabins, by the water that came through the sides. The sails in the sail-room got wet; and before we had weather to dry them, many of them were much damaged, and a great expense of canvas and of time became necessary to make them in some degree serviceable. Having experienced the same defect in our sail-rooms on my late voyage, it had been represented to the yard officers, who undertook to remove it. But it did not appear to me that anything had been done to remedy the complaint. To repair these defects the calkers were set to work, as soon as we got into fair settled weather, to calk the decks and inside weather works of the

[1] The particulars are mentioned in his log-book. On the 14th of August, a fire was made in the well, to air the ship below. On the 15th, the spare sails were aired upon deck, and a fire made to air the sail-room. On the 17th, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks, and the bread-room aired with fires. On the 21st, cleaned and smoked betwixt decks; and on the 22d, the men's bedding was spread on deck to air.—*Note in Original Edition.*

ship; for I would not trust them over the sides while we were at sea.

On the 1st of September[1] we crossed the Equator in the Longitude of 27° 38′ W., with a fine gale at SE. by S.; and notwithstanding my apprehensions of falling in with the coast of Brazil in stretching to the SW., I kept the ship a full point from the wind. However, I found my fears were ill grounded; for on drawing near that coast, we met with the wind more and more easterly; so that, by the time we were in the Latitude of 10° S., we could make a south-easterly course good. On the 8th, we were in the Latitude of 8° 57′ S.; which is a little to the southward of Cape St Augustine, on the coast of Brazil. Our longitude, deduced from a very great number of lunar observations, was 34° 16′ W.; and by the watch 34° 47′. The former is 1° 43′, and the latter 2° 14′ more westerly than the Island of Fernando de Noronha, the situation of which was pretty well determined during my late voyage. Hence I concluded that we could not now be farther from the continent than twenty or thirty leagues at most; and perhaps not much less, as we neither had soundings, nor any other signs of land.

We proceeded on our voyage, without meeting with anything of note, till the 6th of October. Being then in the Latitude of 35° 15′ S., Longitude 7° 45′ W., we met with light airs and calms by turns, for three days successively. We had, for some days before, seen albatrosses, pintadoes, and other petrels; and here we saw three penguins, which occasioned us to sound, but we found no ground with a line of 150 fathoms. We put a boat in the water, and shot a few birds; one of which was a black petrel, about the size of a crow, and, except as to the bill and feet, very like one. It had a few white feathers under the throat; and the under-side of the quill-feathers was of an ash-colour. All the other feathers were jet black, as also the bill and legs. On the 8th, in the evening, one of those birds which sailors call noddies settled on our rigging and was caught. It was something larger than an English blackbird, and nearly as black, except the upper part of the head, which was white, looking as if it were powdered; the whitest feathers growing out from the base of the upper bill, from which they gradually assumed a darker colour, to about the middle of the upper part of the neck, where the white shade was lost in the black, without being divided by any line. It was web-footed; had black legs and a black bill, which was long, and not unlike that of a curlew. It is said these birds never fly far from land. We knew of none nearer the station we were in, than Gough's or Richmond Island, from which our distance could not be less than 100 leagues. But it must be observed that the Atlantic Ocean, to the southward of this latitude, has been but little frequented; so that there may be more islands there than we are acquainted with.

This calm weather was succeeded by a fresh gale from the NW., which lasted two days. Then we had again variable light airs for about twenty-four hours; when the NW. wind returned, and blew with such strength that on the 17th we had sight of the Cape of Good Hope, and the next day anchored in Table Bay.

As soon as we had received the usual visit from the master attendant and the surgeon, I sent an officer to wait on Baron Plettenberg, the governor; and, on his return, saluted the garrison with thirteen guns, which compliment was returned with the same number. As soon as we had saluted, I went on shore, accompanied by some of my officers, and waited on the Governor, the lieutenant-gover-

[1] The afternoon, as appears from Mr Anderson's Journal, was spent in performing the old and ridiculous ceremony of ducking those who had not crossed the Equator before. Though Captain Cook did not suppress the custom, he thought it too trifling to deserve the least mention of it in his journal, or even in his log-book.

nor, the fiscal, and the commander of the troops. These gentlemen received me with the greatest civility; and the Governor, in particular, promised me every assistance that the place afforded. At the same time I obtained his leave to set up our observatory on any spot I should think most convenient; to pitch tents for the sailmakers and coopers; and to bring the cattle on shore, to graze near our encampment. Before I returned on board, I ordered soft bread, fresh meat, and greens to be provided every day for the ship's company. On the 22d, we set up the tents and observatory, and began to send the several articles out of the ship which I wanted on shore. This could not be done sooner, as the militia of the place were exercising on or near the ground which we were to occupy.

The next day, we began to observe equal altitudes of the sun, in order to ascertain the rate of the watch, or which is the same thing, to find whether it had altered its rate. These observations were continued every day, whenever the weather would permit, till the time of our departure drew near. But before this, the calkers had been set to work to calk the ship; and I had concerted measures for supplying both ships with such provisions as I should want. Bakers, likewise, had been ordered, immediately after our arrival, to bake such a quantity of bread as I thought would be requisite. As fast as the several articles destined for the Resolution were got ready, they were carried on board.

Nothing remarkable happened till the evening of the 31st, when it came on to blow excessively hard at SE., and continued for three days; during which time there was no communication between the ship and the shore. The Resolution was the only ship in the bay that rode out the gale without dragging her anchors. We felt its effects as sensibly on shore. Our tents and observatory were torn to pieces; and our astronomical quadrant narrowly escaped irreparable damage. On the 3d of November the storm ceased, and the next day we resumed our different employments. In the morning of the 10th the Discovery arrived in the bay. Captain Clerke informed me that he had sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of August, and should have been with us here a week sooner if the late gale of wind had not blown him off the coast. Upon the whole, he was seven days longer in his passage from England than we had been. He had the misfortune to lose one of his marines, by falling overboard; but there had been no other mortality amongst his people, and they now arrived well and healthy. [Here the history of an excursion into the country, narrated by Mr Anderson, is omitted, with the exception of a passage describing a remarkable stone or rock.]

"In the afternoon we went to see a stone of a remarkable size, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond. It lies, or stands, upon the top of some low hills, at the foot of which our farm-house[1] was situated; and though the road to it is neither very steep nor rugged, we were above an hour and a half in walking to it. It is of an oblong shape, rounded on the top, and lies nearly south and north. The east and west sides are steep and almost perpendicular. The south end is likewise steep, and its greatest height is there; from whence it declines gently to the north part, by which we ascended to its top, and had an extensive view of the whole country. Its circumference, I think, must be at least half-a-mile; as it took us above half-an-hour to walk round it, including every allowance for the bad road and stopping a little. At its highest part, which is the south end, comparing it with a known object, it seems to equal the dome of St Paul's Church. It is one uninterrupted mass or stone, if we except some fissures, or rather impressions, not above three or four feet deep, and

[1] Where the party had their quarters on the previous night.

a vein which runs across near its north end. It is of that sort of stone called by mineralogists *Saxum conglutinatum*, and consists chiefly of pieces of coarse quartz and glimmer, held together by a clayey cement. But the vein which crosses it, though of the same materials, is much compacter. This vein is not above a foot broad or thick, and its surface is cut into little squares or oblongs, disposed obliquely, which makes it look like the remains of some artificial work. But I could not observe whether it penetrated far into the large rock, or was only superficial. In descending, we found at its foot a very rich black mould; and on the sides of the hills, some trees of a considerable size, natives of the place, which are a species of olea."

On the 23d, we got on board the observatory, clock, &c.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

AFTER the disaster which happened to our sheep,[2] it may be well supposed I did not trust those that remained long on shore, but got them and the other cattle on board as fast as possible. I also added to my original stock by purchasing two young bulls, two heifers, two young stone-horses, two mares, two rams, several ewes and goats, and some rabbits and poultry. All of them were intended for New Zealand, Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, or any other places, in the course of our voyage, where there might be a prospect that the leaving any of them would be useful to posterity.

Towards the latter end of November the calkers had finished their work on board the Discovery, and she had received all her provisions and water. Of the former, both ships had a supply sufficient for two years and upwards. And every other article we could think of necessary for such a voyage, that could be had at the Cape, was procured, neither knowing when nor where we might come to a place where we could furnish ourselves so well. Having given Captain Clerke a copy of my instructions, and an order directing him how to proceed in case of separation, in the morning of the 30th we repaired on board. At five in the afternoon a breeze sprung up at SE., with which we weighed and stood out of the bay. At nine it fell calm, and we anchored between Penguin Island and the east shore, where we lay till 3 o'clock next morning. We then weighed and put to sea, with a light breeze at S.; but did not get clear of the land till the morning of the 3d [of December], when, with a fresh gale at WNW., we stood to the SE. to get more into the way of these winds.

On the 5th, a sudden squall of wind carried away the Resolution's mizzen-topmast. Having another to replace it, the loss was not felt, especially as it was a bad stick, and had often complained. On the 6th, in the evening, being then in the Latitude of 39°14′S., and in the Longitude of 23° 56′ E., we passed through several small spots of water of reddish colour. Some of this was taken up, and it was found to abound with a small animal, which the microscope discovered to be like a cray-fish, of a reddish hue. We continued our course to the SE., with a very strong gale from the westward, followed by a mountainous sea, which made the ship roll and tumble exceedingly, and gave us a great deal of trouble to preserve the cattle we had on board. Notwithstanding all our care, several goats, especially the males, died, and some sheep. This misfortune was, in a great measure, owing to the cold, which we now began most sensibly to feel.

On the 12th, at noon, we saw land extending from SE. by S. to SE. by E.

[1] The rest of the Chapter, omitted, consists of purely technical accounts of astronomical observations, and nautical remarks on the passage from England to the Cape, with regard to the currents and the variation.

[2] "Some dogs having got in amongst them, forced them out of the pen, killing four, and dispersing the rest."

Upon a nearer approach we found it to be two islands. That which lies most to the south, and is also the largest, I judged to be about fifteen leagues in circuit, and to be in the Latitude of 46° 53′ S., and in the Longitude of 37° 46′ E. The most northerly one is about nine leagues in circuit, and lies in the Latitude of 46° 40′ S., and in 38° 8′ E. Longitude. The distance from the one to the other is about five leagues. We passed through this channel, at equal distance from both islands, and could not discover, with the assistance of our best glasses, either tree or shrub on either of them. They seemed to have a rocky and bold shore; and excepting the south-east parts, where the land is rather low and flat, a surface composed of barren mountains, which rise to a considerable height, and whose summits and sides were covered with snow, which in many places seemed to be of a considerable depth. The south-east parts had a much greater quantity on them than the rest, owing, probably, to the sun acting for a less space of time on these than on the north and north-west parts. The ground, where it was not hid by the snow, from the various shades it exhibited, may be supposed to be covered with moss, or, perhaps, such a coarse grass as is found in some parts of Falkland's Islands. On the north side of each of the islands is a detached rock; that near the south island is shaped like a tower, and seemed to be at some distance from the shore. As we passed along, a quantity of sea-weed was seen, and the colour of the water indicated soundings. But there was no appearance of an inlet, unless near the rock just mentioned; and that, from its smallness, did not promise a good anchoring-place. These two islands, as also four others which lie from nine to twelve degrees of longitude more to the east, and nearly in the same latitude, were discovered by Captains Marion du Fresne and Crozet, French navigators, in January 1772, on their passage in two ships from the Cape of Good Hope to the Philippine Islands. As they have no names in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, which Captain Crozet communicated to me in 1775, I shall distinguish the two we now saw by calling them Prince Edward's Islands, after his Majesty's fourth son; and the other four by the name of Marion's and Crozet's Islands, to commemorate their discoverers.

We had now, for the most part, strong gales between the north and west, and but very indifferent weather, not better, indeed, than we generally have in England in the very depth of winter, though it was now the middle of summer in this hemisphere. Not discouraged, however, by this, after leaving Prince Edward's Islands I shaped our course to pass to the southward of the others that I might get into the latitude of the land discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen. I had applied to the Chevalier de Borda, whom I found at Teneriffe,[1] requesting that if he knew anything of the island discovered by Monsieur de Kerguelen, between the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland, he would be so obliging as to communicate it to me. Accordingly, just before we sailed from Santa Cruz Bay, he sent me the following account of it, viz.: "That the pilot of the Boussole, who was in the voyage with Monsieur de Kerguelen, had given him the latitude and longitude of a little island, which Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous, and which lies not far from the great island which he saw. Latitude of the little isle, by seven observations, 48° 26′ S.; Longitude, by seven observations of the distance of the sun and moon, 64° 57′ E. from Paris." I was very sorry I had not sooner known that there was on board the frigate at Teneriffe an officer who had been with Monsieur de Kerguelen, especially the pilot, because from him I might have obtained more interesting information about this land than the situation alone, of which I was not before entirely ignorant.

[1] In command of the French frigate La Boussole, riding in the road of Santa Cruz.

My instructions directing me to examine it, with a view to discover a good harbour, I proceeded in the search; and on the 16th, being then in the Latitude of 48° 45′ S., and in the Longitude of 52° E., we saw penguins and divers, and rock-weed floating in the sea. We continued to meet with more or less of these every day as we proceeded to the eastward; and on the 21st, in the Latitude of 48° 27′ S., and in the Longitude of 65° E., a very large seal was seen. We had now much foggy weather, and as we expected to fall in with the land every hour, our navigation became both tedious and dangerous. At length on the 24th, at 6 o'clock in the morning, as we were steering to the eastward—the fog clearing away a little—we saw land,[1] bearing SSE., which, upon a nearer approach, we found to be an island of considerable height, and about three leagues in circuit. Soon after we saw another of the same magnitude one league to the eastward; and between these two, in the direction of SE., some smaller ones. In the direction of S. by E. half E., from the east end of the first island, a third high island was seen. At times, as the fog broke away, we had the appearance of land over the small islands, and I had thoughts of steering for it by running in between them. But on drawing nearer, I found this would be a dangerous attempt while the weather continued foggy. For if there should be no passage, or if we should meet with any sudden danger, it would have been impossible for us to get off, the wind being right astern, and a prodigious sea running that broke on all the shores in a frightful surf. At the same time, seeing another island in the north-east direction, and not knowing but that there might be more, I judged it prudent to haul off and wait for clearer weather lest we should get entangled amongst unknown lands in a thick fog. We did but just weather the island last mentioned. It is a high round rock, which was named Bligh's Cap. Perhaps this is the same that Monsieur de Kerguelen called the Isle of Rendezvous,[2] but I know nothing that can rendezvous at it but fowls of the air, for it is certainly inaccessible to every other animal.

At 11 o'clock the weather began to clear up, and we immediately tacked, and steered in for the land. At noon we had a pretty good observation, which enabled us to determine the latitude of Bligh's Cap, which is the northernmost island, to be 48° 29′ S., and its longitude 68° 40′ E. We passed it at 3 o'clock, standing to the SSE., with a fresh gale at W. Soon after we saw the land, of which we had a faint view in the morning; and at 4 o'clock it extended from SE. half E. to SW. by S., distant about four miles. The left extreme, which I judged to be the northern point of this land, called in the French chart of the southern hemisphere, Cape St Louis,[3] terminated in a perpendicular rock of a considerable height; and the right one (near which is a detached rock) in a high indented point. From this point the coast seemed to turn short round to the southward; for we could see no land to the westward of the direction in which it now bore to us, but the islands we had observed in the morning; the most southerly

[1] Captain Cook was not the original discoverer of these small islands which he now fell in with. It is certain that they had been seen and named by Kerguelen, on his second voyage, in December 1773.

[2] This isle, or rock, was the single point about which Captain Cook had received the least information at Teneriffe; and we may observe how sagacious he was in tracing it. Kerguelen's words are: "Isle de Reunion, qui n'est qu'une Roche, nous servoit de Rendezvous, ou de point de ralliement, et ressemble à un coin de mire."—*Note in Original Edition.*

[3] Cook is here declared by his editor to be in error; the northern point he here describes being really that to which the French had given the name of Cape François.

of them lying nearly west from the point, about two or three leagues distant. About the middle of the land there appeared to be an inlet, for which we steered; but, on approaching, found it was only a bending on the coast, and therefore bore up, to go round Cape St Louis. Soon after, land opened off the cape, in the direction of S. 53° E., and appeared to be a point at a considerable distance; for the trending of the coast from the cape was more southerly. We also saw several rocks and islands to the eastward of the above directions, the most distant of which was about seven leagues from the cape, bearing S. 88° E. We had no sooner got off the cape, than we observed the coast to the southward to be much indented by projecting points and bays; so that we now made sure of soon finding a good harbour. Accordingly, we had not run a mile farther, before we discovered one behind the cape, into which we began to ply; but after making one board, it fell calm, and we anchored at the entrance in forty-five fathoms water, the bottom black sand; as did the Discovery soon after. I immediately despatched Mr Bligh, the master, in a boat to sound the harbour; who, on his return, reported it to be safe and commodious, with good anchorage in every part, and great plenty of fresh water, seals, penguins, and other birds on the shore, but not a stick of wood. While we lay at anchor, we observed that the flood tide came from the SE., running two knots, at least, in an hour.

At daybreak in the morning of the 25th, we weighed with a gentle breeze at W., and having wrought into the harbour, to within a quarter of a mile of the sandy beach at its head, we anchored in eight fathoms water, the bottom a fine dark sand. The Discovery did not get in till 2 o'clock in the afternoon; when Captain Clerke informed me, that he had narrowly escaped being driven on the south point of the harbour, his anchor having started before they had time to shorten in the cable. This obliged *them to* set sail, and drag the anchor *after them*, till they had room to heave it up; and then they found one of its palms was broken off. As soon as we had anchored, I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out; the ship to be moored with a kedge anchor; and the water-casks to be got ready to send on shore. In the meantime I landed, to look for the most convenient spot where they might be filled, and to see what else the place afforded. I found the shore, in a manner, covered with penguins and other birds, and seals. These latter were not numerous, but so insensible of fear (which plainly indicated that they were unaccustomed to such visitors), that we killed as many as we chose, for the sake of their fat or blubber, to make oil for our lamps, and other uses. Fresh water was in no less plenty than were birds; for every gully afforded a large stream. But not a single tree or shrub, nor the least sign of any, was to be discovered, and but very little herbage of any sort. Before I returned to my ship, I ascended the first ridge of rocks, which rise in a kind of amphitheatre above one another. I was in hopes, by this means, of obtaining a view of the country; but before I reached the top, there came on so thick a fog, that I could hardly find my way down again. In the evening, we hauled the seine at the head of the harbour, but caught only half-a-dozen small fish. We had no better success next day, when we tried with hook and line. So that our only resource here, for fresh provisions, was birds, of which there was an inexhaustible store.

The morning of the 26th proved foggy, with rain. However, we went to work to fill water, and to cut grass for our cattle, which we found in small spots near the head of the harbour. The rain which fell swelled all the rivulets to such a degree, that the sides of the hills bounding the harbour seemed to be covered with a sheet of water. For the rain, as it fell, run into the fissures and crags of the rocks that composed the interior parts of the hills, and was precipitated down their sides in prodigious tor-

rents. The people having wrought hard the two preceding days, and nearly completed our water, which we filled from a brook at the left corner of the beach, I allowed them the 27th as a day of rest, to celebrate Christmas. Upon this indulgence, many of them went on shore, and made excursions, in different directions, into the country, which they found barren and desolate in the highest degree. In the evening, one of them brought to me a quart bottle which he had found, fastened with some wire to a projecting rock on the north side of the harbour. This bottle contained a piece of parchment, on which was written the following inscription:

"*Ludovico XV Galliarum rege, et d.*[1] *de Boynes regi a Secretis ad res maritimas annis* 1772 *et* 1733."

From this inscription, it is clear that we were not the first Europeans who had been in this harbour. I supposed it to be left by Monsieur de Boisguehenneu, who went on shore in a boat on the 13th of February 1772, the same day that Monsieur de Kerguelen discovered this land.[2] As a memorial of our having been in this harbour, I wrote on the other side of the parchment:

"*Naves Resolution et Discovery de Rege Magnæ Britanniæ, Decembris* 1776."

I then put it again into a bottle, together with a silver twopenny piece of 1772; and having covered the mouth of the bottle with a leaden cap, I placed it, the next morning, in a pile of stones erected for the purpose, upon a little eminence on the north shore of the harbour, and near to the place where it was first found; in which position it cannot escape the notice of any European whom chance or design may bring into this port. Here I displayed the British flag, and named the place Christmas Harbour, from our having arrived in it on that festival.

After I had finished this business of the inscription, I went in my boat round the harbour, and landed in several places, to examine what the shore afforded, and particularly to look for drift wood. For although the land here was totally destitute of trees, this might not be the case in other parts; and if there were any, the torrents would force some, or, at least, some branches, into the sea, which would afterward throw them upon the shores, as in all other countries where there is wood, and in many where there is none; but throughout the whole extent of the harbour I found not a single piece. In the afternoon, I went upon Cape St Louis,[3] accompanied by Mr King, my second lieutenant. I was in hopes, from this elevation, to have had a view of the sea coast, and of the islands lying off it. But, when I got up, I found every distant object below me hid in a thick fog. The land on the same plain,[4] or of a greater height, was visible enough, and appeared naked and desolate in the highest degree, except some hills to the southward, which were covered with snow. When I got on board, I found the launch hoisted in, the ships unmoored, and ready to put to sea;

[1] The (*d*), no doubt, is a contraction of the word Domino. The French Secretary of the Marine was then Monsieur de Boynes.

[2] The bottle and inscription were really left nearly two years later, in January 1774, when Kerguelen, on his second voyage, by M. de Rochegude, one of his officers, took possession of the country, with all the requisite formalities, in the name of the King of France. As the French ships had arrived on the coast in December 1773, it was natural that the inscription should refer to that year rather than the following, as barring possible claims by rival navigators.

[3] Cape François.

[4] Level.

but our sailing was deferred till 5 o'clock the next morning, when we weighed anchor.

CHAPTER V.[1]

Being desirous of getting the length of Cape George,[2] to be assured whether or no it was the most southerly point of the whole land, I continued to stretch to the south, under all the sail we could carry, till half-an-hour past 7 o'clock [December 30]; when, seeing no likelihood of accomplishing my design, as the wind had by this time shifted to WSW., the very direction in which we wanted to go, I took the advantage of the shifting of the wind, and stood away from the coast. At this time, Cape George bore S. 53° W., distant about seven leagues. A small island that lies off the pitch of the cape, was the only land we could see to the south of it; and we were further confirmed that there was no more in that quarter, by a SW. swell which we met as soon as we brought the cape to bear in this direction.

But we have still a stronger proof that no part of this land can extend much, if at all, to the southward of Cape George; and that is, Captain Furneaux's track in February 1773, after his separation from me during my late voyage. His log-book is now lying before me, and I find from it that he crossed the meridian of this land only about seventeen leagues to the southward of Cape George; a distance at which it may very well be seen in clear weather. This seems to have been the case when Captain Furneaux passed it. For his log-book makes no mention of fogs or hazy weather; on the contrary, it expressly tells us that, when in this situation, they had it in their power to make observations, both for latitude and longitude, on board his ship; so that, if this land extends farther south than Cape George, it would have been scarcely possible that he should have passed without seeing it.

From these circumstances we are able to determine, within a very few miles, the quantity of latitude that this land occupies, which does not much exceed one degree and a quarter. As to its extent from east to west, that still remains undecided. We only know, that no part of it can reach so far to the west as the meridian of 65°; because, in 1773, under that meridian, I searched for it in vain. The French discoverers, with some reason, imagined Cape St Louis to be the projecting point of a southern continent. The English have since proved that no such continent exists; and that the land in question is an island of no great extent,[3] which, from its sterility, I should, with great propriety, call the Island of Desolation, but that I would not rob Monsieur de Kerguelen of the honour of its bearing his name.[4] . . .

[1] This Chapter is almost entirely devoted to a minute account of Captain Cook's examination of the coast of Kerguelen's Land, and to Mr Anderson's observations on the natural products, the animals, the soil, &c., of that remote and unprofitable region. The present interest of these matters is so slight, that there is no loss in the omission of the Chapter, with the exception of a brief passage, in which Cook affirms the insularity of Kerguelen's Land, described at first by its discoverer as a magnificent continent.

[2] So called by Captain Cook in honour of the King; it is placed by *him* in Latitude 49° 54′ S., Longitude 70° 13′ E.

[3] Kerguelen concurs with Captain Cook as to this. However, he tells us, that he has reason to believe that it is about 200 leagues in circuit; and that he was acquainted with about fourscore leagues of its coast. "J'en connois environs quatre-vingt lieues des cotes; et j'ai lieu de croire, qu'elle a environ deux cents lieues de circuit."—*Note in Original Edition.*

[4] Cook's alternative title, amply

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER leaving Kerguelen's Land I steered E. by N., intending, in obedience to my instructions, to touch next at New Zealand, to recruit our water, to take in wood, and to make hay for the cattle. Their number by this time had been considerably diminished; two young bulls, one of the heifers, two rams, and several of the goats having of late died while we were employed in exploring this desolate coast. . . .

Thus far [to Jan. 3] we had fresh gales from the W. and SW., and tolerably clear weather. But now the wind veered to the N., where it continued eight days, and was attended with a thick fog. During this time, we ran above 300 leagues in the dark. Now and then the weather would clear up, and give us a sight of the sun; but this happened very seldom, and was always of short continuance. On the 7th, I hoisted out a boat, and sent an order to Captain Clerke, appointing Adventure Bay, in Van Diemen's Land, as our place of rendezvous, in case of separation before we arrived in the meridian of that land. But we were fortunate enough, amidst all this foggy weather, by frequently firing guns as signals, though we seldom saw each other, not to lose company.

On the 12th, being in the Latitude of 48° 40′ S., Longitude 110° 26′ E., the northerly winds ended in a calm; which, after a few hours, was succeeded by a wind from the southward. This, with rain, continued for twenty-four hours; when it freshened, and veered to the west and north-west, and brought on fair and clear weather. We continued our course to the eastward, without meeting with anything worthy of notice, till 4 o'clock in the morning of the 19th, when, in a sudden squall of wind, though the Discovery received no damage, our fore-topmast went by the board, and carried the maintop-gallantmast with it. This occasioned some delay, as it took us up the whole day to clear the wreck, and to fit another topmast. The former was accomplished without losing any part of it, except a few fathoms of small rope. Not having a spare maintop-gallantmast on board, the foretop-gallantmast was converted into one for our immediate use.

On the 24th, at 3 o'clock in the morning, we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land, bearing N. half W. At 6 o'clock in the afternoon we sounded, and found sixty fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and shells. Soon after we had sight of land the westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by variable light airs and alternate calms, till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze sprung up and freshened at SE., which put it in my power to carry into execution the design I had upon due consideration formed, of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a supply of wood and of grass for the cattle; of both which articles we should, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay, and anchored in it at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in twelve fathoms water. Our distance from the nearest shore was about three quarters of a mile. As soon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself, to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Wood and water we found in plenty, and in situations convenient enough, especially the first. But grass, of which we stood most in need, was scarce, and also very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged us to take such as we could get. Next morning early, I sent Lieutenant King to the east side of the bay with two parties, one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent

---

justified by all that he and Mr Anderson observed, is now commonly adopted in English maps.

to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in our neighbourhood, as we had seen columns of smoke from the time of our approaching the coast; and some now was observed at no great distance up in the woods. I also sent the launch for water; and afterwards visited all the parties myself. In the evening, we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fish. We should have got many more had not the net broken in drawing it ashore. Most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish. After this every one repaired on board with what wood and grass we had cut, that we might be ready to sail whenever the wind should serve. This not happening next morning, the people were sent on shore again on the same duty as the day before. I also employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut some spars for the use of the ship; and despatched Mr Roberts, one of the mates, in a small boat to survey the bay.

In the afternoon, we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives—eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable; for none of them had any weapons, except one who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments, unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight and others in curved lines. They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was as woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had *pretty good* eyes, and their teeth were *tolerably even*, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition. They received every present we made to them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them. But upon giving some birds to them, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within their reach, they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately, with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them.

Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to show me, and so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. But we had little reason to commend his dexterity, for after repeated trials, he was still very wide from the object. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musket at it; which alarmed them so much, that notwithstanding all we could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. One of them was so frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where some of the Discovery's people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musket in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation.

Thus ended our first interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to observe what was passing,

I ordered two pigs, being a boar and sow, to be carried about a mile within the woods, at the head of the bay. I saw them left there, by the side of a fresh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and some sheep and goats were also at first intended to have been left by me, as an additional present to Van Diemen's Land. But I soon laid aside all thoughts of this, from a persuasion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would destroy them. If ever they should meet with the pigs, I have no doubt this will be their fate. But as that race of animals soon becomes wild, and is fond of the thickest cover of the woods, there is great probability of their being preserved. An open place must have been chosen for the accommodation of the other cattle; and in such a situation they could not possibly have remained concealed many days.

The morning of the 29th was ushered in with a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our sailing. I therefore sent a party over to the east point of the bay to cut grass, having been informed that some of a superior quality grew there. Another party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the usual place, and I accompanied them myself. We had observed several of the natives this morning sauntering along the shore, which assured us, that though their consternation had made them leave us so abruptly the day before, they were convinced that we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. It was natural that I should wish to be present on the occasion. We had not been long landed before about twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed, and who was not more distinguishable by the hump upon his back than by the drollery of his gestures and the seeming humour of his speeches, which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not understand him; the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country whom I met with in my first voyage, which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in many other respects.[1] Nor did they seem to be such miserable wretches as the natives whom Dampier mentions to have seen on its western coast.[2] Some of our present group wore, loose round their necks, three or four folds of small cord made of the fur of some animal; and others of them had a narrow slip of the kangaroo skin tied round their ancles. I gave to each of them a string of beads and a medal, which I thought they received with some satisfaction. They seemed to set no value on iron or on iron tools. They were even ignorant of the use of fish-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at some of ours which we showed to them. We cannot, however, suppose it to be possible that a people who inhabit a sea coast, and who seem to derive no part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground, should not be acquainted with some mode of catching fish, although we did not happen to see any of them thus employed, nor observe any canoe or vessel in which they could go upon the water. Though they absolutely rejected the sort of fish that we offered to them, it was evident that shell-fish, at least, made a part of their food, from the many heaps of mussel-shells we saw in different parts near the shore, and about some deserted habitations near the head of the bay. These were little sheds or hovels built of sticks and covered with bark. We could also perceive evident signs of their some-

[1] The most striking difference seemed to be with regard to the texture of the hair. The natives whom Captain Cook met with at Endeavour River in 1769 are said by him to have naturally long and black hair, though it be universally cropped short.

[2] *Ante*, page 282.

times taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire most probably for this very purpose. In or near all these habitations, and wherever there was a heap of shells, there remained the marks of fire, an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw.

After staying about an hour with the wooding party and the natives, as I could now be pretty confident that the latter were not likely to give the former any disturbance, I left them, and went over to the grass-cutters on the east point of the bay, and found that they had met with a fine patch. Having seen the boats loaded, I left that party and returned on board to dinner, where, some time after, Lieutenant King arrived. From him I learned that I had but just left the shore when several women and children made their appearance, and were introduced to him by some of the men who attended them. He gave presents to all of them of such trifles as he had about him. These females wore a kangaroo skin (in the same shape as it came from the animal) tied over the shoulders and round the waist. But its only use seemed to be to support their children when carried on their backs, for it did not cover those parts which most nations conceal; being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner. But in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Romish ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made. However, some of the gentlemen belonging to the *Discovery*, I was told, paid their addresses, and made liberal offers of presents, which were rejected with great disdain; whether from a sense of virtue, or the fear of displeasing their men, I shall not pretend to determine. That this gallantry was not very agreeable to the latter, is certain; for an elderly man, as soon as he observed it, ordered all the women and children to retire, which they obeyed, though some of them showed a little reluctance.

This conduct of Europeans amongst savages to their women is highly blamable, as it creates a jealousy in their men that may be attended with consequences fatal to the success of the common enterprise, and to the whole body of adventurers, without advancing the private purpose of the individual, or enabling him to gain the object of his wishes. I believe it has been generally found, amongst uncivilised people, that where the women are easy of access the men are the first to offer them to strangers; and that, where this is not the case, neither the allurement of presents nor the opportunity of privacy, will be likely to have the desired effect. This observation, I am sure, will hold good throughout all the parts of the South Sea where I have been. Why, then, should men act so absurd a part as to risk their own safety, and that of all their companions, in pursuit of a gratification which they have no probability of obtaining?

In the afternoon I went again to the grass-cutters to forward their work. I found them then upon Penguin Island, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent grass. We laboured hard till sunset, and then repaired on board satisfied with the quantity we had collected, which I judged sufficient to last till our arrival in New Zealand. During our whole stay we had either calms or light airs from the eastward. Little or no time, therefore, was lost by my putting in at this place. For if I had kept the sea, we should not have been twenty leagues advanced farther on our voyage; and, short as our continuance was here, it has enabled me to add

somewhat to the imperfect acquaintance that has hitherto been acquired with this part of the globe.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

AT 8 o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at W., we weighed anchor, and put to sea from Adventure Bay. Soon after, the wind veered to the southward, and increased to a perfect storm. Its fury abated in the evening, when it veered to the E. and NE. We pursued our course to the eastward without meeting with anything worthy of note, till the night between the 6th and 7th of February, when a marine belonging to the Discovery fell overboard and was never seen afterward. This was the second misfortune of the kind that had happened to Captain Clerke since he left England.

On the 10th, at four in the afternoon, we discovered the land of New Zealand. The part we saw proved to be Rocks Point, and bore SE. by S., about eight or nine leagues distant. After making the land, I steered for Cape Farewell, which at daybreak the next morning bore S. by W., distant about four leagues. At 8 o'clock it bore SW. by S., about five leagues distant; and in this situation, we had forty-five fathoms water over a sandy bottom. In rounding the Cape we had fifty fathoms, and the same sort of bottom. I now steered for Stephen's Island, which we came up with at 9 o'clock at night; and at ten next morning, anchored in our old station in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Unwilling to lose any time, our operations commenced that very afternoon, when we landed a number of empty watercasks, and began to clear a place where we might set up the two observatories, and tents for the reception of a guard and of such of our people whose business might make it necessary for them to remain on shore.

We had not been long at anchor before several canoes, filled with natives, came alongside of the ships; but very few of them would venture on board, which appeared the more extraordinary, as I was well known to them all. There was one man in particular amongst them whom I had treated with remarkable kindness during the whole of my stay when I was last here. Yet now neither professions of friendship nor presents could prevail upon him to come into the ship. This shyness was to be accounted for only upon this supposition, that they were apprehensive we had revisited their country in order to revenge the death of Captain Furneaux's people. Seeing Omai on board my ship now, whom they must have remembered to have seen on board the Adventure when the melancholy affair happened, and whose first conversation with them, as they approached, generally turned on that subject, they must be well assured that I was no longer a stranger to it. I thought it necessary, therefore, to use every endeavour to assure them of the continuance of my friendship, and that I should not disturb them on that account. I do not know whether this had any weight with them; but certain it is, that they very soon laid aside all manner of restraint and distrust.

On the 13th we set up two tents, one from each ship, on the same spot where we had pitched them formerly. The observatories were at the same time erected; and Messrs King and Bayly began their operations immediately, to find the rate of the time-keeper, and to make other observations. The remainder of the empty water-casks were also sent on shore, with the cooper to trim and a sufficient number of sailors to fill them. Two men were appointed to brew spruce beer, and the carpenter and his crew were ordered to cut wood.

[1] Several pages of naturalistic and other observations on Van Diemen's Land, by Mr Anderson—valuable and novel in their day, but now devoid of interest—are here omitted.

A boat, with a party of men, under the direction of one of the mates, was sent to collect grass for our cattle; and the people that remained on board were employed in refitting the ship, and arranging the provisions. In this manner we were all profitably busied during our stay. For the protection of the party on shore, I appointed a guard of ten marines, and ordered arms for all the workmen; and Mr King and two or three petty officers, constantly remained with them. A boat was never sent to any considerable distance from the ships without being armed, and under the direction of such officers as I could depend upon, and who were well acquainted with the natives. During my former visits to this country, I had never taken some of these precautions; nor were they, I firmly believe, more necessary now than they had been formerly. But after the tragical fate of the Adventure's boat's crew in this sound, and of Captain Marion du Fresne, and of some of his people, in the Bay of Islands,[1] it was impossible totally to divest ourselves of all apprehension of experiencing a similar calamity.

If the natives entertained any suspicion of our revenging these acts of barbarity, they very soon laid it aside. For, during the course of this day, a great number of families came from different parts of the coast, and took up their residence close to us; so that there was not a spot in the cove where a hut could be put up, that was not occupied by them, except the place where we had fixed our little encampment. This they left us in quiet possession of; but they came and took away the ruins of some old huts that were there, as materials for their new erections. It is curious to observe with what facility they build these occasional places of abode. I have seen above twenty of them erected on a spot of ground that, not an hour before, was covered with shrubs and plants. They generally bring some part of the materials with them; the rest they find upon the premises. I was present when a number of people landed, and built one of these villages. The moment the canoes reached the shore, the men leaped out, and at once took possession of a piece of ground, by tearing up the plants and shrubs, or sticking up some part of the framing of a hut. They then returned to their canoes, and secured their weapons by setting them up against a tree, or placing them in such a position that they could be laid hold of in an instant. I took particular notice that no one neglected this precaution. While the men were employed in raising the huts, the women were not idle. Some were stationed to take care of the canoes; others to secure the provisions, and the few utensils in their possession; and the rest went to gather dry sticks, that a fire might be prepared for dressing their victuals. As to the children, I kept them, as also some of the more aged, sufficiently occupied in scrambling for beads, till I had emptied my pockets, and then I left them. These temporary habitations are abundantly sufficient to afford shelter from the wind and rain, which is the only purpose they are meant to answer. I observed that generally, if not always, the same tribe or family, though it were ever so large, associated and built together; so that we frequently saw a village, as well as their larger towns, divided into different districts by low pallisades, or some similar mode of separation.

The advantage we received from the natives coming to live with us was not inconsiderable. For every day, when the weather would permit, some of them went out to catch fish; and we generally got, by exchanges, a good share of the produce of their labours. This supply, and what our own nets and lines afforded us, was so ample, that we seldom were in want of fish. Nor was there any deficiency of other refreshments. Celery, scurvy-grass, and portable soup were boiled with the pease and wheat, for both ships' companies, every day during our whole stay; and they had spruce-

[1] In 1772, see *ante*, p. 539.

beer for their drink, so that, if any of our people had contracted the seeds of the scurvy, such a regimen soon removed them. But the truth is, when we arrived here, there were only two invalids (and these on board the Resolution) upon the sick lists in both ships. Besides the natives who took up their abode close to us, we were occasionally visited by others of them whose residence was not far off, and by some who lived more remote. Their articles of commerce were curiosities, fish, and women. The two first always came to a good market; which the latter did not. The seamen had taken a kind of dislike to these people, and were either unwilling or afraid to associate with them; which produced this good effect, that I knew no instance of a man's quitting his station to go to their habitations.

Amongst our occasional visitors was a chief named Kahoora, who, as I was informed, headed the party that cut off Captain Furneaux's people, and himself killed Mr Rowe, the officer who commanded. To judge of the character of Kahoora, by what I heard from many of his countrymen, he seemed to be more feared than beloved amongst them. Not satisfied with telling me that he was a very bad man, some of them even importuned me to kill him; and, I believe, they were not a little surprised that I did not listen to them; for, according to their ideas of equity, this ought to have been done. But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends, I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet or village, by turns, applied to me to destroy the other. One would have almost thought it impossible that so striking a proof of the divided state in which this miserable people live could have been assigned. And yet I was sure that I did not misconceive the meaning of those who made these strange applications to me; for Omai, whose language was a dialect of their own, and perfectly understood all that they said, was our interpreter.

On the 15th, I made an excursion in my boat to look for grass, and visited the "hippah," or fortified village,[1] at the SW. point of Motuara, and the places where our gardens had been planted on that island. There were no people at the former; but the houses and pallisades had been rebuilt, and were now in a state of good repair; and there were other evident marks of its having been inhabited not long before.

When the Adventure arrived first at Queen Charlotte's Sound, in 1773, Mr Bayly fixed upon this place for making his observations; and he and the people with him, at their leisure hours, planted several spots with English garden seeds. Not the least vestige of these now remained. It is probable that they had been all rooted out to make room for buildings, when the village was re-inhabited; for at all the other gardens then planted by Captain Furneaux, although now wholly overrun with the weeds of the country, we found cabbages, onions, leeks, purslane, radishes, mustard, &c., and a few potatoes. These potatoes, which were first brought from the Cape of Good Hope, had been greatly improved by change of soil; and, with proper cultivation, would be superior to those produced in most other countries. Though the New Zealanders are fond of this root, it was evident that they had not taken the trouble to plant a single one (much less any other of the articles which we had introduced); and if it were not for the difficulty of clearing ground where potatoes had been once planted, there would not have been any now remaining.

On the 16th, at daybreak, I set out with a party of men, in five boats, to collect food for our cattle. Captain

[1] Of which a minute description is given in the account of Cook's first voyage, in Hawkesworth's Collection. The hippahs, or pahs, of New Zealand have become painfully familiar to English minds by the experiences of the late war in that colony.

Clerke, and several of the officers, Omai, and two of the natives, accompanied me. We proceeded about three leagues up the sound, and then landed on the east side, at a place where I had formerly been. Here we cut as much grass as loaded the two launches. As we returned down the sound, we visited Grass Cove, the memorable scene of the massacre of Captain Furneaux's people.

We stayed here till the evening, when, having loaded the rest of the boats with grass, celery, scurvy-grass, &c., we embarked to return to the ships. We had prevailed upon Pedro to launch his canoe and accompany us; but we had scarcely put off from the shore, when the wind began to blow very hard at NW., which obliged him to put back. We proceeded ourselves, but it was with a good deal of difficulty that we could reach the ships, where some of the boats did not arrive till 1 o'clock the next morning; and it was fortunate that they got on board then, for it afterward blew a perfect storm, with abundance of rain, so that no manner of work could go forward that day. In the evening the gale ceased, and the wind having veered to the east, brought with it fair weather. The next day we resumed our works; the natives ventured out to catch fish; and Pedro, with all his family, came and took up his abode near us. This chief's proper name is Matahouah; the other being given him by some of my people during my last voyage, which I did not know till now. He was, however, equally well known amongst his countrymen by both names.

On the 20th, in the forenoon, we had another storm from the NW. Though this was not of so long continuance as the former, the gusts of wind from the hills were far more violent, insomuch that we were obliged to strike the yards and topmasts to the very utmost; and, even with all this precaution, it was with difficulty that we rode it out. These *storms* are very frequent here, and *sometimes* violent and troublesome. The neighbouring mountains, which at these times are always loaded with vapours, not only increase the force of the wind, but alter its direction in such a manner, that no two blasts follow each other from the same quarter; and the nearer the shore, the more their effects are felt. The next day we were visited by a tribe or family consisting of about thirty persons, men, women, and children, who came from the upper part of the sound. I had never seen them before. The name of their chief was Tomatongeauooranuc, a man of about forty-five years of age, with a cheerful open countenance; and, indeed, the rest of his tribe were, in general, the handsomest of the New Zealand race I had ever met with. By this time more than two-thirds of the inhabitants of the sound had settled themselves about us. Great numbers of them daily frequented the ships and the encampment on shore; but the latter became by far the most favourite place of resort, while our people there were melting some seal blubber. No Greenlander was ever fonder of train oil than our friends here seem to be. They relished the very skimmings of the kettle and dregs of the casks; but a little of the pure stinking oil was a delicious feast, so eagerly desired, that I supposed it is seldom enjoyed.

Having got on board as much hay and grass as we judged sufficient to serve the cattle till our arrival at Otaheite, and having completed the wood and water of both ships, on the 23d we struck our tents, and carried everything off from the shore; and next morning we weighed anchor and stood out of the cove. But the wind not being very fair, and finding that the tide of ebb would be spent before we could get out of the sound, we cast anchor again a little without the Island Motuara, to wait for a more favourable opportunity of putting into the strait. While we were unmooring and getting under sail, Tomatongeauooranuc, Matahouah, and many more of the natives, came to take their leave of us, or rather to obtain,

if they could, some additional present from us before we left them. These two chiefs became suitors to me for some goats and hogs. Accordingly, I gave to Matahouah two goats, a male and female with kid; and to Tomatongeauooranuc two pigs, a boar and a sow. They made me a promise not to kill them, though I must own I put no great faith in this. The animals which Captain Furneaux sent on shore here, and which soon after fell into the hands of the natives, I was now told were all dead; but I could get no intelligence about the fate of those I had left in West Bay, and in Cannibal Cove, when I was here in the course of my last voyage. However, all the natives whom I conversed with agreed that poultry are now to be met with wild in the woods behind Ship Cove; and I was afterward informed, by the two youths who went away with us, that Tiratou, a popular chief amongst them, had a great many cocks and hens in his separate possession, and one of the sows.

On my present arrival at this place, I fully intended to have left not only goats and hogs, but sheep, and a young bull, with two heifers, if I could have found either a chief powerful enough to protect and keep them, or a place where there might be a probability of their being concealed from those who would ignorantly attempt to destroy them. But neither the one nor the other presented itself to me. I could not learn that there remained in our neighbourhood any tribe whose numbers could secure to them a superiority of power over the rest of their countrymen. To have given the animals to any of the natives who possessed no such power, would not have answered the intention; for in a country like this, where no man's property is secure, they would soon have fallen a prey to different parties, and been either separated or killed; but most likely both. This was so evident, from what we had observed since our arrival, that I had resolved to leave no kind of animal, till Matahouah and the other chief solicited me for the hogs and goats. As I could spare them, I let them go, to take their chance. I have, at different times, left in New Zealand no less than ten or a dozen hogs, besides those put on shore by Captain Furneaux. It will be a little extraordinary, therefore, if this race should not increase and be preserved here, either in a wild or in a domestic state, or in both.

We had not been long at anchor near Motuara before three or four canoes filled with natives came off to us from the south-east side of the sound, and a brisk trade was carried on with them for the curiosities of this place. In one of these canoes was Kahoora, whom I have already mentioned as the leader of the party who cut off the crew of the Adventure's boat. This was the third time he had visited us without betraying the smallest appearance of fear. I was ashore when he now arrived, but had got on board just as he was going away. Omai, who had returned with me, presently pointed him out and solicited me to shoot him. Not satisfied with this, he addressed himself to Kahoora, threatening to be his executioner if ever he presumed to visit us again. The New Zealander paid so little regard to these threats that he returned the next morning with his whole family—men, women, and children—to the number of twenty and upwards. Omai was the first who acquainted me with his being alongside the ship, and desired to know if he should ask him to come on board. I told him he might; and accordingly he introduced the chief into the cabin, saying, "There is Kahoora; kill him!" But, as if he had forgot his former threats, or were afraid that I should call upon him to perform them, he immediately retired. In a short time, however, he returned; and seeing the chief unhurt, he expostulated with me very earnestly, saying, "Why do you not kill him? You tell me if a man kills another in England that he is hanged for it. This man has killed ten, and yet you will not kill him, though many of his countrymen

desire it, and it would be very good." Omai's arguments, though specious enough, having no weight with me, I desired him to ask the chief why he had killed Captain Furneaux's people. At this question, Kahoora folded his arms, hung down his head, and looked like one caught in a trap; and I firmly believe he expected instant death. But no sooner was he assured of his safety than he became cheerful. He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him till I had again and again repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us that one of his countrymen, having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took it, and would neither return it nor give anything for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began.

The remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had before learned from the rest of his countrymen. He mentioned the narrow escape he had during the fray, a musket being levelled at him, which he avoided by skulking behind the boat, and another man who stood close to him was shot dead. As soon as the musket was discharged, he instantly seized the opportunity to attack Mr Rowe, who commanded the party, and who defended himself with his hanger (with which he wounded Kahoora in the arm), till he was overpowered by numbers. Mr Burney, who was sent by Captain Furneaux the next day with an armed party to look for his missing people, upon discovering the horrid proofs of their shocking fate, had fired several volleys amongst the crowds of natives who still remained assembled on the spot, and were, probably, partaking of the detestable banquet. It was natural to suppose that he had not fired in vain, and that therefore some of the murderers and devourers of our unhappy countrymen had suffered under our just resentment. Upon inquiry, however, into this *matter, not* only from Kahoora, but from others who had opportunities of knowing, it appeared that our supposition was groundless, and that not one of the shots fired by Mr Burney's people had taken effect so as to kill or even to hurt a single person.

It was evident that most of the natives we had met with since our arrival, as they knew I was fully acquainted with the history of the massacre, expected I should avenge it with the death of Kahoora. And many of them seemed not only to wish it, but expressed their surprise at my forbearance. As he could not be ignorant of this, it was a matter of wonder to me that he put himself so often in my power. When he visited us while the ships lay in the cove, confiding in the number of his friends that accompanied him, he might think himself safe. But his two last visits had been made under such circumstances that he could no longer rely upon this. We were then at anchor in the entrance of the sound, and at some distance from any shore, so that he could not have any assistance from thence, nor flatter himself he could have the means of making his escape had I determined to detain him. And yet, after his first fears on being interrogated were over, he was so far from entertaining any uneasy sensations, that on seeing a portrait of one of his countrymen hanging up in the cabin he desired to have his own portrait drawn, and sat till Mr Webber had finished it without marking the least impatience. I must confess I admired his courage, and was not a little pleased to observe the extent of the confidence he put in me. For he placed his whole safety in the declarations I had uniformly made to those who solicited his death; that I had always been a friend to them all, and would continue so, unless they gave me cause to act otherwise; that as to their inhuman treatment of our people, I should think no more of it, the transaction having happened long ago, and when I was not present; but that, if ever they made a second attempt of that kind, they might

rest assured of feeling the weight of my resentment.

For some time before we arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to take one of the natives with him to his own country. We had not been there many days before he had an opportunity of being gratified in this, for a youth about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Taweiharooa, offered to accompany him, and took up his residence on board. I paid little attention to this at first, imagining that he would leave us when we were about to depart, and after he had got what he could from Omai. At length, finding that he was fixed in his resolution to go with us, and having learned that he was the only son of a deceased chief; and that his mother, still living, was a woman much respected here, I was apprehensive that Omai had deceived him and his friends by giving them hopes and assurances of his being sent back. I therefore caused it to be made known to them all that if the young man went away with us he would never return. But this declaration seemed to make no sort of impression. The afternoon before we left the cove, Tiratoutou, his mother, came on board, to receive her last present from Omai. The same evening, she and Taweiharooa parted with all the marks of tender affection that might be expected between a parent and a child who were never to meet again. But she said she would cry no more; and, sure enough, she kept her word, for when she returned the next morning to take her last farewell of him, all the time she was on board she remained quite cheerful, and went away wholly unconcerned.

That Taweiharooa might be sent away in a manner becoming his birth, another youth was to have gone with him as a servant; and with this view, as we supposed, he remained on board till we were about to sail, when his friends took him ashore. However, his place was supplied next morning by another, a boy of about nine or ten years of age, named Kokoa. He was presented to me by his own father, who, I believe, would have parted with his dog with far less indifference. The very little clothing the boy had, he stripped him of, and left him as naked as he was born. It was to no purpose that I endeavoured to convince these people of the improbability, or rather of the impossibility, of these youths ever returning home. Not one, not even their nearest relations, seemed to trouble themselves about their future fate. Since this was the case, and I was well satisfied that the boys would be no losers by exchange of place, I the more readily gave my consent to their going.[1]

BOOK II.

FROM LEAVING NEW ZEALAND TO OUR ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE, OR THE SOCIETY ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

ON the 25th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, a light breeze springing up at NW. by W., we weighed, stood out of the sound, and made sail through the strait, with the Discovery in company. We had hardly got the length of Cape Tierawhitte, when the wind took us aback at SE. It continued in this quarter till 2 o'clock the next morning, when we had a few

[1] Omission is made of the remainder of this Chapter, and of Chapter VIII.—the latter entirely written by Mr Anderson—which are occupied with dissertations on the morals,

hours' calm. After which we had a breeze at N.; but here it fixed not long, before it veered to the E., and after that to the S. At length, on the 27th, at 8 o'clock in the morning, we took our departure from Cape Palliser. We had a fine gale, and I steered E. by N. We had no sooner lost sight of the land than our two New Zealand adventurers, the sea sickness they now experienced giving a turn to their reflections, repented heartily of the step they had taken. All the soothing encouragement we could think of availed but little. They wept, both in public and in private, and made their lamentations in a kind of song, which, as far as we could comprehend the meaning of the words, was expressive of their praises of their country and people, from which they were to be separated for ever. Thus they continued for many days, till their sea sickness wore off, and the tumult of their minds began to subside. Then these fits of lamentation became less and less frequent, and at length entirely ceased. Their native country and their friends were by degrees forgot, and they appeared to be as firmly attached to us as if they had been born amongst us.

On the 29th [of March], at ten in the morning, as we were standing to the NE., the Discovery made the signal of seeing land. We saw it from the mast-head almost the same moment, bearing NE. by E. by compass. We soon discovered it to be an island of no great extent, and stood for it till sunset, when it bore NNE., distant about two or three leagues. The night was spent in standing off and on, and at daybreak the next morning I bore up for the lee or west side of the island, as neither anchorage nor landing appeared to be practicable on the south side, on account of a great surf which broke everywhere with violence against the shore, or against the reef that surrounded it.

We presently found that the island was inhabited, and saw several people on a point of the land we had passed, wading to the reef, where, as they found the ship leaving them quickly, they remained. But others, who soon appeared in different parts, followed her course, and sometimes several of them collected into small bodies, who made a shouting noise all together, nearly after the manner of the inhabitants of New Zealand. Between 7 and 8 o'clock, we were at the WNW. part of the island, and, being near the shore, we could perceive with our glasses that several of the natives, who appeared upon a sandy beach, were all armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening, or as some on board interpreted their attitudes, with invitations to land. Most of them appeared naked, except having a sort of girdle, which, being brought up between the thighs, covered that part of the body. But some of them had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment, thrown about their shoulders. And almost all of them had a white wrapper about their heads, not much unlike a turban, or, in some instances, like a high conical cap. We could also perceive that they were of a tawny colour, and in general of a middling stature, but robust, and inclining to corpulence.

At this time, a small canoe was launched in a great hurry from the farther end of the beach, and a man getting into it, put off, as with a view to reach the ship. On perceiving this, I brought to, that we might receive the visit; but the man's resolution failing, he soon returned toward the beach, where, after some time, another man joined him in the canoe; and then they both paddled towards us. They stopped short, however, as if afraid to approach, until Omai, who addressed them in the Otaheite language, in some measure quieted their apprehensions. They then came near enough to take some beads and nails, which were tied to a piece of wood and thrown into the canoe. They

---

manners, and customs, &c., &c., of the New Zealanders, but do not in any way relate to the actual transactions *of the* voyage.

seemed afraid to touch these things, and put the piece of wood aside without untying them. This, however, might arise from superstition; for Omai told us, that when they saw us offering them presents, they asked something for their "Eatooa," or god. He also, perhaps improperly, put the question to them, "Whether they ever ate human flesh?" which they answered in the negative, with a mixture of indignation and abhorrence. One of them, whose name was Mourooa, being asked how he came by a scar on his forehead, told us that it was the consequence of a wound he had got in fighting with the people of an island which lies to the north-eastward, who sometimes came to invade them. They afterward took hold of a rope. Still, however, they would not venture on board; but told Omai, who understood them pretty well, that their countrymen on shore had given them this caution, at the same time directing them to inquire from whence our ship came, and to learn the name of the captain. On our part, we inquired the name of the island, which they called "Mangya" or "Mangeea;" and sometimes added to it "Nooe, nai, naiwa." The name of their chief, they said, was Orooaeeka.

Mourooa was lusty and well made, but not very tall. His features were agreeable, and his disposition seemingly no less so; for he made several droll gesticulations, which indicated both good-nature and a share of humour. He also made others which seemed of a serious kind, and repeated some words with a devout air, before he ventured to lay hold of the rope at the ship's stern; which was probably to recommend himself to the protection of some divinity. His colour was nearly of the same cast with that common to the most southern Europeans. The other man was not so handsome. Both of them had strong, straight hair, of a jet colour, tied together on the crown of the head with a bit of cloth. They wore such girdles as we had perceived about those on shore, and we found they were a substance made from the *Morus papyrifera*, in the same manner as at the other islands of this ocean. It was glazed like the sort used by the natives of the Friendly Islands; but the cloth on their heads was white, like that which is found at Otaheite. They had on a kind of sandals, made of a grassy substance interwoven, which we also observed were worn by those who stood upon the beach, and, as we supposed, intended to defend their feet against the rough coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inside of their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, and some other parts, were punctured or tattooed, after the manner of the inhabitants of almost all the other islands in the South Sea. The lobe of their ears was pierced, or rather slit, and to such a length, that one of them stuck there a knife and some beads which he had received from us; and the same person had two polished pearl shells, and a bunch of human hair, loosely twisted, hanging about his neck, which was the only ornament we observed. The canoe they came in (which was the only one we saw) was not above ten feet long, and very narrow; but both strong and neatly made. The forepart had a flat board fastened over it, and projecting out, to prevent the sea getting in on plunging, like the small "evaas" at Otaheite; but it had an upright stern, about five feet high, like some in New Zealand; and the upper end of this stern-post was forked. The lower part of the canoe was of white wood, but the upper was black; and their paddles made of wood of the same colour, not above three feet long, broad at one end, and blunted. They paddled either end of the canoe forward indifferently, and only turned about their faces to paddle the contrary way.

We now stood off and on, and as soon as the ships were in a proper station, about 10 o'clock I ordered two boats, one of them from the Discovery to sound the coast, and to endeavour to find a landing-place. With this view, I went in one of them myself, taking with me such articles to give the natives as I thought might

serve to gain their goodwill. I had no sooner put off from the ship than the canoe, with the two men which had left us not long before, paddled towards my boat; and, having come alongside, Mourooa stepped into her, without being asked, and without a moment's hesitation. Omai, who was with me, was ordered to inquire of him where we could land, and he directed us to two different places. But I saw with regret that the attempt could not be made at either place, unless at the risk of having our boats filled with water, or even staved to pieces. Nor were we more fortunate in our search for anchorage, for we could find no bottom till within a cable's length of the breakers. There we met with from forty to twenty fathoms depth, over sharp coral rocks, so that anchoring would have been attended with much more danger than landing. Thus were we obliged to leave, unvisited, this fine island, which seemed capable of supplying all our wants.

The natives of Mangeea seem to resemble those of Otaheite and the Marquesas in the beauty of their persons more than any other nation I have seen in these seas; having a smooth skin, and not being muscular. Their general disposition also corresponds, as far as we had opportunities of judging, with that which distinguishes the first-mentioned people. For they are not only cheerful, but, as Mourooa showed us, are acquainted with all the lascivious gesticulations which the Otaheiteans practise in their dances. It may also be supposed that their method of living is similar; for, though the nature of the country prevented our seeing many of their habitations, we observed one house near the beach, which much resembled, in its mode of construction, those of Otaheite. It was pleasantly situated in a grove of trees, and appeared to be about thirty feet long, and seven or eight high, with an open end, which represented an ellipse divided transversely. Before it was spread something white on a few bushes, *which* we conjectured to be a fishing-net, and, to appearance, of a very delicate texture.

They salute strangers much after the manner of the New Zealanders, by joining noses; adding, however, the additional ceremony of taking the hand of the person to whom they are paying civilities, and rubbing it with a degree of force upon their nose and mouth.

CHAPTER II.

After leaving Mangeea, on the afternoon of the 30th, we continued our course northward all that night, and till noon on the 31st, when we again saw land, in the direction of NE. by N., distant eight or ten leagues. Next morning at 8 o'clock, we had got abreast of its north end, within four leagues of it, but to leeward, and could now pronounce it to be an island, nearly of the same appearance and extent with that we had so lately left. At the same time, another island, but much smaller, was seen right ahead. We could have soon reached this; but the largest one had the preference, as most likely to furnish a supply of food for the cattle, of which we began to be in great want. With this view I determined to work up to it; but as there was but little wind, and that little was unfavourable, we were still two leagues to leeward at 8 o'clock the following morning. Soon after, I sent two armed boats from the Resolution, and one from the Discovery, under the command of Lieutenant Gore, to look for anchoring-ground and a landing-place. In the meantime, we plied up under the island with the ships.

Just as the boats were putting off, we observed several single canoes coming from the shore. They went first to the Discovery, she being the nearest ship. It was not long after when three of these canoes came alongside of the Resolution, each conducted by one man. They are long and narrow, and supported by out-

riggers. The stern is elevated about three or four feet, something like a ship's stern-post. The head is flat above, but prow-like below, and turns down at the extremity, like the end of a violin. Some knives, beads, and other trifles were conveyed to our visitors, and they gave us a few cocoa-nuts, upon our asking for them. But they did not part with them by way of exchange for what they had received from us. For they seemed to have no idea of bartering; nor did they appear to estimate any of our presents at a high rate. With a little persuasion, one of them made his canoe fast to the ship, and came on board, and the other two, encouraged by his example, soon followed him. Their whole behaviour marked that they were quite at their ease, and felt no sort of apprehension of our detaining or using them ill.

After their departure, another canoe arrived, conducted by a man who brought a bunch of plantains as a present to me; asking for me by name, having learned it from Omai, who was sent before us in the boat with Mr Gore. In return for this civility, I gave him an axe, and a piece of red cloth, and he paddled back to the shore well satisfied. I afterward understood from Omai, that this present had been sent from the king, or principal chief, of the island. Not long after, a double canoe, in which were twelve men, came toward us. As they drew near the ship, they recited some words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number first standing up, and giving the word before each repetition. When they had finished their solemn chant, they came alongside, and asked for the chief. As soon as I showed myself, a pig and a few cocoa-nuts were conveyed up into the ship; and the principal person in the canoe made me an additional present of a piece of matting, as soon as he and his companions got on board.

Our visitors were conducted into the cabin, and to other parts of the ship. Some objects seemed to strike them with a degree of surprise; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to come near the cows and horses; nor did they form the least conception of their nature. But the sheep and goats did not surpass the limits of their ideas; for they gave us to understand that they knew them to be birds. It will appear rather incredible that human ignorance could ever make so strange a mistake; there not being the most distant similitude between a sheep or goat and any winged animal. But these people seemed to know nothing of the existence of any other land-animals besides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our sheep and goats, they could see, were very different creatures from the two first, and therefore they inferred that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there is a considerable variety of species. I made a present to my new friend of what I thought might be most acceptable to him; but, on his going away, he seemed rather disappointed than pleased. I afterward understood that he was very desirous of obtaining a dog, of which animal this island could not boast, though its inhabitants knew that the race existed in other islands of their ocean. Captain Clerke had received the like present, with the same view, from another man, who met with from him the like disappointment.

The people in these canoes were in general of a middling size, and not unlike those of Mangeea; though several were of a blacker cast than any we saw there. Their hair was tied on the crown of the head, or flowing loose upon the shoulders; and though in some it was of a frizzling disposition, yet, for the most part, that, as well as the straight sort, was long. Their features were various, and some of the young men rather handsome. Like those of Mangeea, they had girdles of glazed cloth, or fine matting, the ends of which, being bronght betwixt their thighs, covered the adjoining parts. Ornaments composed of a sort of broad grass, stained with red,

and strung with berries of the night-shade, were worn about their necks. Their ears were bored, but not slit; and they were punctured upon the legs, from the knee to the heel, which made them appear as if they wore a kind of boots. They also resembled the inhabitants of Mangeea in the length of their beards, and like them wore a sort of sandals upon their feet. Their behaviour was frank and cheerful, with a great deal of good-nature.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr Gore returned with the boat, and informed me that he had examined all the west side of the island, without finding a place where a boat could land or the ships could anchor, the shore being everywhere bounded by a steep coral rock, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. But as the natives seemed very friendly, and to express a degree of disappointment when they saw that our people failed in their attempts to land, Mr Gore was of opinion that, by means of Omai, who could best explain our request, they might be prevailed upon to bring off to the boats, beyond the surf, such articles as we most wanted; in particular, the stems of plantain trees, which make good food for the cattle. Having little or no wind, the delay of a day or two was not of any moment; and therefore I determined to try the experiment, and got everything ready against the next morning.

Soon after daybreak, we observed some canoes coming off to the ships, and one of them directed its course to the Resolution. In it was a hog, with some plantains and cocoa-nuts, for which the people who brought them demanded a dog from us, and refused every other thing that we offered in exchange. One of our gentlemen on board happened to have a dog and a bitch, which were great nuisances in the ship, and might have been disposed of on this occasion for a purpose of real utility, by propagating a race of so useful an animal in this island. But their owner had no such views in making them the companions of his voyage. However, to gratify these people, Omai parted with a favourite dog he had brought from England; and with this acquisition they departed highly satisfied. About 10 o'clock, I despatched Mr Gore with three boats, two from the Resolution and one from the Discovery, to try the experiment he had proposed. And, as I could confide in his diligence and ability, I left it entirely to himself to act as from circumstances he should judge to be most proper. Two of the natives, who had been on board, accompanied him, and Omai went with him in his boat as an interpreter. The ships being a full league from the island when the boats put off, and having but little wind, it was noon before we could work up to it. We then saw our three boats riding at their grapplings, just without the surf, and a prodigious number of the natives on the shore abreast of them. By this we concluded, that Mr Gore, and others of our people, had landed; and our impatience to know the event may be easily conceived. In order to observe their motions, and to be ready to give them such assistance as they might want and our respective situations would admit of, I kept as near the shore as was prudent. I was sensible, however, that the reef was as effectual a barrier between us and our friends who had landed, and put them as much beyond the reach of our protection, as if half the circumference of the globe had intervened; but the islanders, it was probable, did not know this so well as we did. Some of them, now and then, came off to the ships in their canoes, with a few cocoa-nuts, which they exchanged for whatever was offered to them, without seeming to give the preference to any particular article.

These occasional visits served to lessen my solicitude about our people who had landed. Though we could get no information from our visitors, yet their venturing on board seemed to imply, at least, that their countrymen on shore had not made an improper use of the confidence put in them. At length, a little before sunset, we

had the satisfaction of seeing the boats put off. When they got on board, I found that Mr Gore himself, Omai, Mr Anderson, and Mr Burney, were the only persons who had landed. The transactions of the day were now fully reported to me by Mr Gore; but Mr Anderson's account of them being very particular, and including some remarks on the island and its inhabitants, I shall give it a place here, nearly in his own words.

"We rowed toward a small sandy beach, upon which, and upon the adjacent rocks, a great number of the natives had assembled, and came to an anchor within 100 yards of the reef, which extends about as far, or a little farther, from the shore. Several of the natives swam off, bringing cocoa-nuts; and Omai, with their countrymen, whom we had with us in the boats, made them sensible of our wish to land. But their attention was taken up for a little time by the dog, which had been carried from the ship, and was just brought on shore, round whom they flocked with great eagerness. Soon after, two canoes came off; and, to create a greater confidence in the islanders, we determined to go unarmed and run the hazard of being treated well or ill.

"Mr Burney, the first lieutenant of the Discovery, and I, went in one canoe a little time before the other; and our conductors, watching attentively the motions of the surf, landed us safely upon the reef. An islander took hold of each of us, obviously with an intention to support us in walking over the rugged rocks to the beach, where several of the others met us, holding the green boughs of a [species of mimosa in their hands, and saluted us by applying their noses to ours.

"We were conducted from the beach by our guides amidst a great crowd of people, who flocked with very eager curiosity to look at us, and would have prevented our proceeding had not some men, who seemed to have authority, dealt blows with little distinction amongst them to keep them off. We were then led up an avenue of cocoa-palms, and soon came to a number of men arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, which they held on their shoulders much in the manner we rest a musket. After walking a little way amongst these, we found a person who seemed a chief sitting on the ground cross-legged, cooling himself with a sort of triangular fan made from a leaf of the cocoa-palm, with a polished handle of black wood fixed to one corner. In his ears were large bunches of beautiful red feathers which pointed forward. But he had no other mark or ornament to distinguish him from the rest of the people, though they all obeyed him with the greatest alacrity. He either naturally had, or at this time put on, a serious but not severe countenance; and we were desired to salute him as he sat by some people who seemed of consequence.

"We proceeded still amongst the men armed with clubs, and came to a second chief, who sat fanning himself, and ornamented as the first. He was remarkable for his size and uncommon corpulence, though, to appearance, not above thirty years of age. In the same manner we were conducted to a third chief, who seemed older than the two former; and though not so fat as the second, was of a large size. He also was sitting, and adorned with red feathers; and after saluting him as we had done the others, he desired us both to sit down, which we were very willing to do, being pretty well fatigued with walking up, and with the excessive heat we felt amongst the vast crowd that surrounded us.

"In a few minutes the people were ordered to separate; and we saw, at the distance of thirty yards, about twenty young women ornamented as the chiefs, with red feathers, engaged in a dance, which they performed to a slow and serious air sung by them all. We got up and went forward to see them, and though we must have been strange objects to them, they continued their dance without paying the least attention to us. They seemed to be directed by a man who served as a prompter, and mentioned

each motion they were to make. But they never changed the spot, as we do in dancing; and though their feet were not at rest, this exercise consisted more in moving the fingers very nimbly, at the same time holding their hands in a prone position near the face, and now and then also clapping them together. Their motions and song were performed in such exact concert that it should seem they had been taught with great care; and probably they were selected for this ceremony, as few of those whom we saw in the crowd equalled them in beauty. In general, they were rather stout than slender, with black hair flowing in ringlets down the neck, and of an olive complexion. Their features were rather fuller than what we allow to perfect beauties, and much alike; but their eyes were of a deep black, and each countenance expressed a degree of complacency and modesty peculiar to the sex in every part of the world, but perhaps more conspicuous here where Nature presented us with her productions in the fullest perfection, unbiassed in sentiment by custom, or unrestrained in manner by art. Their shape and limbs were elegantly formed; for, as their dress consisted only of a piece of glazed cloth fastened about the waist, and scarcely reaching so low as the knees, in many we had an opportunity of observing every part. This dance was not finished when we heard a noise as if some horses had been galloping toward us, and, on looking aside, we saw the people armed with clubs, who had been desired, as we supposed, to entertain us with the sight of their manner of fighting. This they now did, one party pursuing another who fled.

"As we supposed the ceremony of being introduced to the chiefs was at an end, we began to look about for Mr Gore and Omai; and, though the crowd would hardly suffer us to move, we at length found them coming up, as much incommoded by the number of people as we had been, and introduced in the same manner to the *three chiefs*, whose names were Otteroo, Taroa, and Fatouweera. Each of these expected a present, and Mr Gore gave them such things as he had brought with him from the ship for that purpose. After this, making use of Omai as his interpreter, he informed the chiefs with what intention we had come on shore; but was given to understand that he must wait till the next day, and then he should have what was wanted.

"They now seemed to take some pains to separate us from each other, and every one of us had his circle to surround and gaze at him. For my own part, I was at one time above an hour apart from my friends; and when I told the chief with whom I sat that I wanted to speak to Omai, he peremptorily refused my request. At the same time, I found the people began to steal several trifling things which I had in my pocket; and when I took the liberty of complaining to the chief of this treatment, he justified it. From these circumstances, I now entertained apprehensions that they might have formed the design of detaining us amongst them. They did not, indeed, seem to be of a disposition so savage as to make us anxious for the safety of our persons; but it was nevertheless vexing to think we had hazarded being detained by their curiosity. In this situation, I asked for something to eat, and they readily brought to me some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and a sort of sour pudding, which was presented by a woman. And on my complaining much of the heat, occasioned by the crowd, the chief himself condescended to fan me, and gave me a small piece of cloth which he had round his waist.

"Mr Burney happening to come to the place where I was, I mentioned my suspicions to him; and, to put it to the test whether they were well founded, we attempted to get to the beach. But we were stopped when about half way by some men, who told us that we must go back to the place which we had left. On coming up, we found Omai entertaining the same apprehensions. But he had, as he fancied, an additional reason for

being afraid, for he had observed that they had dug a hole in the ground for an oven, which they were now heating; and he could assign no other reason for this than that they meant to roast and eat us, as is practised by the inhabitants of New Zealand. Nay, he went so far as to ask them the question, at which they were greatly surprised, asking in return whether that was a custom with us. Mr Burney and I were rather angry that they should be thus suspected by him, there having as yet been no appearances in their conduct toward us of their being capable of such brutality.

"In this manner we were detained the greatest part of the day, being sometimes together, and sometimes separated, but always in a crowd, who, not satisfied with gazing at us, frequently desired us to uncover parts of our skin; the sight of which commonly produced a general murmur of admiration. At the same time, they did not omit these opportunities of rifling our pockets; and, at last, one of them snatched a small bayonet from Mr Gore, which hung in its sheath by his side. This was represented to the chief, who pretended to send some person in search of it. But, in all probability, he countenanced the theft; for, soon after, Omai had a dagger stolen from his side in the same manner, though he did not miss it immediately.

"Whether they observed any signs of uneasiness in us, or that they voluntarily repeated their emblems of friendship when we expressed a desire to go, I cannot tell; but, at this time, they brought some green boughs, and, sticking their ends in the ground, desired we might hold them as we sat. Upon our urging again the business we came upon, they gave us to understand that we must stay and eat with them; and a pig which we saw, soon after, lying near the oven, which they had prepared and heated, removed Omai's apprehensions of being put into it himself, and made us think it might be intended for our repast. The chief also promised to send some people to procure food for the cattle; but it was not till pretty late in the afternoon that we saw them return with a few plantain trees, which they carried to our boats.

"In the meantime, Mr Burney and I attempted again to go to the beach; but, when we arrived, found ourselves watched by people who, to appearance, had been placed there for this purpose. For when I tried to wade in upon the reef, one of them took hold of my clothes and dragged me back. I picked up some small pieces of coral, which they required me to throw down again; and, on my refusal, they made no scruple to take them forcibly from me. I had gathered some small plants, but these also I could not be permitted to retain. And they took a fan from Mr Burney, which he had received as a present on coming ashore. Omai said we had done wrong in taking up anything, for it was not the custom here to permit freedoms of that kind to strangers, till they had in some measure naturalised them to the country, by entertaining them with festivity for two or three days.

"Finding that the only method of procuring better treatment was to yield implicit obedience to their will, we went up again to the place we had left, and they now promised that we should have a canoe to carry us off to our boats, after we had eaten of a repast which had been prepared for us. Accordingly, the second chief, to whom we had been introduced in the morning, having seated himself upon a low broad stool of blackish, hard wood, tolerably polished, and directing the multitude to make a pretty large ring, made us sit down by him. A considerable number of cocoa-nuts were now brought, and, shortly after, a long green basket, with a sufficient quantity of baked plantains to have served a dozen persons. A piece of the young hog that had been dressed was then set before each of us, of which we were desired to eat. Our appetites, however, had failed from the fatigue of the day; and though we did eat a little to please them,

it was without satisfaction to ourselves.

"It being now near sunset, we told them it was time to go on board. This they allowed, and sent down to the beach the remainder of the victuals that had been dressed, to be carried with us to the ships. But, before we set out, Omai was treated with a drink he had been used to in his own country, which, we observed, was made here, as at other islands in the South Sea, by chewing the root of a sort of pepper. We found a canoe ready to put us off to our boats, which the natives did with the same caution as when we landed. But even here their thievish disposition did not leave them. For a person of some consequence among them, who came with us, took an opportunity, just as they were pushing the canoe into the surf, to snatch a bag out of her, which I had with the greatest difficulty preserved all the day, there being in it a small pocket pistol which I was unwilling to part with. Perceiving him, I called out, expressing as much displeasure as I could. On which he thought proper to return, and swim with the bag to the canoe; but denied he had stolen it, though detected in the very act. They put us on our boats, with the cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other provisions which they had brought; and we rowed to the ships, very well pleased that we had at last got out of the hands of our troublesome masters.

"We regretted much that our restrained situation gave us so little opportunity of making observations on the country. For, during the whole day, we were seldom 100 yards from the place where we were introduced to the chiefs on landing; and, consequently, were confined to the surrounding objects. The first thing that presented itself worthy of our notice was the number of people, which must have been at least 2000; for those who welcomed us on the shore bore no proportion to the multitude we found amongst the trees, on proceeding a little way up. We could *also observe* that, except a few, those we had hitherto seen on board were of the lower class. For a great number of those we now met with had a superior dignity in their air, and were of a much whiter cast. In general, they had the hair tied on the crown of the head, long, black, and of a most luxuriant growth. Many of the young men were perfect models in shape, of a complexion as delicate as that of the women, and, to appearance, of a disposition as amiable. Others, who were more advanced in years, were corpulent; and all had a remarkable smoothness of the skin. Their general dress was a piece of cloth, or mat, wrapped about the waist, and covering the parts which modesty conceals. But some had pieces of mats, most curiously varied with black and white, made into a sort of jacket without sleeves; and others wore conical caps of cocoa-nut coir, neatly interwoven with small beads, made of a shelly substance. Their ears were pierced, and in them they hung bits of the membraneous part of some plant, or stuck there an odoriferous flower, which seemed to be a species of *Gardenia*. Some, who were of a superior class, and also the chiefs, had two little balls, with a common base, made from the bone of some animal, which was hung round the neck, with a great many folds of small cord. And after the ceremony of introduction to the chiefs was over, they then appeared without their red feathers, which are certainly considered here as a particular mark of distinction, for none but themselves, and the young women who danced, assumed them.

"Some of the men were punctured all over the sides and back in an uncommon manner; and some of the women had the same ornament on their legs. But this method was confined to those who seemed to be of a superior rank; and the men, in that case, were also generally distinguished by their size and corpulence, unless very young. The women of an advanced age had their hair cropped short; many were cut in oblique lines all over the fore-part of the

body; and some of the wounds, which formed rhomboidal figures, had been so lately inflicted, that the coagulated blood still remained in them.

"The wife of one of the chiefs appeared with her child laid in a piece of red cloth which had been presented to her husband, and seemed to carry it with great tenderness, suckling it much after the manner of our women. Another chief introduced his daughter, who was young and beautiful, but appeared with all the timidity natural to the sex; though she gazed on us with a kind of anxious concern that seemed to struggle with her fear, and to express her astonishment at so unusual a sight. Others advanced with more firmness, and, indeed, were less reserved than we expected; but behaved with a becoming modesty. We did not observe any personal deformities amongst either sex, except in a few who had scars of broad superficial ulcers remaining on the face and other parts. In proportion to the number of people assembled, there appeared not many old men or women, which may easily be accounted for by supposing that such as were in an advanced period of life might neither have the inclination nor the ability to come from the more distant parts of the island. On the other hand, the children were numerous; and both these and the men climbed the trees to look at us, when we were hid by the surrounding crowd.

"About a third part of the men were armed with clubs and spears; and, probably, these were only the persons who had come from a distance, as many of them had small baskets, mats, and other things, fastened to the ends of their weapons. The clubs were generally about six feet long, made of a hard black wood, lance-shaped at the end, but much broader, with the edge nicely scolloped, and the whole neatly polished. Others of them were narrower at the point, much shorter, and plain; and some were even so small as to be used with one hand. The spears were made of the same wood, simply pointed, and, in general, above twelve feet long; though some were so short that they seemed intended to be thrown as darts.

"The place where we were all the day was under the shade of various trees; in which they preserved their canoes from the sun. About eight or ten of them were here, all double ones; that is, two single ones fastened together (as is usual throughout the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean), by rafters lashed across. They were about twenty feet long, about four feet deep, and the sides rounded, with a plank raised upon them, which was fastened strongly by means of withes. Two of these canoes were most curiously stained or painted all over with black, in numberless small figures, as squares, triangles, &c., and excelled by far anything of that kind I had ever seen at any other island in this ocean. Our friends here, indeed, seemed to have exerted more skill in doing this, than in puncturing their own bodies. The paddles were about four feet long, nearly elliptical, but broader at the upper end than the middle. Near the same place was a hut or shed about thirty feet long and nine or ten high, in which, perhaps, these boats are built; but, at this time, it was empty."

Though the landing of our gentlemen proved the means of enriching my journal with the foregoing particulars, the principal object I had in view was, in a great measure, unattained; for the day was spent without getting any one thing from the island worth mentioning. The natives, however, were gratified with a sight they never before had, and, probably, will never have again. And mere curiosity seems to have been their chief motive for keeping the gentlemen under such restraint, and for using every art to prolong their continuance amongst them.

It has been mentioned, that Omai was sent upon this expedition; and, perhaps, his being Mr Gore's interpreter was not the only service he

performed this day. He was asked by the natives a great many questions concerning us, our ships, our country, and the sort of arms we used; and, according to the account he gave me, his answers were not a little upon the marvellous. As, for instance, he told them, that our country had ships as large as their island, on board which were instruments of war (describing our guns), of such dimensions, that several people might sit within them; and that one of them was sufficient to crush the whole island at one shot. This led them to inquire of him what sort of guns we actually had in our two ships. He said that though they were but small in comparison with those he had just described, yet, with such as they were, we could with the greatest ease, and at the distance the ships were from the shore, destroy the island and kill every soul in it. They persevered in their inquiries, to know by what means this could be done; and Omai explained the matter as well as he could. He happened luckily to have a few cartridges in his pocket. These he produced; the balls, and the gunpowder which was to set them in motion, were submitted to inspection: and, to supply the defects of his description, an appeal was made to the senses of the spectators. It has been mentioned above, that one of the chiefs had ordered the multitude to form themselves into a circle. This furnished Omai with a convenient stage for his exhibition. In the centre of this amphitheatre, the inconsiderable quantity of gunpowder collected from his cartridges was properly disposed upon the ground, and, by means of a bit of burning wood from the oven where dinner was dressing, set on fire. The sudden blast and loud report, the mingled flame and smoke, that instantly succeeded, now filled the whole assembly with astonishment: they no longer doubted the tremendous power of our weapons, and gave full credit to all that Omai had said.

If it had not been for the terrible *ideas* they conceived of the guns of our ships from this specimen of their mode of operation, it was thought that they would have detained the gentlemen all night. For Omai assured them, that, if he and his companions did not return on board the same day, they might expect that I would fire upon the island. And as we stood in nearer the land in the evening than we had done any time before, of which position of the ships they were observed to take great notice, they probably thought we were meditating this formidable attack, and, therefore, suffered their guests to depart; under the expectation, however, of seeing them again on shore next morning. But I was too sensible of the risk they had already run to think of a repetition of the experiment.

This day, it seems, was destined to give Omai more occasions than one of being brought forward to bear a principal part in its transactions. The island, though never before visited by Europeans, actually happened to have other strangers residing in it; and it was entirely owing to Omai's being one of Mr Gore's attendants, that this curious circumstance came to our knowledge. Scarcely had he been landed upon the beach, when he found amongst the crowd there assembled three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of about 200 leagues from those islands, an immense unknown ocean intervening, with such wretched seaboats as their inhabitants are known to make use of, fit only for a passage where sight of land is scarcely ever lost, such a meeting, at such a place, so accidentally visited by us, may well be looked upon as one of those unexpected situations with which the writers of feigned adventures love to surprise their readers, and which, when they really happen in common life, deserve to be recorded for their singularity.

It may easily be guessed, with what mutual surprise and satisfaction Omai and his countrymen engaged in conversation. Their story, as related by them, is an affecting one. About twenty persons in number of both

sexes, had embarked on board a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island Ulietea. A violent contrary wind arising, they could neither reach the latter, nor get back to the former. Their intended passage being a very short one, their stock of provisions was scanty and soon exhausted. The hardships they suffered, while driven along by the storm they knew not whither, are not to be conceived. They passed many days without having anything to eat or drink. Their numbers gradually diminished, worn out by famine and fatigue. Four men only survived when the canoe overset; and then the perdition of this small remnant seemed inevitable. However, they kept hanging by the side of their vessel during some of the last days, till Providence brought them in sight of the people of this island, who immediately sent out canoes, took them off their wreck, and brought them ashore. Of the four who were thus saved, one was since dead. The other three, who lived to have this opportunity of giving an account of their almost miraculous transplantation, spoke highly of the kind treatment they here met with. And so well satisfied were they with their situation, that they refused the offer made to them by our gentlemen, at Omai's request, of giving them a passage on board our ships, to restore them to their native islands. The similarity of manners and language had more than naturalised them to this spot; and the fresh connections which they had here formed, and which it would have been painful to have broken off after such a length of time, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the places of their birth. They had arrived upon this island at least twelve years ago. For I learned from Mr Anderson that he found they knew nothing of Captain Wallis's visit to Otaheite in 1765, nor of several other memorable occurrences, such as the conquest of Ulietea, by those of Bolabola, which had preceded the arrival of the Europeans. To Mr Anderson I am also indebted for their names, Orououte, Otirreroa, and Tavee: the first, born at Matavai in Otaheite; the second, at Ulietea; and the third, at Huaheine.

The landing of our gentlemen on this island, though they failed in the object of it, cannot but be considered as a very fortunate circumstance. It has proved, as we have seen, the means of bringing to our knowledge a matter of fact not only very curious, but very instructive. The application of the above narrative is obvious. It will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea, may have been first peopled; especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other.

This island is called Wateeoo by the natives. It lies in the Latitude of 20° 1′ S., and in the Longitude of 201° 45′ E., and is about six leagues in circumference. It is a beautiful spot, with a surface composed of hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues.

[Having failed in obtaining some effectual supply at Wateeoo, Captain Cook steered for the smaller neighbouring island previously observed, where his boats' crews succeeded in procuring about 100 cocoa-nuts for each ship, with a quantity of grass and leaves and branches of young cocoa-trees, &c., for the cattle. The island, which was only about three miles in circumference, and uninhabited, was called, by the natives of Wateeoo, generally Otakootaia, but sometimes Wenooa-ette, which signifies "little island." The navigators then steered northward for Harvey's Island, which had been discovered in 1773, during Cook's second voyage.]

CHAPTER III.

As we drew near it, at 8 o'clock [on the morning of the 6th April], we observed several canoes put off from the shore; and they came directly toward the ships. This was a sight that

indeed, surprised me, as no signs of inhabitants were seen when the island was first discovered, which might be owing to a pretty brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out, as the ships passed to leeward, whereas now we were to windward. As we still kept on toward the island, six or seven of the canoes, all double ones, soon came near us. There were from three to six men in each of them. They stopped at the distance of about a stone's throw from the ship, and it was some time before Omai could prevail upon them to come alongside; but no entreaties could induce any of them to venture on board. Indeed, their disorderly and clamorous behaviour by no means indicated a disposition to trust us, or treat us well. We afterward learned that they had attempted to take some oars out of the Discovery's boat that lay alongside, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away, with a shell, a net with meat which hung over that ship's stern, and absolutely refused to restore it, though we afterwards purchased it from them. Those who were about our ship behaved in the same daring manner; for they made a sort of hook of a long stick, with which they endeavoured openly to rob us of several things; and at last actually got a frock belonging to one of our people, that was towing overboard. At the same time, they immediately showed a knowledge of bartering, and sold some fish they had (amongst which was an extraordinary flounder, spotted like porphyry, and a cream-coloured eel, spotted with black), for small nails, of which they were immoderately fond, and called them "goore." But, indeed, they caught, with the greatest avidity, bits of paper or anything else that was thrown to them; and if what was thrown fell into the sea they made no scruple to swim after it. These people seemed to differ as much in person as in disposition from the natives of Wateeoo, though the distance between the two islands is not very great. Their colour was of a deeper cast; and several had a fierce, rugged aspect resembling the natives of New Zealand; but some were fairer. They had strong black hair, which in general they wore either hanging loose about the shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. Some, however, had it cropped pretty short; and in two or three of them it was of a brown or reddish colour. Their only covering was a narrow piece of mat, wrapt several times round the lower part of the body, and which passed between the thighs; but a fine cap of red feathers was seen lying in one of the canoes. The shell of a pearl oyster polished, and hung about the neck, was the only ornamental fashion that we observed amongst them; for not one of them had adopted that mode of ornament, so generally prevalent amongst the natives of this ocean, of puncturing or tattooing their bodies.

[Lieutenant King was sent, with two armed boats, to search for a suitable anchoring-ground or landing-place; but he returned with a completely unfavourable report, and further stated, that decided manifestations of hostility had been made by the natives. Captain Cook, therefore, thought it prudent to run no risks for the uncertain chance of finding the grass and water of which the ships were in need.]

Being thus disappointed at all the islands we had met with since our leaving New Zealand, and the unfavourable winds and other unforeseen circumstances having unavoidably retarded our progress so much, it was now impossible to think of doing anything this year in the high latitudes of the northern hemisphere, from which we were still at so great a distance, though the season for our operations there was already begun. In this situation it was absolutely necessary to pursue such measures as were most likely to preserve the cattle we had on board, in the first place; and, in the next place (which was still a more capital object), to save the stores and provisions of the ships that we might be better enabled to prosecute our northern discoveries, which could not now commence till a year later

than was originally intended. If I had been so fortunate as to have procured a supply of water and of grass at any of the islands we had lately visited, it was my purpose to have stood back to the south till I had met with a westerly wind. But the certain consequence of doing this without such a supply would have been the loss of all the cattle before we could possibly reach Otaheite, without gaining any one advantage with regard to the great object of our voyage. I therefore determined to bear away for the Friendly Islands, where I was sure of meeting with abundance of everything I wanted; and it being necessary to run in the night as well as in the day, I ordered Captain Clerke to keep about a league ahead of the Resolution. I used this precaution, because his ship could best claw off the land, and it was very possible we might fall in with some in our passage.

At daybreak in the morning of the 13th, we saw Palmerston Island, bearing W. by S., distant about five leagues. However, we did not get up with it till 8 o'clock the next morning. I then sent four boats, three from the Resolution and one from the Discovery, with an officer in each, to search the coast for the most convenient landing-place. For now we were under an absolute necessity of procuring from this island some food for the cattle, otherwise we must have lost them. What is comprehended under the name of Palmerston's Island is a group of small islets, of which there are, in the whole, nine or ten, lying in a circular direction, and connected together by a reef of coral rocks. The boats first examined the south-easternmost of the islets which compose this group; and, failing there, ran down to the second, where we had the satisfaction to see them land. I then bore down with the ships till abreast of the place, and there we kept standing off and on. For no bottom was to be found to anchor upon, which was not of much consequence, as the party who had landed from our boats were the only human beings upon the island. There were no traces of inhabitants having ever been here, if we except a small piece of a canoe that was found upon the beach, which probably may have drifted from some other island. But, what is pretty extraordinary, we saw several small brown rats on this spot, a circumstance, perhaps, difficult to account for, unless we allow that they were imported in the canoe of which we saw the remains. After the boats were laden, I returned on board, leaving Mr Gore with a party to pass the night on shore, in order to be ready to go to work early the next morning.

[The next three days were spent in provisioning the ships from this and other islets of the group, where cocoa-trees and vegetation suitable for feeding the cattle abounded, but where water was not to be found—the islets being merely the heads or summits of coral rock. Twelve hundred cocoa-nuts were shipped and equally divided among the whole crew, while the fish and birds, which were caught in abundance, afforded a salutary and welcome relief from the monotony of ship-fare.]

After leaving Palmerston's Island I steered W. with a view to make the best of my way to Annamooka. We still continued to have variable winds, frequently between the N. and W., with squalls, some thunder, and much rain. During these showers, which were generally very copious, we saved a considerable quantity of water; and finding that we could get a greater supply by the rain in one hour than we could get by distillation in a month, I laid aside the still as a thing attended with more trouble than profit. The heat, which had been great for about a month, became now much more disagreeable in this close rainy weather; and, from the moisture attending it, threatened soon to be noxious, as the ships could not be kept dry, nor the scuttles open, for the sea. However, it is remarkable enough that though the only refreshment we had received since leaving the Cape of Good Hope was that at New Zealand, there was not as yet a single person on board

sick, from the constant use of salt food or vicissitude of climate.

[Savage Island, which Cook had discovered in 1774, was passed in the night between the 24th and 25th of April; on the 28th, in the afternoon, Annamooka was sighted; but as night drew on, and the weather was squally and rainy, anchor was cast two leagues from the neighbouring isle of Komango.]

CHAPTER IV.

Soon after we had anchored, two canoes, the one with four and the other with three men, paddled toward us, and came alongside without the least hesitation. They brought some cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sugar-cane, which they bartered with us for nails. One of the men came on board; and when these canoes had left us, another visited us, but did not stay long, as night was approaching. Komango, the island nearest to us, was at least five miles off, which shows the hazard these people would run in order to possess a few of our most trifling articles. Besides this supply from the shore, we caught this evening, with hooks and lines, a considerable quantity of fish. Next morning at 4 o'clock I sent Lieutenant King with two boats to Komango to procure refreshments, and at five made the signal to weigh, in order to ply up to Annamooka, the wind being unfavourable at NW.

It was no sooner daylight than we were visited by six or seven canoes from different islands, bringing with them, besides fruits and roots, two pigs, several fowls, some large wood-pigeons, small rails, and large violet-coloured coots. All these they exchanged with us for beads, nails, hatchets, &c. They had also other articles of commerce; such as pieces of their cloth, fish-hooks, small baskets, musical reeds, and some clubs, spears, and bows. But I ordered that no curiosities should be purchased till the ships *should* be supplied with provisions, and leave given for that purpose. Knowing, also, from experience, that if all our people might trade with the natives according to their own caprice, perpetual quarrels would ensue, I ordered that particular persons should manage the traffic both on board and on shore, prohibiting all others to interfere. Before mid-day Mr King's boat returned with seven hogs, some fowls, a quantity of fruit and roots for ourselves, and some grass for the cattle. His party was very civilly treated at Komango. The inhabitants did not seem to be numerous; and their huts, which stood close to each other, within a plantain walk, were but indifferent. Not far from them was a pretty large pond of fresh water, tolerably good; but there was not any appearance of a stream. With Mr King came on board the chief of the island, named Tooboulangee, and another whose name was Taipa. They brought with them a hog as a present to me, and promised more the next day.

As soon as the boats were aboard, I stood for Annamooka; and the wind being scant, I intended to go between Annamooka-ette,[1] and the breakers to the SE. of it. But, on drawing near, we met with very irregular soundings, varying, every cast, ten or twelve fathoms. This obliged me to give up the design, and to go to the southward of all; which carried us to leeward, and made it necessary to spend the night under sail. It was very dark, and we had the wind from every direction, accompanied with heavy showers of rain. So that, at daylight the next morning, we found ourselves much farther off than we had been the evening before; and the little wind that now blew was right in our teeth.

We continued to ply all day to very little purpose, and in the evening anchored. Tooboulangee and Taipa kept their promise, and brought off to me some hogs. Several others were also procured by bartering from different canoes that followed us, and

[1] That is, Little Annamooka.

as much fruit as we could well manage. It was remarkable that during the whole day our visitors from the islands would hardly part with any of their commodities to anybody but me. Captain Clerke did not get above one or two hogs.

At 4 o'clock next morning I ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and sent the master to sound the SW. side of Annamooka. In the meantime the ships were got under sail, and wrought up to the island. When the master returned, he reported that he had sounded between Great and Little Annamooka, where he found ten and twelve fathoms' depth of water, the bottom coral sand; that the place was very well sheltered from all winds; but that there was no fresh water to be found, except at some distance inland, and even there little of it was to be got, and that little not good. For this reason only, and it was a very sufficient one, I determined to anchor on the north side of the island, where, during my last voyage, I had found a place fit both for watering and landing. It was not above a league distant, and yet we did not reach it till 5 o'clock in the afternoon, being considerably retarded by the great number of canoes that continually crowded round the ships, bringing to us abundant supplies of the produce of their island. Amongst these canoes there were some double ones, with a large sail, that carried between forty and fifty men each. These sailed round us, apparently with the same ease as if we had been at anchor. There were several women in the canoes, who were, perhaps, incited by curiosity to visit us; though, at the same time, they bartered as eagerly as the men, and used the paddle with equal labour and dexterity. I came to an anchor in eighteen fathoms water, the bottom coarse coral sand; the island extending from E. to SW., and the W. point of the westernmost cove SE., about three-quarters of a mile distant. Thus I resumed the very same station which I had occupied when I visited Annamooka three years before; and, probably, almost in the same place where Tasman, the first discoverer of this and some of the neighbouring islands, anchored in 1643.[1]

Finding that we had quite exhausted the island of almost every article of food that it afforded, I employed the 11th in moving off from the shore the horses, observatories, and other things that we had landed, as also the party of marines who had mounted guard at our station, intending to sail as soon as the Discovery should have recovered her best bower anchor. The 12th and the 13th were spent in attempting the recovery of Captain Clerke's anchor, which, after much trouble, was happily accomplished; and on the 14th, in the morning, we got under sail and left Annamooka.

To the north and north-east of Annamooka, and in the direct tract to Hapaee, whither we were now bound, the sea is sprinkled with a great number of small isles. Amidst the shoals and rocks adjoining to this group, I could not be assured that there was a free or safe passage for such large ships as ours; though the natives sailed through the intervals in their canoes. For this substantial reason, when we weighed anchor from Annamooka I thought it necessary to go to the westward of the above islands, and steered NNW. toward Kao and Toofoa, the two most westerly islands in sight, and remarkable for their great height. Feenou and his attendants remained on board the Resolution till near noon, when he went into the large sailing canoe which had brought him from Tongataboo, and stood in amongst the clus-

[1] Captain Cook, accompanied by Captain Clerke, went ashore here to fix a place for their observatories, when Loobu, the chief of the island, showed them every attention and civility. On the 6th they were visited by a chief from Tongataboo, whose name was Feenou, who was fond of associating with them, and who often dined on board.

ter of islands above mentioned, of which we were now almost abreast; and a tide or current from the westward had set us, since our sailing in the morning, much over toward them. They lie scattered at unequal distances, and are, in general, nearly as high as Annamooka; but only from two or three miles to half-a-mile in length, and some of them scarcely so much. They have either steep rocky shores, like Annamooka, or reddish cliffs; but some have sandy beaches extending almost their whole length. Most of them are entirely clothed with trees, amongst which are many cocoa-palms; and each forms a prospect like a beautiful garden placed in the sea. To heighten this, the serene weather we now had contributed very much; and the whole might supply the imagination with an idea of some fairy-land realised.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, being the length of Kotoo, the westernmost of the above cluster of small islands, we steered to the north, leaving Toofoa and Kao on our larboard, keeping along the west side of a reef of rocks which lie to the westward of Kotoo, till we came to their northern extremity, round which we hauled in for the island. It was our intention to have anchored for the night; but it came upon us before we could find a place in less than fifty-five fathoms water; and rather than come to in this depth I chose to spend the night under sail. We had in the afternoon been within two leagues of Toofoa, the smoke of which we saw several times in the day. The Friendly Islanders have some superstitious notions about the volcano upon it, which they call "Kollofeea," and say it is an "Otooa," or divinity. According to their account, it sometimes throws up very large stones; and they compare the crater to the size of a small islet, which has never ceased smoking in their memory; nor have they any tradition that it ever did. We sometimes saw the smoke rising from the centre of the island, while we were at Annamooka, though at the distance of at least ten leagues. Toofoa, we were told, is but thinly inhabited, but the water upon it is good.

At day-break the next morning, being then not far from Kao, which is a vast rock of a conic figure, we steered to the east, for the passage between the islands Footooha and Hafaiva, with a gentle breeze at SE. About 10 o'clock Feenou came on board, and remained with us all day. He brought with him two hogs and a quantity of fruit; and, in the course of the day, several canoes, from the different islands round us, came to barter quantities of the latter article, which was very acceptable, as our stock was nearly expended. After passing Footooha, we met with a reef of rocks; and, as there was but little wind, it cost us some trouble to keep clear of them. This reef lies between Footooha and Neeneeva, which is a small low isle, in the direction of ENE. from Footooha, at the distance of seven or eight miles. Being past the reef of rocks just mentioned, we hauled up for Neeneeva, in hopes of finding anchorage; but were again disappointed, and obliged to spend the night, making short boards.[1] For, although we had land in every direction, the sea was unfathomable. In the course of this night we could plainly see flames issuing from the volcano upon Toofoa, though to no great height.

At daybreak in the morning of the 16th, with a gentle breeze at SE., we steered NE. for Hapaee, which was now in sight; and we could judge it to be low land, from the trees only appearing above the water. About 9 o'clock we could see it plainly, forming three islands, nearly of an equal size; and soon after, a fourth to the southward of these, as large as the others. Each seemed to be about six or seven miles long, and of a similar height and appearance. The northernmost of them is called Haanno, the next Foa, the third Lefooga, and the southernmost Hoolaiva; but all four are included by

[1] Tacks.

the natives under the general name Hapaee.

The wind scanting upon us, we could not fetch the land; so that we were forced to ply to windward. In doing this, we once passed over some coral rocks on which we had only six fathoms water; but the moment we were over them, found no ground with eighty fathoms of line. We got up with the northernmost of these isles by sunset; and there found ourselves in the very same distress, for want of anchorage, that we had experienced the two preceding evenings; so that we had another night to spend under sail, with land and breakers in every direction. Towards the evening Feenou, who had been on board all day, went forward to Hapaee, and took Omai in the canoe with him. He did not forget our disagreeable situation, and kept up a good fire all night by way of a land-mark. As soon as the daylight returned, being then close in with Foa, we saw it was joined to Haanno by a reef running even with the surface of the sea from the one island to the other. I now despatched a boat to look for anchorage. A proper place was soon found, and we came to abreast of a reef, being that which joins Lefooga to Foa (in the same manner that Foa is joined to Haanno), having twenty-four fathoms' depth of water. We lay before a creek in the reef, which made it convenient landing at all times; and we were not above three-quarters of a mile from the shore.

CHAPTER V.

BY the time we had anchored, the ships were filled with the natives, and surrounded by a multitude of canoes filled also with them. They brought from the shore hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots, which they exchanged for hatchets, knives, nails, beads, and cloth. Feenou and Omai having come on board, after it was light, in order to introduce me to the people of the island, I soon accompanied them on shore for that purpose, landing at the north part of Lefooga, a little to the right of the ships' station.

The chief conducted me to a house, or rather a hut, situated close to the sea-beach, which I had seen brought thither but a few minutes before for our reception. In this Feenou, Omai, and myself, were seated. The other chiefs and the multitude composed a circle on the outside, fronting us, and they also sat down. I was then asked, "How long I intended to stay?" On my saying, "Five days," Taipa was ordered to come and sit by me, and proclaim this to the people. He then harangued them, in a speech mostly dictated by Feenou. The purport of it, as I learned from Omai, was that they were all, both old and young, to look upon me as a friend, who intended to remain with them a few days; that, during my stay, they must not steal anything, nor molest me any other way; and that it was expected they should bring hogs, fowls, fruit, &c., to the ships, where they would receive in exchange for them such and such things which he enumerated. Soon after Taipa had finished this address to the assembly, Feenou left us. Taipa then took occasion to signify to me, that it was necessary I should make a present to the chief of the island, whose name was Earoupa. I was not unprepared for this; and gave him such articles as far exceeded his expectation. My liberality to him brought upon me demands of the same kind from two chiefs of other isles who were present and from Taipa himself. When Feenou returned, which was immediately after I had made the last of these presents, he pretended to be angry with Taipa for suffering me to give away so much; but I looked upon this as a mere *finesse*, being confident that he acted in concert with the others. He now took his seat again and ordered Earoupa to sit by him and to harangue the people as Taipa had done, and to the same purpose; dictating as before, the heads of the speech.

These ceremonies being performed, the chief, at my request, conducted me to three stagnant pools of fresh water, as he was pleased to call it; and, indeed, in one of these the water was tolerable, and the situation not inconvenient for filling our casks. After viewing the watering-place, we returned to our former station, where I found a baked hog and some yams, smoking hot, ready to be carried on board for my dinner. I invited Feenou and his friends to partake of it, and we embarked for the ship; but none but himself sat down with us at the table. After dinner I conducted them on shore; and before I returned on board, the chief gave me a fine large turtle and a quantity of yams. Our supply of provisions was copious, for in the course of the day we got, by barter alongside the ship, about twenty small hogs, besides fruit and roots. I was told that on my first landing in the morning, a man came off to the ships, and ordered every one of the natives to go on shore. Probably, this was done with a view to have the whole body of inhabitants present at the ceremony of my reception; for when that was over, multitudes of them returned again to the ships.

Next morning early, Feenou and Omai, who scarcely ever quitted the chief, and now slept on shore, came on board. The object of the visit was to require my presence upon the island. After some time I accompanied them, and, upon landing, was conducted to the same place where I had been seated the day before, where I saw a large concourse of people already assembled. I guessed that something more than ordinary was in agitation, but could not tell what, nor could Omai inform me. I had not been long seated, before near a hundred of the natives appeared in sight, and advanced, laden with yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes. They deposited their burdens in two heaps, or piles, upon our left, being the side they came from. Soon after arrived a number of others from the right, bearing the same kind of articles; which were collected into two piles upon that side. To these were tied two pigs and six fowls; and to those upon the left, six pigs and two turtles. Earoupa seated himself before the several articles upon the left, and another chief before those upon the right; they being, as I judged, the two chiefs who had collected them by order of Feenou, who seemed to be as implicitly obeyed here as he had been at Annamooka, and, in consequence of his commanding superiority over the chiefs of Hapaee, had laid this tax upon them for the present occasion.

As soon as this munificent collection of provisions was laid down in order, and disposed to the best advantage, the bearers of it joined the multitude, who formed a large circle round the whole. Presently after, a number of men entered this circle, or area, before us, armed with clubs made of the green branches of the cocoa-nut tree. These paraded about for a few minutes, and then retired, the one half to one side, and the other half to the other side; seating themselves before the spectators. Soon after, they successively entered the lists, and entertained us with single combats. One champion, rising up and stepping forward from one side, challenged those of the other side, by expressive gestures more than by words, to send one of their body to oppose him. If the challenge was accepted, which was generally the case, the combatants put themselves in proper attitudes, and then began the engagement, which continued till one or other owned himself conquered, or till their weapons were broken. As soon as each combat was over, the victor squatted himself down facing the chief, then rose up and retired. At the same time, some old men, who seemed to sit as judges, gave their plaudit in a few words, and the multitude, especially those on the side to which the victor belonged, celebrated the glory he had acquired, in two or three huzzas.

This entertainment was, now and then, suspended for a few minutes. During these intervals there were both wrestling and boxing matches. The first were performed in the same manner as at Otaheite; and the second differed very little from the method practised in England. But what struck us with most surprise was to see a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men. This contest, however, did not last above half-a-minute before one of them gave it up. The conquering heroine received the same applause from the spectators which they bestowed upon the successful combatants of the other sex. We expressed some dislike at this part of the entertainment; which, however, did not prevent two other females from entering the lists. They seemed to be girls of spirit, and would certainly have given each other a good drubbing, if two old women had not interfered to part them. All these combats were exhibited in the midst of at least 3000 people, and were conducted with the greatest good humour on all sides; though some of the champions, women as well as men, received blows which, doubtless, they must have felt for some time after.

As soon as these diversions were ended, the chief told me that the heaps of provisions on our right hand were a present to Omai; and that those on our left hand, being about two-thirds of the whole quantity, were given to me. He added, that I might take them on board whenever it was convenient; but that there would be no occasion to set any of our people as guards over them, as I might be assured that not a single cocoa-nut would be taken away by the natives. So it proved; for I left everything behind, and returned to the ship to dinner, carrying the chief with me; and when the provisions were removed on board in the afternoon, not a single article was missing. There was as much as loaded four boats; and I could not but be struck with the munificence of Feenou, for this present far exceeded any I had ever received from any of the sovereigns of the various islands I had visited in the Pacific Ocean. I lost no time in convincing my friend that I was not insensible of his liberality; for, before he quitted my ship, I bestowed upon him such of our commodities as I guessed were most valuable in his estimation. And the return I made was so much to his satisfaction that, as soon as he got on shore, he left me still indebted to him by sending me a fresh present, consisting of two large hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and some yams.

Feenou had expressed a desire to see the marines go through their military exercise. As I was desirous to gratify his curiosity, I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the morning of the 20th. After they had performed various evolutions, and fired several volleys, with which the numerous body of spectators seemed well pleased, the chief entertained us in his turn with an exhibition which, as was acknowledged by us all, was performed with a dexterity and exactness far surpassing the specimen we had given of our military manœuvres. It was a kind of a dance so entirely different from anything I had ever seen, that I fear I can give no description that will convey any tolerable idea of it, to my readers. It was performed by men; and 105 persons bore their parts in it. Each of them had in his hand an instrument neatly made, shaped somewhat like a paddle, of two feet and a half in length, with a small handle and a thin blade; so that they were very light. With these instruments they made many and various flourishes, each of which was accompanied with a different attitude of the body or a different movement. At first the performers ranged themselves in three lines; and, by various evolutions, each man changed his station in such a manner that those who had been in the rear came into the front. Nor did they remain long in the same position; but these

changes were made by pretty quick transitions. At one time they extended themselves in one line; they then formed into a semicircle; and, lastly, into two square columns. While this last movement was executing, one of them advanced, and performed an antic dance before me; with which the whole ended.

The musical instruments consisted of two drums, or rather two hollow logs of wood, from which some varied notes were produced by beating on them with two sticks. It did not, however, appear to me that the dancers were much assisted or directed by these sounds, but by a chorus of vocal music, in which all the performers joined at the same time. Their song was not destitute of pleasing melody; and all their corresponding motions were executed with so much skill, that the numerous body of dancers seemed to act as if they were one great machine. It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance would have met with universal applause on a European theatre; and it so far exceeded any attempt we had made to entertain them, that they seemed to pique themselves upon the superiority they had over us. As to our musical instruments, they held none of them in the least esteem, except the drum; and even that they did not think equal to their own. Our French horns, in particular, seemed to be held in great contempt; for neither here, nor at any other of the islands, would they pay the smallest attention to them.

In order to give them a more favourable opinion of English amusements, and to leave their minds fully impressed with the deepest sense of our superior attainments, I directed some fireworks to be got ready; and, after it was dark, played them off in the presence of Feenou, the other chiefs, and a vast concourse of their people. Some of the preparations we found damaged; but others of them were in excellent order, and succeeded so perfectly as to answer the end I had *in view*. Our water and sky rockets, in particular, pleased and astonished them beyond all conception; and the scale was now turned in our favour. This, however, seemed only to furnish them with an additional motive to proceed to fresh exertions of their very singular dexterity; and our fireworks were no sooner ended, than a succession of dances, which Feenou had got ready for our entertainment, began. As[1] a prelude to them, a band of music, or chorus of eighteen men, seated themselves before us, in the centre of the circle composed by the numerous spectators, the area of which was to be the scene of the exhibitions. Four or five of this band had pieces of large bamboo, from three to five or six feet long, each managed by one man, who held it nearly in a vertical position, the upper end open but the other end closed by one of the joints. With this close end, the performers kept constantly striking the ground, though slowly, thus producing different notes, according to the different lengths of the instruments, but all of them of the hollow or bass sort; to counteract which, a person kept striking quickly with two sticks a piece of the same substance, split, and laid along the ground, and by that means furnishing a tone as acute as those produced by the others were grave. The rest of the band, as well as those who performed upon the bamboos, sung a slow and soft air, which so tempered the harsher notes of the above instruments, that no bystander, however accustomed to hear the most perfect and varied modulation of sweet sounds, could avoid confessing the vast power and pleasing effect of this simple harmony.

The concert having continued about a quarter of an hour, twenty women entered the circle. Most of them had upon their heads garlands of the crimson flowers of the China rose, or others; and many of them had ornamented their

[1] Mr Anderson's account of the night dances, being much fuller than Captain Cook's, was adopted by the editor of the original edition.

persons with leaves of trees, cut with a great deal of nicety about the edges. They made a circle round the chorus turning their faces toward it, and began by singing a soft air, to which responses were made by the chorus in the same tone; and these were repeated alternately. All this while, the women accompanied their song with several very graceful motions of their hands toward their faces, and in other directions at the same time, making constantly a step forward, and then back again, with one foot, while the other was fixed. They then turned their faces to the assembly, sung some time, and retreated slowly in a body to that part of the circle which was opposite the hut where the principal spectators sat. After this, one of them advanced from each side, meeting and passing each other in the front, and continuing their progress round, till they came to the rest. On which, two advanced from each side, two of whom also passed each other, and returned as the former; but the other two remained; and to these came one, from each side, by intervals, till the whole number had again formed a circle about the chorus. Their manner of dancing was now changed to a quicker measure, in which they made a kind of half turn by leaping, and clapped their hands, and snapped their fingers, repeating some words in conjunction with the chorus. Towards the end, as the quickness of the music increased, their gestures and attitudes were varied with wonderful vigour and dexterity; and some of their motions, perhaps, would with us be reckoned rather indecent. Though this part of the performance, most probably, was not meant to convey any wanton ideas, but merely to display the astonishing variety of their movements.

To this grand female ballet succeeded one performed by fifteen men. Some of them were old; but their age seemed to have abated little of their agility or ardour for the dance. They were disposed in a sort of circle, divided at the front, with their faces not turned out toward the assembly, nor inward to the chorus; but one half of their circle faced forward as they had advanced, and the other half in a contrary direction. They sometimes sung slowly in concert with the chorus; and while thus employed, they also made several very fine motions with their hands, but different from those made by the women, at the same time inclining the body to either side alternately, by raising one leg, which was stretched outward, and resting on the other; the arm of the same side being also stretched fully upward. At other times, they recited sentences in a musical tone, which were answered by the chorus; and at intervals increased the measure of the dance, by clapping the hands, and quickening the motions of the feet, which, however, were never varied. At the end, the rapidity of the music and of the dancing increased so much, that it was scarcely possible to distinguish the different movements; though one might suppose the actors were now almost tired, as their performance had lasted near half-an-hour.

After a considerable interval, another act, as we may call it, began. Twelve men now advanced, who placed themselves in double rows fronting each other, but on opposite sides of the circle; and on one side a man was stationed, who, as if he had been a prompter, repeated several sentences, to which the twelve new performers and the chorus replied. They then sung slowly, and afterwards danced and sung more quickly, for about a quarter of an hour, after the manner of the dancers whom they had succeeded. Soon after they had finished, nine women exhibited themselves, and sat down fronting the hut where the chief was. A man then rose, and struck the first of these women on the back with both fists joined. He proceeded, in the same manner, to the second and third; but when he came to the fourth, whether from accident or design I cannot tell, instead of the back, he struck her on the breast. Upon this, a person rose instantly from the crowd, who brought him to the ground with a blow on the head; and he was carried

off without the least noise or disorder. But this did not save the other five women from so odd a discipline, or perhaps necessary ceremony; for a person succeeded him, who treated them in the same manner. Their disgrace did not end here; for when they danced, they had the mortification to find their performance twice disapproved of, and were obliged to repeat it. This dance did not differ much from that of the first women, except in this one circumstance, that the present set sometimes raised the body upon one leg, by a sort of double motion, and then upon the other alternately, in which attitude they kept snapping their fingers; and at the end they repeated with great agility the brisk movements in which the former group of female dancers had shown themselves so expert.

In a little time, a person entered unexpectedly, and said something in a ludicrous way about the fireworks that had been exhibited, which extorted a burst of laughter from the multitude. After this, we had a dance composed of the men who attended or had followed Feenou. They formed a double circle (*i.e.*, one within another) of twenty-four each, round the chorus, and began a gentle soothing song, with corresponding motions of the hands and head. This lasted a considerable time, and then changed to a much quicker measure, during which they repeated sentences, either in conjunction with the chorus, or in answer to some spoken by that band. They then retreated to the back part of the circle, as the women had done, and again advanced, on each side, in a triple row, till they formed a semicircle, which was done very slowly, by inclining the body on one leg, and advancing the other a little way, as they put it down. They accompanied this with such a soft air as they had sung at the beginning; but soon changed it to repeat sentences in a harsher tone, at the same time quickening the dance very much, till they finished with a general shout and clap of the hands. The same was repeated several times; but, at last, they formed a double circle as at the beginning danced, and repeated very quickly and finally closed with several very dexterous transpositions of the two circles.

The entertainments of this memorable night concluded with a dance, in which the principal people present exhibited. It resembled the immediately preceding one in some respects having the same number of performers who began nearly in the same way but their ending at each interval was different. For they increased their motions to a prodigious quickness shaking their heads from shoulder to shoulder with such force, that a spectator, unaccustomed to the sight, would suppose that they ran a risk of dislocating their necks. This was attended with a smart clapping of the hands and a kind of savage "Holla!" or shriek, not unlike what is sometimes practised in the comic dances on our European theatres. They formed the triple semicircle, as the preceding dancers had done; and a person, who advanced at the head on one side of the semicircle, began by repeating something in a truly musical recitative, which was delivered with an air so graceful as might put to the blush our most applauded performers. He was answered in the same manner by the person at the head of the opposite party. This being repeated several times, the whole body on one side joined in the responses to the whole corresponding body on the opposite side, as the semicircle advanced to the front; and they finished by singing and dancing as they had begun.

These two last dances were performed with so much spirit, and so great exactness, that they met with universal approbation. The native spectators, who, no doubt, were perfect judges whether the several performances were properly executed, could not withhold their applauses at some particular parts; and even a stranger, who never saw the diversion before, felt similar satisfaction at the same instant. For though, through the whole, the most strict concert was observed, some of the gestures were

so expressive, that it might be said they spoke the language that accompanied them; if we allow that there is any connection between motion and sound. At the same time, it should be observed that though the music of the chorus and that of the dancers corresponded, constant practice in these favourite amusements of our friends seems to have a great share in effecting the exact time they keep in their performances. For we observed, that if any of them happened accidentally to be interrupted, they never found the smallest difficulty in recovering the proper place of the dance or song. And their perfect discipline was in no instance more remarkable than in the sudden transitions they so dexterously made from the ruder exertions, and harsh sounds, to the softest arts and gentlest movements.

The place where the dances were performed was an open space amongst the trees, just by the sea, with lights at small intervals placed round the inside of the circle. The concourse of people was pretty large, though not equal to the number assembled in the forenoon when the marines exercised. At that time, some of our gentlemen guessed there might be present about 5000 persons; others thought there were more; but they who reckoned that there were fewer probably came nearer to the truth.

CHAPTER VI.

CURIOSITY on both sides being now sufficiently gratified by the exhibition of the various entertainments I have described, I began to have time to look about me. Accordingly, next day [May 21st], I took a walk into the Island of Lefooga, of which I was desirous to obtain some knowledge. I found it to be in some respects superior to Annamooka. The plantations were both more numerous and more extensive. In many places, indeed, towards the sea, especially on the east side, the country is still waste, owing perhaps to the sandy soil; as it is much lower than Annamooka and its surrounding isles. But towards the middle of the island the soil is better, and the marks of considerable population and of improved cultivation were very conspicuous. For we met here with very large plantations, enclosed in such a manner, that the fences running parallel to each other, form fine spacious public roads, that would appear ornamental in countries where rural conveniences have been carried to the greatest perfection. We observed large spots covered with the paper mulberry-trees; and the plantations in general were well stocked with such roots and fruits as are the natural produce of the island. To these I made some addition, by sowing the seeds of Indian corn, melons, pumpkins, and the like. At one place was a house, four or five times as large as those of the common sort, with a large area of grass before it; and I take it for granted the people resort thither on certain public occasions. Near the landing-place we saw a mount, two or three feet high, covered with gravel; and on it stood four or five small huts, in which, the natives told us, the bodies of some of their principal people had been interred.

In my walk on the 25th I happened to step into a house where a woman was dressing the eyes of a young child, who seemed blind; the eyes being much inflamed, and a thin film spread over them. The instruments she used were two slender wooden probes, with which she had brushed the eyes so as to make them bleed. It seems worth mentioning, that the natives of these islands should attempt an operation of this sort; though I entered the house too late to describe exactly how this female oculist employed the wretched tools she had to work with. I was fortunate enough to see a different operation going on in the same house, of which I can give a tolerable account. I found there another woman shaving a child's head with a shark's tooth stuck into the end of a piece of stick. I observed that she first wet the hair with a rag dipped in water,

beards. The operation is performed with two shells; one of which they place under a small part of the beard, and with the other, applied above, they scrape that part off. In this manner they are able to shave very close. The process is, indeed, rather tedious, but not painful; and there are men amongst them who seem to profess this trade. It was as common, while we were here, to see our sailors go ashore to have their beards scraped off, after the fashion of Hapaee, as it was to see their chiefs come on board to be shaved by our barbers.

Finding that little or nothing of the produce of the island was now brought to the ships, I resolved to change our station, and to await Feenou's return from Vavaoo in some other convenient anchoring-place, where refreshments might still be met with. Accordingly, in the forenoon of the 26th we got under sail, and stood to the southward along the reef of the island. At half-past two in the afternoon, I hauled into a bay that lies between the south end of Lefooga and the north end of Hoolaiva, and there anchored in seventeen fathoms water. The Discovery did not get to an anchor till sunset. She had touched upon one of the shoals, but backed off again without

boat
befor
wind
it un
way t
with
made
turn,
master
boat,
the ch
allowin
to the
day.[1]

At da
with a fi
to the
turn to
had alre
followed
one of wh
as he got
inquired
who had
It now a
without
in a very
as brough
yet they
years of

[1] Whil

reconciled to their making a longer stay; for on quitting us he left his brother and five of his attendants on board. We had also the company of a chief, just then arrived from Tongataboo, whose name was Tooboueitoa. The moment he arrived he sent his canoe away, and declared that he and five more who came with him would sleep on board; so that I had now my cabin filled with visitors. This, indeed, was some inconvenience; but I bore with it more willingly, as they brought plenty of provisions with them as presents to me; for which they always had suitable returns. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon the easterly wind was succeeded by a fresh breeze at SSE. Our course now being SSW., or more southerly, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did but just fetch the north side of Footooha by 8 o'clock, where we spent the night, making short boards. The next morning we plied up to Lofanga, where, according to the information of our friends, there was anchorage. It was 1 o'clock in the afternoon before we got soundings, under the lee or northwest side, in forty fathoms water, near half-a-mile from the shore; but the bank was steep and the bottom rocky, and a chain of breakers lay to leeward. All these circumstances being against us, I stretched away for Kotoo, with the expectation of finding better anchoring ground under that island. But so much time had been spent in plying up to Lofanga, that it was dark before we reached the other; and, finding no place to anchor in, the night was spent as the preceding one.

At daybreak on the 31st, I stood for the channel which is between Kotoo and the reef of rocks that lies to the westward of it; but on drawing near I found the wind too scant to lead us through. I therefore bore up on the outside of the reef, and stretched to the SW. till near noon, when, perceiving that we made no progress to windward, and being apprehensive of losing the islands with so many of the natives on board, I tacked and stood back, intending to wait till some more favourable opportunity. We did but just fetch in with Footooha, between which and Kotoo we spent the night under reefed topsails and foresail. The wind blew fresh, and by squalls, with rain; and we were not without apprehensions of danger. I kept the deck till midnight, when I left it to the master, with such directions as I thought would keep the ships clear of the shoals and rocks that lay round us. But after making a trip to the north, and standing back again to the south, our ship, by a small shift of the wind, fetched farther to the windward than was expected. By this means she was very near running full upon a low sandy isle, called Pootoo Pootoos, surrounded with breakers. It happened very fortunately that the people had just been ordered upon the deck, to put the ship about, and the most of them were at their stations, so that the necessary movements were not only executed with judgment, but also with alertness, and this alone saved us from destruction. The Discovery, being astern, was out of danger. Such hazardous situations are the unavoidable companions of the man who goes upon a voyage of discovery.

This circumstance frightened our passengers so much, that they expressed a strong desire to get ashore. Accordingly, as soon as daylight returned, I hoisted out a boat, and ordered the officer who commanded her, after landing them at Kotoo, to sound along the reef that spits off from that island, for anchorage. For I was full as much tired as they could be with beating about amongst the surrounding isles and shoals, and determined to get to an anchor somewhere or other if possible. While the boat was absent, we attempted to turn the ships through the channel between the sandy isle and the reef of Kotoo, in expectation of finding a moderate depth of water behind them to anchor in. But meeting with a tide or current against us, we were obliged to desist, and anchor in fifty fathoms water, with the sandy isle bearing E. by N., one mile distant. We lay here till the 4th. While in

this station we were several times visited by the King, by Tooboueitoa, and by people from the neighbouring islands, who came off to trade with us, though the wind blew very fresh most of the time. The master was now sent to sound the channels between the islands that lie to the eastward; and I landed on Kotoo, to examine it, in the forenoon of the 2d [of June]. This island is scarcely accessible by boats, on account of coral reefs that surround it. It is not more than a mile and a half or two miles long, and not so broad. The NW. end of it is low, like the islands of Hapaee; but it rises suddenly in the middle, and terminates in reddish clayey cliffs, at the SE. end, about thirty feet high. The soil in that quarter is of the same sort as in the cliffs; but in the other parts it is a loose, black mould. It produces the same fruits and roots which we found at the other islands, is tolerably cultivated, but thinly inhabited. While I was walking all over it, our people were employed in cutting some grass for the cattle; and we planted some melon seeds, with which the natives seemed much pleased, and enclosed them with branches. On our return to the boat, we passed by two or three ponds of dirty water, which was more or less brackish in each of them; and saw one of their burying-places, which was much neater than those that were met with at Hapaee.

On the 4th, at seven in the morning, we weighed, and, with a fresh gale at ESE., stood away for Annamooka, where we anchored next morning nearly in the same station which we had so lately occupied. I went on shore soon after, and found the inhabitants very busy in their plantations, digging up yams to bring to market; and in the course of the day about 200 of them had assembled on the beach, and traded with as much eagerness as during our late visit. Their stock appeared to have been recruited much, though we had returned so soon; but instead of bread-fruit, which was the only article we *could* purchase on our first arrival, nothing was to be seen now but yams and a few plantains. This shows the quick succession of the seasons, at least of the different vegetables produced here at the several times of the year. It appeared also that they had been very busy while we were absent in cultivating; for we now saw several large plantain fields in places which we had so lately seen lying waste. The yams were now in the greatest perfection; and we procured a good quantity in exchanges for pieces of iron. These people, in the absence of Toobou, whom we left behind us at Kotoo with Poulaho and other chiefs, seemed to be under little subordination. For we could not perceive this day that one man assumed more authority than another. Before I returned on board, I visited the several places where I had sown melon seeds, and had the mortification to find that most of them were destroyed by a small ant; but some pine-apple plants, which I had also left, were in a thriving state.

About noon next day Feenou arrived from Vavaoo. He told us that several canoes, laden with hogs and other provisions, which had sailed with him from that island, had been lost, owing to the late blowing weather; and that everybody on board them had perished. This melancholy tale did not seem to affect any of his countrymen who heard it; and as to ourselves, we were by this time too well acquainted with his character to give much credit to such a story. The truth probably was, that he had not been able to procure at Vavaoo the supplies which he expected, or, if he got any there, that he had left them at Hapaee, which lay in his way back, and where he could not but receive intelligence that Poulaho had been with us, who therefore, he knew, would as his superior have all the merit and reward of procuring them, though he had not any share of the trouble. The invention of this loss at sea was, however, well imagined. For there had lately been very blowing weather, insomuch that the King and other chiefs, who had followed us

from Hapaee to Kotoo, had been left there, not caring to venture to sea when we did; but desired I might wait for them at Annamooka, which was the reason of my anchoring there this second time, and of my not proceeding directly to Tongataboo.

The following morning, Poulaho and the other chiefs who had been windbound with him arrived. I happened, at this time to be ashore in company with Feenou, who now seemed to be sensible of the impropriety of his conduct in assuming a character that did not belong to him. For he not only acknowledged Poulaho to be King of Tongataboo and the other isles, but affected to insist much on it, which no doubt was with a view to make amends for his former presumption. I left him to visit this greater man, whom I found sitting with a few people before him. But, every one hastening to pay court to him, the circle increased pretty fast. I was very desirous of observing Feenou's behaviour on this occasion; and had the most convincing proof of his inferiority, for he placed himself amongst the rest that sat before Poulaho as attendants on his majesty. He seemed at first rather abashed, as some of us were present who had been used to see him act a different part; but he soon recovered himself. Some little conversation passed between these two chiefs, which none of us understood; nor were we satisfied with Omai's interpretation of it. We were, however, by this time sufficiently undeceived as to Feenou's rank. Both he and Poulaho went on board with me to dinner; but only the latter sat at table. Feenou, having made his obeisance in the usual way, saluting his sovereign's foot with his head and hands, retired out of the cabin. The King had before told us that this would happen; and it now appeared that Feenou could not even eat nor drink in his royal presence.

At 8 o'clock next morning we weighed and steered for Tongataboo, having a gentle breeze at NE. About fourteen or fifteen sailing vessels belonging to the natives set out without us; but every one of them outrun the ships considerably. Feenou was to have taken his passage in the Resolution, but preferred his own canoe, and put two men on board to conduct us to the best anchorage. We steered S. by W. by compass. We continued the same course till 2 o'clock next morning, when, seeing some lights ahead, and not knowing whether they were on shore or on board the canoes, we hauled the wind, and made a short trip each way till daybreak. We then resumed our course to the S. by W.; and, presently after, saw several small islands before us, and Eooa and Tongataboo beyond them. We had at this time twenty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of broken coral and sand. The depth gradually decreased as we drew near the isles above mentioned, which lie ranged along the NE. side of Tongataboo. By the direction of our pilots we steered for the middle of it, and for the widest space between the small isles which we were to pass, having our boats ahead employed in sounding. We were, insensibly, drawn upon a large flat, upon which lay innumerable coral rocks, of different depths below the surface of the water. Notwithstanding all our care and attention to keep the ship clear of them, we could not prevent her from striking on one of these rocks. Nor did the Discovery, though behind us, escape any better. Fortunately neither of the ships stuck fast, nor received any damage. We could not get back without increasing the danger, as we had come in almost before the wind. Nor could we cast anchor but with the certainty of having our cables instantly cut in two by the rocks. We had no other resource but to proceed. To this, indeed, we were encouraged, not only by being told, but by seeing, that there was deeper water between us and the shore. However, that we might be better informed, the moment we found a spot where we could drop the anchor clear of rocks, we came to, and sent the masters, with the boats, to sound.

Soon after we had anchored, which was about noon, several of the inhabitants of Tongataboo came off in their canoes to the ships. These, as well as our pilots, assured us that we should find deep water farther in, and a bottom free from rocks. They were not mistaken, for about 4 o'clock the boats made the signal for having found good anchorage. Upon this we weighed and stood in till dark, and then anchored in nine fathoms, having a fine, clear, sandy bottom. During the night we had some showers of rain; but towards the morning the wind shifted to the S. and SE., and brought on fair weather. At daybreak we weighed, and, working in to the shore, met with no obstructions but such as were visible and easily avoided. While we were plying up to the harbour, to which the natives directed us, the King kept sailing round us in his canoe. There were at the same time a great many small canoes about the ships. Two of these, which could not get out of the way of his royal vessel, he run quite over, with as little concern as if they had been bits of wood. Amongst many others who came on board the Resolution was Otago, who had been so useful to me when I visited Tongataboo during my last voyage; and one Toobou, who at that time had attached himself to Captain Furneaux. Each of them brought a hog and some yams as a testimony of his friendship; and I was not wanting on my part in making a suitable return. At length, about two in the afternoon, we arrived at our intended station. It was a very snug place, formed by the shore of Tongataboo on the SE., and two small islands on the E. and NE. Here we anchored in ten fathoms water, over a bottom of oozy sand, distant from the shore one-third of a mile.

CHAPTER VII.

Soon after we had anchored, having *first* dined, I landed, accompanied by Omai and some of the officers. We found the King waiting for us upon the beach. He immediately conducted us to a small neat house, situated a little within the skirts of the woods, with a fine large area before it. This house, he told me, was at my service during our stay at the island, and a better situation we could not wish for.

We had not been long in the house before a pretty large circle of the natives were assembled before us and seated upon the area. A root of the "kava" plant being brought and laid down before the King, he ordered it to be split into pieces and distributed to several people of both sexes, who began the operation of chewing it; and a bowl of their favourite liquor was soon prepared. In the meantime a baked hog, and two baskets of baked yams, were produced, and afterward divided into ten portions. These portions were then given to certain people present, but how many were to share in each I could not tell. One of them, I observed, was bestowed upon the King's brother; and one remained undisposed of, which I judged was for the King himself, as it was a choice bit. The liquor was next served out, but Poulaho seemed to give no directions about it. The first cup was brought to him, which he ordered to be given to one who sat near him. The second was also brought to him, and this he kept. The third was given to me, but their manner of brewing having quenched my thirst, it became Omai's property. The rest of the liquor was distributed to different people by direction of the man who had the management of it. One of the cups being carried to the King's brother, he retired with this and with his mess of victuals. Some others also quitted the circle with their portions; and the reason was, they could neither eat nor drink in the royal presence; but there were others present of a much inferior rank of both sexes, who did both. Soon after, most of them withdrew, carrying with them what they had not eaten of their share of the feast. I

observed that not a fourth part of the company had tasted either the victuals or the drink—those who partook of the former I supposed to be of the King's household. The servants, who distributed the baked meat and the "kava," always delivered it out of their hand sitting, not only to the King, but to every other person. It is worthy of remark, though this was the first time of our landing, and a great many people were present who had never seen us before, yet no one was troublesome; but the greatest good order was preserved throughout the whole assembly.

Before I returned on board I went in search of a watering-place, and was conducted to some ponds, or, rather, holes, containing fresh water, as they were pleased to call it. The contents of one of these, indeed, were tolerable; but it was at some distance inland, and the supply to be got from it was very inconsiderable. Being informed that the little island of Pangimodoo, near which the ships lay, could better furnish this necessary article, I went over to it next morning, and was so fortunate as to find there a small pool that had rather fresher water than any we had met with amongst these islands. The pool being very dirty, I ordered it to be cleaned, and here it was that we watered the ships. As I intended to make some stay at Tongataboo, we pitched a tent in the forenoon just by the house which Poulaho had assigned for our use. The horses, cattle, and sheep, were afterwards landed, and a party of marines, with their officer, stationed there as a guard. The observatory was then set up at a small distance from the other tent, and Mr King resided on shore to attend the observations, and to superintend the several operations necessary to be conducted there; for the sails were carried thither to be repaired; a party was employed in cutting wood for fuel and plank for the use of the ships; and the gunners of both were ordered to remain upon the spot to conduct the traffic with the natives, who thronged from every part of the island with hogs, yams, cocoa-nuts, and other articles of their produce. In a short time our land-post was like a fair, and the ships were so crowded with visitors that we had hardly room to stir upon the decks. [On hearing that there were other great men on the island whom they had not seen, with some little difficulty they were introduced to Mareewagee and old Toobou, whom they entertained for an hour with a performance on two French horns and a drum. This visit old Toobou returned next morning by coming on board ship, when he received a considerable present from Captain Clerke.]

Toward noon [on the 4th] Poulaho returned from the place where we had left him two days before, and brought with him his son, a youth about twelve years of age. I had his company at dinner, but the son, though present, was not allowed to sit down with him. It was very convenient to have him for my guest; for when he was present, which was generally the case while we stayed here, every other native was excluded from the table, and but few of them would remain in the cabin. Whereas, if by chance it happened that neither he nor Feenou was on board, the inferior chiefs would be very importunate to be of our dining party, or to be admitted into the cabin at that time; and then we were so crowded that we could not sit down to a meal with any satisfaction. The King was very soon reconciled to our manner of cookery. But still I believe he dined thus frequently with me more for the sake of what we gave him to drink than for what we set before him to eat. For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it. He now fixed his residence at the house, or "malaee," by our tent; and there he entertained our people this evening with a dance. To the surprise of everybody the unwieldy Poulaho endeavoured to vie with others in that active amusement.

In the morning of the 15th I received a message from old Toobou that he wanted to see me ashore.

Accordingly Omai and I went to wait upon him. We found him, like an ancient patriarch, seated under the shade of a tree, with a large piece of a cloth made in the island spread out at full length before him, and a number of respectable-looking people sitting round it. He desired us to place ourselves by him, and then he told Omai that the cloth, together with a piece of red feathers and about a dozen cocoa-nuts, were his present to me. I thanked him for the favour, and desired he would go on board with me, as I had nothing on shore to give him in return. Omai now left me, being sent for by Poulaho; and soon after Feenou came and acquainted me that young Fatrafaihe, Poulaho's son, desired to see me. I obeyed the summons, and found the prince and Omai sitting under a large canopy of the finer sort of cloth, with a piece of the coarser sort spread under them and before them that was seventy-six yards long and seven and a half broad. On one side was a large old boar, and on the other side a heap of cocoa-nuts. A number of people were seated round the cloth, and amongst them I observed Mareewagee and others of the first rank. I was desired to sit down by the prince, and then Omai informed me that he had been instructed by the King to tell me that, as he and I were friends, he hoped his son might be joined in this friendship, and that, as a token of my consent, I would accept of his present. I very readily agreed to the proposal; and it being now dinner-time, I invited them all on board.

Accordingly the young prince, Mareewagee, old Toobou, three or four inferior chiefs, and two respectable old ladies of the first rank, accompanied me. Mareewagee was dressed in a new piece of cloth, on the skirts of which were fixed six pretty large patches of red feathers. This dress seemed to have been made on purpose for this visit, for as soon as he got on board he put it off and presented it to me, having, I guess, heard that it would be acceptable on account of the *feathers*. Every one of my visitors received from me such presents as I had reason to believe they were highly satisfied with. When dinner came upon table, not one of them would sit down, or eat a bit of anything that was served up. On expressing my surprise at this, they were all "taboo," as they said, which word has a very comprehensive meaning, but in general signifies that a thing is forbidden. Why they were laid under such restraints at present was not explained. Dinner being over, and having gratified their curiosity by showing to them every part of the ship, I then conducted them ashore. As soon as the boat reached the beach, Feenou and some others instantly stepped out. Young Fatrafaihe following them, was called back by Mareewagee, who now paid the heir-apparent the same obeisance, and in the same manner, that I had seen it paid to the King. And when old Toobou and one of the old ladies had shown him the same marks of respect, he was suffered to land. This ceremony being over, the old people stepped from my boat into a canoe that was waiting to carry them to their place of abode.

I was not sorry to be present on this occasion, as I was thus furnished with the most unequivocal proofs of the supreme dignity of Poulaho and his son over the other principal chiefs. Indeed by this time I had acquired some certain information about the relative situations of the several great men whose names have been so often mentioned. I now knew that Mareewagee and old Toobou were brothers. Both of them were men of great property in the island, and seemed to be in high estimation with the people; the former, in particular, had the very honourable appellation given to him, by everybody, of "Motooa Tonga;" that is to say, Father of Tonga, or of his country. The nature of his relationship to the King was also no longer a secret to us; for we now understood that he was his father-in-law, Poulaho having married one of his daughters, by whom he had this son; so that Mareewagee was the prince's grandfather. Pou-

laho's appearance having satisfied us that we had been under a mistake in considering Feenou as the sovereign of these islands, we had been at first much puzzled about his real rank; but that was by this time ascertained, Feenou was one of Mareewagee's sons, and Toobouceitoa was another.

On my landing I found the King in the house adjoining to our tent, along with our people who resided on shore. The moment I got to him, he bestowed upon me a present of a large hog and a quantity of yams. About the dusk of the evening a number of men came, and, having sat down in a round group, began to sing in concert with the music of bamboo drums, which were placed in the centre. There were three long ones and two short. With these they struck the ground endwise, as before described.[1] There were two others which lay on the ground side by side, and one of them was split or shivered; on these a man kept beating with two small sticks. They sung three songs while I stayed, and I was told that after I left them the entertainment lasted till 10 o'clock. They burnt the leaves of the "wharra" palm for a light; which is the only thing I ever saw them make use of for this purpose.

On the 16th in the morning, after visiting the several works now carrying on ashore, Mr Gore and I took a walk into the country; in the course of which nothing remarkable appeared but our having opportunities of seeing the whole process of making cloth, which is the principal manufacture of these islands, as well as of many others in this ocean. In the narrative of my first voyage, a minute description is given of these operations as performed at Otaheite; but the process here differing in some particulars, it may be worth while to give the following account of it:

The manufacturers, who are females, take the slender stalks or trunks of the paper-mulberry, which they cultivate for that purpose, and which seldom grows more than six or seven feet in height and about four fingers in thickness. From these they strip the bark, and scrape off the outer rind with a mussel-shell. The bark is then rolled up to take off the convexity which it had round the stalk, and macerated in water for some time (they say a night). After this, it is laid across the trunk of a small tree squared, and beaten with a square wooden instrument, about a foot long, full of coarse grooves on all sides; but sometimes with one that is plain. According to the size of the bark, a piece is soon produced; but the operation is often repeated by another hand, or it is folded several times and beaten longer, which seems rather intended to close than to divide its texture. When this is sufficiently effected, it is spread out to dry; the pieces being from four to six or more feet in length, and half as broad. They are then given to another person, who joins the pieces, by smearing part of them over with the viscous juice of a berry called "to-oo," which serves as a glue. Having been thus lengthened, they are laid over a large piece of wood, with a kind of stamp, made of a fibrous substance pretty closely interwoven, placed beneath. They then take a bit of cloth, and dip it in a juice expressed from the bark of a tree called "kokka," which they rub briskly upon the piece that is making. This at once leaves a dull brown colour and a dry gloss upon its surface; the stamp at the same time making a slight impression, that answers no other purpose that I could see but to make the several pieces that are glued together stick a little more firmly. In this manner they proceed, joining and staining by degrees, till they produce a piece of cloth of such length and breadth as they want; generally leaving a border of a foot broad at the sides, and longer at the ends, unstained. Throughout the whole, if any parts of the original pieces are too thin, or have holes, which is often the case, they glue some bits

[1] In the account of the festivities at Hapaee, *ante*, Chapter V., p. 588.

upon them till they become of an equal thickness. When they want to produce a black colour, they mix the soot procured from an oily nut called "dooe dooe," with the juice of the "kokka," in different quantities, according to the proposed depth of the tinge. They say that the black sort of cloth, which is most commonly glazed, makes a cold dress, but the other a warm one; and, to obtain strength in both they are always careful to join the small pieces lengthwise, which makes it impossible to tear the cloth in any direction but one.

On our return from the country we met with Feenou, and took him and another young chief on board to dinner. When our fare was set upon the table, neither of them would eat a bit; saying that they were "taboo avy." But after inquiring how the victuals had been dressed, having found that no "avy" (water) had been used in cooking a pig and some yams, they both sat down and made a very hearty meal; and, on being assured that there was no water in the wine, they drank of it also. From this we conjectured that on some account or another they were at this time forbidden to use water; or, which was more probable, they did not like the water we made use of, it being taken up out of one of their bathing places. This was not the only time of our meeting with people that were "taboo avy;" but for what reason we never could tell with any degree of certainty.

Next day, the 17th, was fixed upon by Mareewagee for giving a grand "Haiva," or entertainment, to which we were all invited. For this purpose a large space had been cleared before the temporary hut of this chief near our post, as an area where the performances were to be exhibited. In the morning great multitudes of the natives came in from the country, every one carrying a pole about six feet long upon his shoulder; and at each end of every pole a yam was suspended. These yams and poles were deposited on each side of the area, so as to form two large heaps, decorated with different sorts of small fish, and piled up to the greatest advantage. They were Mareewagee's present to Captain Clerke and me; and it was hard to say whether the wood for fuel or the yams for food were of most value to us. As for the fish, they might serve to please the sight, but were very offensive to the smell; part of them having been kept two or three days, to be presented to us on this occasion. Everything being thus prepared, about 11 o'clock they began to exhibit various dances, which they call "mai." The music[1] consisted at first of seventy men as a chorus, who sat down; and amidst them were placed three instruments which we called drums, though very unlike them. They are large cylindrical pieces of wood, or trunks of trees, from three to four feet long, some twice as thick as an ordinary-sized man, and some smaller, hollowed entirely out, but close at both ends, and open only by a chink about three inches broad running almost the whole length of the drums; by which opening the rest of the wood is certainly hollowed, though the operation must be difficult. This instrument is called "naffa;" and with the chink turned toward them, they sit and beat strongly upon it with two cylindrical pieces of hard wood about a foot long and as thick as the wrist; by which means they produce a rude though loud and powerful sound. They vary the strength and rate of their beating at different parts of the dance; and also change the tones, by beating in the middle or near the end of their drum.

The first dance consisted of four ranks of twenty-four men each, holding in their hands a little, thin, light wooden instrument, above two feet long, and in shape not unlike a small oblong paddle. With these, which

[1] Mr Anderson's description of the entertainments of this day, being much fuller than Captain Cook's, has been adopted, as on a former occasion.

are called "pagge," they made a great many different motions; such as pointing them towards the ground on one side, at the same time inclining their bodies that way, from which they were shifted to the opposite side in the same manner; then passing them quickly from one hand to the other, and twirling them about very dexterously, with a variety of other manœuvres, all which were accompanied by corresponding attitudes of the body. Their motions were at first slow, but quickened as the drums beat faster; and they recited sentences in a musical tone the whole time, which were answered by the chorus; but at the end of a short space they all joined, and finished with a shout. After ceasing about two or three minutes, they began as before, and continued, with short intervals, above a quarter of an hour, when, the rear rank dividing, shifted themselves very slowly round each end, and meeting in the front, formed the first rank, the whole number continuing to recite the sentences as before. The other ranks did the same successively, till that which at first was the front became the rear; and the evolution continued in the same manner till the last rank regained its first situation. They then began a much quicker dance (though slow at first), and sang for about ten minutes, when the whole body divided into two parts, retreated a little, and then approached, forming a sort of circular figure, which finished the dance, the drums being removed, and the chorus going off the field at the same time.

The second dance had only two drums, with forty men for a chorus; and the dancers, or rather actors, consisted of two ranks, the foremost having seventeen and the other fifteen persons. Feenou was at their head, or in the middle of the front rank, which is the principal place in these cases. They danced and recited sentences, with some very short intervals, for about half-an-hour, sometimes quickly, sometimes more slowly, but with such a degree of exactness as if all the motions were made by one man, which did them great credit. Near the close, the back rank divided, came round, and took the place of the front, which again resumed its situation, as in the first dance; and when they finished, the drums and chorus, as before, went off.

Three drums (which at least took two, and sometimes three, men to carry them) were now brought in, and seventy men sat down as a chorus to the third dance. This consisted of two ranks of sixteen persons each, with young Toobou at their head, who was richly ornamented with a sort of garment covered with red feathers. These danced, sang, and twirled the "pagge" as before, but in general much quicker, and performed so well that they had the constant applauses of the spectators. A motion that met with particular approbation was one in which they held the face aside as if ashamed, and the "pagge" before it. The back rank closed before the front one, and that again resumed its place, as in the two former dances; but then they began again, formed a triple row, divided, retreated to each end of the area, and left the greatest part of the ground clear. At that instant two men entered very hastily, and exercised the clubs which they use in battle. They did this by first twirling them in their hands and making circular strokes before them with great force and quickness, but so skilfully managed that though standing quite close they never interfered. They shifted their clubs from hand to hand with great dexterity; and after continuing a little time, kneeled and made different motions, tossing the clubs up in the air, which they caught as they fell, and then went off as hastily as they entered. Their heads were covered with pieces of white cloth tied at the crown almost like a nightcap, with a wreath of foliage round the forehead; but they had only very small pieces of white cloth tied about their waists, probably that they might be cool and free from every encumbrance or weight. A person with a spear, dressed like the former, then came in, and in the same

hasty manner, looking about eagerly as if in search of somebody to throw it at. He then ran hastily to one side of the crowd in the front, and put himself in a threatening attitude, as if he meant to strike with his spear at one of them, bending the knee a little, and trembling as it were with rage. He continued in this manner only a few seconds, when he moved to the other side, and having stood in the same posture there for the same short time, retreated from the ground as fast as when he made his appearance. The dancers, who had divided into two parties, kept repeating something slowly all this while, and now advanced and joined again, ending with universal applause. It should seem that this dance was considered as one of their capital performances, if we might judge from some of the principal people being engaged in it. For one of the drums was beat by Futtafaihe, the brother of Poulaho; another by Feenou; and the third, which did not belong to the chorus, by Mareewagee himself, at the entrance of his hut.

The last dance had forty men and two drums as a chorus. It consisted of sixty men who had not danced before, disposed in three rows, having twenty-four in front. But before they began we were entertained with a pretty long preliminary harangue, in which the whole body made responses to a single person who spoke. They recited sentences (perhaps verses) alternately with the chorus, and made many motions with the "pagge," in a very brisk mode, which were all applauded with "mareeai" and "fyfogge," words expressing two different degrees of praise. They divided into two bodies, with their backs to each other, formed again, shifted their ranks as in the other dances, divided and retreated, making room for two champions, who exercised their clubs as before; and after them two others, the dancers all the time reciting slowly in turn with the chorus, after which they advanced and finished. These dances, if they can properly be called so, lasted from 11 till near 3 o'clock; and though they were doubtless intended particularly either in honour of us, or to show a specimen of their dexterity, vast numbers of their own people attended as spectators. Their numbers could not be computed exactly, on account of the inequality of the ground; but by reckoning the inner circle, and the number in depth, which was between twenty and thirty in many places, we supposed that there must be near 4000. At the same time there were round the trading place at the tent and straggling about, at least as many more; and some of us computed that at this time there were not less than 10,000 or 12,000 people in our neighbourhood—that is, within the compass of a quarter of a mile,—drawn together for the most part by mere curiosity.

At night we were entertained with the "bomai," or night dances, on a space before Feenou's temporary habitation. They lasted about three hours, in which time we had about twelve of them performed, much after the same manner as those at Hapaee. But in two, that were performed by women, a number of men came and formed a circle within theirs; and in another, consisting of twenty-four men, there were a number of motions with the hands that we had not seen before, and were highly applauded. The music was also once changed in the course of the night, and in one of the dances Feenou appeared, at the head of fifty men who had performed at Hapaee, and he was well dressed with linen, a large piece of gauze, and some little pictures hung round his neck. But it was evident, after the diversions were closed, that we had put these poor people, or rather that they had put themselves, to much inconvenience; for being drawn together on this uninhabited part of their island, numbers of them were obliged to lie down and sleep under the bushes, by the side of a tree, or of a canoe—nay, many either lay down in the open air, which they are not fond of, or walked about all the night. The whole of this entertain-

ment was conducted with far better order than could have been expected in so large an assembly. Amongst such a multitude there must be a number of ill-disposed people, and we hourly experienced it. All our care and attention did not prevent their plundering us in every quarter, and that in the most daring and insolent manner. There was hardly anything that they did not attempt to steal; and yet, as the crowd was always so great, I would not allow the sentries to fire, lest the innocent should suffer for the guilty. They once, at noonday, ventured to aim at taking an anchor from off the Discovery's bows, and they would certainly have succeeded if the fluke had not hooked one of the chain plates in lowering down the ship's side, from which they could not disengage it by hand, and tackles were things they were unacquainted with. The only act of violence they were guilty of was the breaking the shoulder-bone of one of our goats, so that she died soon after. This loss fell upon themselves, as she was one of those that I intended to leave upon the island; but of this the person who did it was ignorant.

Early in the morning of the 18th, an incident happened that strongly marked one of their customs. A man got out of a canoe into the quarter-gallery of the Resolution, and stole from thence a pewter basin. He was discovered, pursued, and brought alongside the ship. On this occasion three old women who were in the canoe made loud lamentations over the prisoner, beating their breasts and faces in a most violent manner with the inside of their fists, and all this was done without shedding a tear. This mode of expressing grief is what occasions the mark which almost all this people bear on the face over the cheek-bones. The repeated blows which they inflict upon this part abrade the skin, and make even the blood flow out in a considerable quantity; and when the wounds are recent they look as if a hollow circle had been burned in. On many occasions they actually cut this part of the face with an instrument, in the same manner as the people of Otaheite cut their heads.

This day I bestowed on Mareewagee some presents in return for those we had received from him the day before; and as the entertainments which he had then exhibited for our amusement called upon us to make some exhibition in our way, I ordered the party of marines to go through their exercise on the spot where his dances had been performed, and in the evening played off some fireworks at the same place. Poulaho, with all the principal chiefs, and a great number of people of all denominations, were present. The platoon firing, which was executed tolerably well, seemed to give them pleasure; but they were lost in astonishment when they beheld our water rockets. They paid but little attention to the fife and drum, or French horns, that played during the intervals. The King sat behind everybody, because no one is allowed to sit behind him, and, that his view might not be obstructed, nobody sat immediately before him; but a lane, as it were, was made by the people from him quite down to the space allotted for the fireworks.

In expectation of this evening show, the circle of natives about our tent being pretty large, they engaged the greatest part of the afternoon in boxing and wrestling; the first of which exercises they call "fangatooa" and the second "fooboo." When any of them chooses to wrestle, he gets up from one side of the ring, and crosses the ground in a sort of measured pace, clapping smartly on the elbow joint of one arm, which is bent, and produces a hollow sound; that is reckoned the challenge. If no person comes out from the opposite side to engage him, he returns in the same manner and sits down; but sometimes stands clapping in the midst of the ground to provoke some one to come out. If an opponent appear, they come together with marks of the greatest good-nature, generally smiling, and taking time to adjust the piece of cloth which is fastened round

the waist. They then lay hold of each other by this girdle, with a hand on each side; and he who succeeds in drawing his antagonist to him, immediately tries to lift him upon his breast and throw him upon his back; and if he be able to turn round with him two or three times in that position before he throws him, his dexterity never fails of procuring plaudits from the spectators. If they be more equally matched, they close soon, and endeavour to throw each other by entwining their legs, or lifting each other from the ground, in which struggles they show a prodigious exertion of strength, every muscle, as it were, being ready to burst with straining. When one is thrown, he immediately quits the field; but the victor sits down for a few seconds, then gets up and goes to the side he came from, who proclaim the victory aloud, in a sentence delivered slowly and in a musical cadence. After sitting a short space, he rises again and challenges, when sometimes several antagonists make their appearance; but he has the privilege of choosing which of them he pleases to wrestle with, and has likewise the preference of challenging again, if he should throw his adversary, until he himself be vanquished; and then the opposite side sing the song of victory in favour of their champion. It also often happens that five or six rise from each side and challenge together, in which case it is common to see three or four couple engaged on the field at once. But it is astonishing to see what temper they preserve in this exercise, for we observed no instances of their leaving the spot with the least displeasure in their countenances. When they find that they are so equally matched as not to be likely to throw each other, they leave off by mutual consent. And if the fall of one is not fair, or if it does not appear very clearly who has had the advantage, both sides sing the victory, and then they engage again. But no person who has been vanquished can engage with his conqueror a second time.

The boxers advance sideways, changing the side at every pace, with one arm stretched fully out before, the other behind, and holding a piece of cord in one hand, which they wrap firmly about it when they find an antagonist, or else have done so before they enter. This I imagine they do to prevent dislocation of the hand or fingers. Their blows are directed chiefly to the head, but sometimes to the sides, and are dealt out with great activity. They shift sides, and box equally well with both hands. But one of their favourite and most dexterous blows is to turn round on their heel just as they have struck their antagonist, and to give him another very smart one with the other hand backward. The boxing matches seldom last long, and the parties either leave off together, or one acknowledges his being beaten. But they never sing the song of victory in these cases, unless one strikes his adversary to the ground, which shows, that of the two, wrestling is their most approved diversion. Not only boys engage in both the exercises, but frequently little girls box very obstinately for a short time. In all which cases it does not appear that they ever consider it as the smallest disgrace to be vanquished; and the person overcome sits down with as much indifference as if he had never entered the lists. Some of our people ventured to contend with them in both exercises, but were always worsted, except in a few instances, where it appeared that the fear they were in of offending us contributed more to the victory than the superiority of the person they engaged.

The cattle which we had brought, and which were all on shore, however carefully guarded, I was sensible, ran no small risk, when I considered the thievish disposition of many of the natives, and their dexterity in appropriating to themselves by stealth what they saw no prospect of obtaining by fair means. For this reason I thought it prudent to declare my intention of leaving behind me some of our animals, and even to make a dis-

tribution of them previously to my departure. With this view, in the evening of the 19th, I assembled all the chiefs before our house, and my intended presents to them were marked out. To Poulaho, the King, I gave a young English bull and cow; to Mareewagee, a Cape ram and two ewes; and to Feenou a horse and a mare. As my design to make such a distribution had been made known the day before, most of the people in the neighbourhood were then present. I instructed Omai to tell them that there were no such animals within many months' sail of their island; that we had brought them for their use from that immense distance, at a vast trouble and expense; that therefore they must be careful not to kill any of them till they had multiplied to a numerous race; and lastly, that they and their children ought to remember that they had received them from the men of "Britane." He also explained to them their several uses, and what else was necessary for them to know, or rather as far as he knew; for Omai was not very well versed in such things himself. As I intended that the above presents should remain with the other cattle till we were ready to sail, I desired each of the chiefs to send a man or two to look after their respective animals along with my people, in order that they might be better acquainted with them, and with the manner of treating them. The King and Feenou did so, but neither Mareewagee, nor any other person for him, took the least notice of the sheep afterwards; nor did old Toobou attend at this meeting, though he was invited, and was in the neighbourhood. I had meant to give him the goats, viz., a ram and two ewes, which, as he was so indifferent about them, I added to the King's share.

It soon appeared that some were dissatisfied with this allotment of our animals; for early next morning one of our kids and two turkey cocks were missing. I could not be so simple as to suppose that this was merely an accidental loss; and I was determined to have them again. The first step I took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships. I then went ashore, and having found the King, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs, in the house that we occupied, I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand that they must remain under restraint till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things that had been stolen from us, at different times, were restored. They concealed, as well as they could, their feelings on finding themselves prisoners; and having assured me that everything should be restored as I desired, sat down to drink their "kava," seemingly much at their ease. It was not long before an axe and an iron wedge were brought to me. In the meantime some armed natives began to gather behind the house; but on a part of our guard marching against them they dispersed, and I advised the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On asking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily consented. But some having afterward objected to the King's going, he instantly rose up and declared he would be the first man. Accordingly we came on board. I kept them there till near 4 o'clock, when I conducted them ashore, and soon after the kid and one of the turkey cocks were brought back. The other, they said, should be restored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and released both them and the canoes.

After the chiefs had left us, I walked out with Omai to observe how the people about us fared, for this was the time of their meals. I found that in general they were at short commons. Nor is this to be wondered at, since most of the yams and other provisions which they brought with them were sold to us; and they never thought of returning to their own habitations while they could find any sort of subsistence in our neighbourhood. Our station was upon an uncultivated point of land, so that there were none

of the islanders who, properly, resided within half-a-mile of us. But even at this distance, the multitude of strangers being so great, one might have expected that every house would have been much crowded. It was quite otherwise. The families residing there were as much left to themselves as if there had not been a supernumerary visitor near them. All the strangers lived in little temporary sheds, or under trees and bushes; and the cocoa-trees were stripped of their branches to erect habitations for the chiefs. In this walk we met with about half-a-dozen women in one place at supper. Two of the company, I observed, being fed by the others, on our asking the reason they said "taboo mattee." On further inquiry we found that one of them had two months before washed the dead corpse of a chief, and that on this account she was not to handle any food for five months. The other had performed the same office to the corpse of another person of inferior rank, and was now under the same restriction, but not for so long a time. At another place hard by we saw another woman fed, and we learned that she had assisted in washing the corpse of the above-mentioned chief.

Early the next morning the King came on board to invite me to an entertainment which he proposed to give the same day. He had already been under the barber's hands, his head being all besmeared with red pigment in order to redden his hair, which was naturally of a dark brown colour. After breakfast I attended him to the shore, and we found his people very busy, in two places in the front of our area, fixing in an upright and square position, thus [° °], four very long posts near two feet from each other. The space between the posts was afterwards filled up with yams, and as they went on filling it, they fastened pieces of sticks across from post to post at the distance of about every four feet, to prevent the posts from separating by the weight of the enclosed yams, and also to get up by. When the yams had reached the top of the first posts, they fastened others to them, and so continued till each pile was the height of thirty feet or upwards. On the top of one they placed two baked hogs, and on the top of the other a living one; and another they tied by the legs halfway up. It was matter of curiosity to observe with what facility and despatch these two piles were raised. Had our seamen been ordered to execute such a work, they would have sworn that it could not be performed without carpenters; and the carpenters would have called to their aid a dozen different sorts of tools, and have expended at least a hundredweight of nails; and after all it would have employed them as many days as it did these people hours. But seamen, like most other amphibious animals, are always the most helpless on land. After they had completed these two piles, they made several other heaps of yams and bread-fruit on each side of the area, to which were added a turtle and a large quantity of excellent fish. All this, with a piece of cloth, a mat, and some red feathers, was the King's present to me; and he seemed to pique himself on exceeding, as he really did, Feenou's liberality which I experienced at Hapaee.

About 1 o'clock they began the "mai," or dances, the first of which was almost a copy of the first that was exhibited at Mareewagee's entertainment. The second was conducted by Captain Furneaux's Toobou, who, as we mentioned, had also danced there; and in this four or five women were introduced, who went through the several parts with as much exactness as the men. Towards the end, the performers divided to leave room for two champions, who exercised their clubs, as described on a former occasion. And in the third dance, which was the last now presented, two more men with their clubs displayed their dexterity. The dances were succeeded by wrestling and boxing, and one man entered the lists with a sort of club made from the stem of a cocoa-leaf, which is firm and heavy, but could find no antagonist to engage

him at so rough a sport. At night we had the "bomai" repeated, in which Poulaho himself danced, dressed in English manufacture. But neither these nor the dances in the daytime were so considerable, nor carried on with so much spirit, as Feenou's or Mareewagee's; and therefore there is less occasion to be more particular in our description of them.

In order to be present the whole time, I dined ashore. The King sat down with us, but he neither ate nor drank. I found that this was owing to the presence of a female whom, at his desire, I had admitted to the dining party, and who, as we afterwards understood, had superior rank to himself. As soon as this great personage had dined, she stepped up to the King, who put his hands to her feet, and then she retired. He immediately dipped his fingers into a glass of wine, and then received the obeisance of all her followers. This was the single instance we ever observed of his paying this mark of reverence to any person. At the King's desire I ordered some fireworks to be played off in the evening, but unfortunately being damaged, this exhibition did not answer expectation.

CHAPTER VIII.

As no more entertainments were to be expected on either side, and the curiosity of the populace was by this time pretty well satisfied, on the day after Poulaho's "Haiva," most of them left us. We still, however, had thieves about us; and, encouraged by the negligence of our own people, we had continual instances of their depredations. Some of the officers belonging to both ships, who had made an excursion into the interior parts of the island without my leave, and indeed without my knowledge, returned this evening, after an absence of two days. They had taken with them their muskets, with the necessary ammunition, and several small articles of the favourite commodities; all which the natives had the dexterity to steal from them in the course of their expedition. This affair was likely to be attended with inconvenient consequences. For our plundered travellers, upon their return, without consulting me, employed Omai to complain to the King of the treatment they had met with. He, not knowing what step I should take, and, from what had already happened, fearing lest I might lay him again under restraint, went off early the next morning. His example was followed by Feenou; so that we had not a chief of any authority remaining in our neighbourhood. I was very much displeased at this, and reprimanded Omai for having presumed to meddle. This reprimand put him upon his metal to bring his friend Feenou back; and he succeeded in the negotiation, having this powerful argument to urge, that he might depend upon my using no violent measures to oblige the natives to restore what had been taken from the gentlemen. Feenou, trusting to this declaration, returned toward the evening; and, encouraged by his reception, Poulaho favoured us with his company the day after.

Both these chiefs, upon this occasion, very justly observed to me that if any of my people at any time wanted to go into the country, they ought to be acquainted with it; in which case they would send proper people along with them, and then they would be answerable for their safety. And I am convinced from experience that, by taking this very reasonable precaution, a man and his property may be as safe among these islanders as in other parts of the more civilised world. Though I gave myself no trouble about the recovery of the things stolen upon this occasion, most of them, through Feenou's interposition, were recovered, except one musket and a few other articles of inferior value. By this time also we had recovered the turkey cock and most of the tools and other matters that had been stolen from our workmen. We had now recruited the ships with wood and

water; we had finished the repairs of our sails; and had little more to expect from the inhabitants of the produce of their island. However, as an eclipse of the sun was to happen upon the 5th of the next month, I resolved to defer sailing till that time had elapsed, in order to have a chance of observing it. Having therefore some days of leisure before me, a party of us, accompanied by Poulaho, set out early next morning in a boat, for Mooa, the village where he and the other great men usually reside. As we rowed up the inlet, we met with fourteen canoes fishing in company, in one of which was Poulaho's son. In each canoe was a triangular net, extended between two poles, at the lower end of which was a cod[1] to receive and secure the fish. They had already caught some fine mullets, and they put about a dozen into our boat. I desired to see their method of fishing, which they readily complied with. A shoal of fish was supposed to be upon one of the banks, which they instantly enclosed in a long net like a seine or set-net. This the fishers, one getting into the water out of each boat, surrounded with the triangular nets in their hands; with which they scooped the fish out of the seine, or caught them as they attempted to leap over it. They showed us the whole process of this operation (which seemed to be a sure one), by throwing in some of the fish they had already caught, for at this time there happened to be none upon the bank that was enclosed.

Leaving the prince and his fishing party, we proceeded to the bottom of the bay, and landed where we had done before on our fruitless errand to see Mareewagee. As soon as we got on shore, the King desired Omai to tell me that I need be under no apprehensions about the boat or anything in her, for not a single article would be touched by any one; and we afterward found this to be the case. We were immediately conducted to one of Poulaho's houses not far off, and near the public one, or "malaee," in which we had been, when we first visited Mooa. This, though pretty large, seemed to be his private habitation, and was situated within a plantation. The King took his seat at one end of the house, and the people who came to visit him sat down, as they arrived, in a semicircle at the other end. The first thing done was to prepare a bowl of "kava," and to order some yams to be baked for us. While these were getting ready, some of us, accompanied by a few of the King's attendants, and Omai as our interpreter, walked out to take a view of a "fiatooka," or burying-place, which we had observed to be almost close by the house, and was much more extensive, and seemingly of more consequence, than any we had seen at the other islands. We were told that it belonged to the King. It consisted of three pretty large houses, situated upon a rising ground, or rather just by the brink of it, with a small one at some distance, all ranged longitudinally. The middle house of the three first was by much the largest, and placed in a square, twenty-four paces by twenty-eight, raised about three feet. The other houses were placed on little mounts raised artificially to the same height. The floors of these houses, as also the tops of the mounts round them, were covered with loose, fine pebbles, and the whole was enclosed by large flat stones of hard coral rock, properly hewn, placed on their edges; one of which stones measured twelve feet in length, two in breadth, and above one in thickness. One of the houses, contrary to what we had seen before, was open on one side; and within it were two rude wooden busts of men, one near the entrance and the other farther in. On inquiring of the natives who had followed us to the ground, but durst not enter here, what these images were intended for, they made us as sensible as we could wish, that they were merely memorials of some chiefs who had been buried there, and not the representations of any deity. Such monuments,

[1] A bag, or pocket.

it should seem, are seldom raised; for these had probably been erected several ages ago. We were told that the dead had been buried in each of these houses; but no marks of this appeared. In one of them was the carved head of an Otaheite canoe, which had been driven ashore on their coast, and deposited here. At the foot of the rising ground was a large area or grass plot, with different trees planted about it; amongst which were several of those called "etoa," very large. These, as they resemble the cypress, had a fine effect in such a place. There was also a row of low palms near one of the houses, and behind it a ditch in which lay a great number of old baskets.

After dinner, or rather after we had refreshed ourselves with some provisions which we had brought with us from our ship, we made an excursion into the country, taking a pretty large circuit, attended by one of the King's ministers. Our train was not great, as he would not suffer the rabble to follow us. He also obliged all those whom we met upon our progress to sit down till we had passed; which is a mark of respect due only to their sovereigns. We found by far the greatest part of the country cultivated, and planted with various sorts of productions; and most of these plantations were fenced round. Some spots, where plantations had been formerly, now produced nothing, lying fallow; and there were places that had never been touched, but lay in a state of nature; and yet even these were useful in affording them timber, as they were generally covered with trees. We met with several large uninhabited houses, which, we were told, belonged to the King. There were many public and well-beaten roads, and abundance of foot-paths leading to every part of the island. The roads being good and the country level, travelling was very easy. It is remarkable that when we were on the most elevated parts, at least 100 feet above the level of the sea, we often met with the same coral rock which is found at the shore, projecting above the surface, and perforated and cut into all those inequalities which are usually seen in rocks that lie within the wash of the tide. And yet these very spots, with hardly any soil upon them, were covered with luxuriant vegetation. We were conducted to several little pools and to some springs of water; but in general they were either stinking or brackish, though recommended to us by the natives as excellent. The former were mostly inland, the latter near the shore of the bay and below high-water mark; so that tolerable water could be taken up from them only when the tide was out.

When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of the evening, our supper was ready. It consisted of a baked hog, some fish, and yams, all excellently well cooked after the method of these islands. As there was nothing to amuse us after supper, we followed the custom of the country, and lay down to sleep, our beds being mats spread upon the floor, and cloth to cover us. The King, who had made himself very happy with some wine and brandy which we had brought, slept in the same house, as well as several others of the natives. Long before daybreak he and they all rose, and sat conversing by moonlight. The conversation, as might well be guessed, turned wholly upon us, the King entertaining his company with an account of what he had seen or remarked. As soon as it was day, they dispersed, some one way and some another; but it was not long before they all returned, and with them several more of their countrymen. They now began to prepare a bowl of "kava;" and leaving them so employed, I went to pay a visit to Toobou, Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others, so I found here a company preparing a morning draught. This chief made a present to me of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams, and a large piece of cloth. When I returned to the King, I found him

and his circle of attendants drinking the second bowl of "kava." That being emptied, he told Omai that he was going presently to perform a mourning ceremony, called "tooge," on account of a son who had been dead some time, and he desired us to accompany him. We were glad of the opportunity, expecting to see somewhat new or curious.

The first thing the chief did was to step out of the house, attended by two old women, and put on a new suit of clothes, or rather a new piece of cloth, and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great-grandfather on some such occasion. His servants, or those who attended him, were all dressed in the same manner, excepting that none of their mats could vie in antiquity with that of their master. Thus equipped, we marched off, preceded by about eight or ten persons, all in the above habits of ceremony, each of them besides having a small green bough about his neck. Poulaho held his bough in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvous, when he also put it about his neck. We now entered a small enclosure, in which was a neat house, and we found one man sitting before it. As the company entered, they pulled off the green branches from round their necks and threw them away. The King having first seated himself, the others sat down before him in the usual manner. The circle increased, by others dropping in, to the number of 100 or upwards, mostly old men, all dressed as above described. The company being completely assembled, a large root of "kava," brought by one of the King's servants, was produced, and a bowl which contained four or five gallons. Several persons now began to chew the root, and this bowl was made brim-full of liquor. While it was preparing, others were employed in making drinking-cups of plantain leaves. The first cup that was filled was presented to the King, and he ordered it to be given to another person. The second was also brought to him, which he *drank*, and the third was offered to me. Afterward, as each cup was filled, the man who filled it asked who was to have it. Another then named the person, and to him it was carried. As the bowl grew low, the man who distributed the liquor seemed rather at a loss to whom cups of it should be next sent, and frequently consulted those who sat near him. This mode of distribution continued while any liquor remained, and though not half the company had a share, yet no one seemed dissatisfied. About half-a-dozen cups served for all, and each, as it was emptied, was thrown down upon the ground, where the servants picked it up and carried it to be filled again. During the whole time the chief and his circle sat, as was usually the case, with a great deal of gravity, hardly speaking a word to each other. We had long waited in expectation each moment of seeing the mourning ceremony begin, when, soon after the "kava" was drank out, to our great surprise and disappointment they all rose up and dispersed, and Poulaho told us he was now ready to attend us to the ships. If this was a mourning ceremony, it was a strange one. Perhaps it was the second, third, or fourth mourning; or, which was not very uncommon, Omai might have misunderstood what Poulaho said to him. For, excepting the change of dress and the putting the green bough round their necks, nothing seemed to have passed at this meeting but what we saw them practise too frequently every day.

As soon as this mourning ceremony was over, we left Mooa and set out to return to the ships. While we rowed down the lagoon or inlet, we met with two canoes coming in from fishing. Poulaho ordered them to be called alongside our boat, and took from them every fish and shell they had got. He afterwards stopped two other canoes and searched them, but they had nothing. Why this was done I cannot say, for we had plenty of provisions in the boat. Some of this fish he gave to me, and his servants sold the rest on board the ship. As we

proceeded down the inlet we overtook a large sailing canoe. Every person on board her that was upon his legs when we came up sat down till we had passed, even the man who steered, though he could not manage the helm except in a standing posture.

When we got on board the ship I found that everything had been quiet during my absence, not a theft having been committed, of which Feenou and Futtafaihe, the King's brother, who had undertaken the management of his countrymen, boasted not a little. This shows what power the chiefs have when they have the will to execute it, which we were seldom to expect, since whatever was stolen from us generally, if not always, was conveyed to them. The good conduct of the natives was of short duration, for the next day six or eight of them assaulted some of our people who were sawing planks. They were fired upon by the sentry, and one was supposed to be wounded and three others taken. These I kept confined till night, and did not dismiss them without punishment. After this they behaved with a little more circumspection, and gave us much less trouble. This change of behaviour was certainly occasioned by the man being wounded, for before they had only been told of the effect of firearms, but now they had felt it. The repeated insolence of the natives had induced me to order the muskets of the sentries to be loaded with small shot, and to authorise them to fire on particular occasions. I took it for granted, therefore, that this man had only been wounded with small shot. But Mr King and Mr Anderson, in an excursion into the country, met with him, and found indubitable marks of his having been wounded, but not dangerously, with a musket ball. I never could find out how this musket happened to be charged with ball, and there were people enough ready to swear that its contents were only small shot.[1]

I had prolonged my stay at this island on account of the approaching eclipse; but on the 2d of July, on looking at the micrometer belonging to the Board of Longitude, I found some of the rack-work broken, and the instrument useless till repaired, which there was not time to do before it was intended to be used. Preparing now for our departure, I got on board this day all the cattle, poultry, and other animals, except such as were destined to remain. I had designed to leave a turkey cock and hen; but having now only two of each undisposed of, one of the hens, through the ignorance of one of my people, was strangled, and died upon the spot. I had brought three turkey hens to these islands. One was killed as above mentioned; and the other by a useless dog belonging to one of the officers. These two accidents put it out of my power to leave a pair here, and at the same time to carry the breed to Otaheite, for which island they were originally intended. I was sorry afterwards that I did not give the preference to Tongataboo, as the present would have been of more value there than at Otaheite; for the natives of the former island, I am persuaded, would have taken more pains to multiply the breed. The next day we took up our anchor, and moved the ships behind Pangimodoo, that we might be ready to take the advantage of the first favourable wind to get through the narrows. The King, who was one of our company this day at dinner, I observed took particular notice of the plates. This occasioned me to make him an offer of one, either of pewter or of earthenware. He chose the first, and then began to tell us the several uses to which he intended to apply it. Two of them are so extraordinary that I cannot omit mentioning them. He said that, whenever he should have occasion to visit any of the other islands, he would leave this plate behind him at Tongataboo, as a sort of representa-

[1] Mr Anderson's account of the excursion just mentioned, containing little or nothing new, is omitted.

tive in his absence, that the people might pay it the same obeisance they do to himself in person. He was asked what had been usually employed for this purpose before he got this plate; and we had the satisfaction of learning from him that this singular honour had hitherto been conferred on a wooden bowl in which he washed his hands. The other extraordinary use to which he meant to apply it, in the room of his wooden bowl, was to discover a thief. He said that when anything was stolen, and the thief could not be found out, the people were all assembled together before him, when he washed his hands in water in this vessel; after which it was cleaned, and then the whole multitude advanced, one after another, and touched it in the same manner that they touch his foot when they pay him obeisance. If the guilty person touched it, he died immediately upon the spot, not by violence, but by the hand of Providence; and if any one refused to touch it, his refusal was a clear proof that he was the man.

In the morning of the 5th, the day of the eclipse, the weather was dark and cloudy, with showers of rain, so that we had little hopes of an observation. About 9 o'clock the sun broke out at intervals for about half-an-hour; after which it was totally obscured till within a minute or two of the beginning of the eclipse. We were all at our telescopes, viz., Mr Bayly, Mr King, Captain Clerke, Mr Bligh, and myself. I lost the observation by not having a dark glass at hand suitable to the clouds that were continually passing over the sun; and Mr Bligh had not got the sun into the field of his telescope; so that the commencement of the eclipse was only observed by the other three gentlemen, and by them, with an uncertainty of several seconds, as follows:

	Ho.	Min.	Sec.
By Mr Bayly, at	11	46	23¼
Mr King, at	11	46	28
Capt. Clerke, at	11	47	5

Apparent time.

Mr Bayly and Mr King observed with the achromatic telescopes belonging to the Board of Longitude, of equal magnifying powers; and Captain Clerke observed with one of the reflectors. The sun appeared at intervals till about the middle of the eclipse; after which it was seen no more during the day, so that the end could not be observed. The disappointment was of little consequence, since the longitude was more than sufficiently determined, independently of this eclipse, by lunar observations. As soon as we knew the eclipse to be over, we packed up the instruments, took down the observatories, and sent everything on board that had not been already removed. As none of the natives had taken the least notice or care of the three sheep allotted to Mareewagee, I ordered them to be carried back to the ships. I was apprehensive that if I had left them here they run great risk of being destroyed by dogs. That animal did not exist upon this island when I first visited it in 1773; but I now found they had got a good many, partly from the breed then left by myself, and partly from some imported since that time from an island not very remote, called Feejee. The dogs, however, at present had not found their way into any of the Friendly Islands except Tongataboo; and none but the chiefs there had as yet got possession of any.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

We were now ready to sail; but the wind being easterly, we had not sufficient daylight to turn through the narrows, either with the morning or with the evening flood; the one falling out too early, and the other too late. So that, without a leading wind, we were under a necessity of waiting two or three days. I took

[1] The remainder of the Chapter, taken up by Mr Anderson's notes on the physical formation and features and natural products of Tongataboo or Amsterdam Island, is omitted.

the opportunity of this delay to be present at a public solemnity to which the King had invited us when we went last to visit him, and which, he had informed us, was to be performed on the 8th. With a view to this, he and all the people of note quitted our neighbourhood on the 7th, and repaired to Mooa, where the solemnity was to be exhibited. A party of us followed them the next morning. We understood from what Poulaho had said to us that his son and heir was now to be initiated into certain privileges; amongst which was that of eating with his father, an honour he had not as yet been admitted to.

We arrived at Mooa about 8 o'clock, and found the King with a large circle of attendants sitting before him, within an enclosure so small and dirty as to excite my wonder that any such could be found in that neighbourhood. They were intent upon their usual morning occupation, in preparing a bowl of "kava." As this was no liquor for us, we walked out to visit some of our friends, and to observe what preparations might be making for the ceremony which was soon to begin. About 10 o'clock, the people began to assemble in a large area which is before the "malaee," or great house, to which we had been conducted the first time we visited Mooa. At the end of a road that opens into this area stood some men with spears and clubs, who kept constantly reciting or chanting short sentences in a mournful tone, which conveyed some idea of distress, and as if they called for something. This was continued about an hour; and in the meantime many people came down the road, each of them bringing a yam tied to the middle of a pole, which they laid down before the persons who continued repeating the sentences. While this was going on, the King and prince arrived, and seated themselves upon the area; and we were desired to sit down by them, but to pull off our hats, and to untie our hair. The bearers of the yams being all come in, each pole was taken up between two men, who carried it over their shoulders. After forming themselves into companies of ten or twelve persons each, they marched across the place with a quick pace; each company headed by a man bearing a club or spear, and guarded on the right by several others armed with different weapons. A man carrying a living pigeon on a perch closed the rear of the procession, in which about 250 persons walked.

Omai was desired by me to ask the chief to what place the yams were to be thus carried with so much solemnity. But, as he seemed unwilling to give us the information we wanted, two or three of us followed the procession, contrary to his inclination. We found that they stopped before a "morai" or "fiatooka" of one house, standing upon a mount, which was hardly a quarter of a mile from the place where they first assembled. Here we observed them depositing the yams, and making them up into bundles; but for what purpose we could not learn. And as our presence seemed to give them uneasiness, we left them and returned to Poulaho, who told us we might amuse ourselves by walking about, as nothing would be done for some time. The fear of losing any part of the ceremony prevented our being long absent. When we returned to the King, he desired me to order the boat's crew not to stir from the boat; for as everything would very soon be "taboo," if any of our people, or of their own, should be found walking about, they would be knocked down with clubs, nay, "mateed," that is, killed. He also acquainted us that we could not be present at the ceremony; but that we should be conducted to a place where we might see everything that passed. Objections were made to our dress. We were told that to qualify us to be present it was necessary that we should be naked as low as the breast, with our hats off and our hair untied. Omai offered to conform to these requisites, and began to strip; other objections were then started, so that the exclusion was given to him equally with ourselves.

I did not much like this restriction, and therefore stole out to see what might now be going forward. I found very few people stirring, except those dressed to attend the ceremony; some of whom had in their hands small poles about four feet long, and to the under-part of these were fastened two or three other sticks, not bigger than one's finger, and about six inches in length. These men were going toward the "morai" just mentioned. I took the same road, and was several times stopped by them, all crying out "taboo." However, I went forward without much regarding them, till I came in sight of the "morai," and of the people who were sitting before it. I was now urged very strongly to go back; and not knowing what might be the consequence of a refusal, I complied. I had observed that the people who carried the poles passed this "morai," or what I may as well call temple; and guessing from this circumstance that something was transacting beyond it which might be worth looking at, I had thoughts of advancing, by making a round, for this purpose; but I was so closely watched by three men that I could not put my design in execution. In order to shake these fellows off, I returned to the "malaee" where I had left the King, and from thence made an elopement a second time; but I instantly met the same three men, so that it seemed as if they had been ordered to watch my motions. I paid no regard to what they said or did, till I came within sight of the King's principal "fiatooka" or "morai," which I have already described,[1] before which a great number of men were sitting, being the same persons whom I had just before seen pass by the other "morai," from which this was but a little distant. Observing that I could watch the proceedings of this company from the King's plantation, I repaired thither, very much to the satisfaction of those who attended me.

As soon as I got in, I acquainted the gentlemen who had come with me from the ships with what I had seen; and we took a proper station to watch the result. The number of people at the "fiatooka" continued to increase for some time; and at length we could see them quit their sitting posture and march off in procession. They walked in pairs, one after another, every pair carrying between them one of the small poles above mentioned, on their shoulders. We were told that the small pieces of sticks fastened to the poles were yams; so that probably they were meant to represent this root emblematically. The hindmost man of each couple, for the most part, placed one of his hands to the middle of the pole, as if without this additional support it were not strong enough to carry the weight that hung to it, and under which they all seemed to bend as they walked. This procession consisted of 108 pairs, and all or most of them men of rank. They came close by the fence behind which we stood; so that we had a full view of them. Having waited here till they had all passed, we then repaired to Poulaho's house, and saw him going out. We could not be allowed to follow him; but were forthwith conducted to the place allotted to us, which was behind a fence adjoining to the area of the "fiatooka" where the yams had been deposited in the forenoon. As we were not the only people who were excluded from being publicly present at this ceremony, but allowed to peep from behind the curtain, we had a good deal of company; and I observed that all the other enclosures round the place were filled with people. And yet all imaginable care seemed to be taken that they should see as little as possible; for the fences had not only been repaired that morning, but in many places raised higher than common, so that the tallest man could not look over them. To remedy this defect in our station, we took the liberty to cut holes in the fence with our knives; and by this means

[1] In the Chapter immediately preceding.

we could see pretty distinctly everything that was transacting on the other side.

On our arrival at our station, we found two or three hundred people sitting on the grass near the end of the road that opened into the area of the "morai;" and the number continually increased by others joining them. At length arrived a few men carrying some small poles, and branches or leaves of the cocoa-nut tree; upon their first appearance an old man seated himself in the road, and with his face toward them, pronounced a long oration in a serious tone. He then retired back, and the others advancing to the middle of the area, began to erect a small shed, employing for that purpose the materials above mentioned. When they had finished their work, they all squatted down for a moment before it, then rose up and retired to the rest of the company. Soon after came Poulaho's son, preceded by four or five men, and they seated themselves a little aside from the shed, and rather behind it. After them appeared twelve or fourteen women of the first rank, walking slowly in pairs, each pair carrying between them a narrow piece of white cloth extended, about two or three yards in length. These marched up to the prince, squatted down before him, and, having wrapped some of the pieces of the cloth they had brought, round his body, they rose up and retired in the same order to some distance on his left, and there seated themselves. Poulaho himself soon made his appearance, preceded by four men, who walked two and two abreast, and sat down on his son's left hand, about twenty paces from him. The young prince then quitting his first position, went and sat down under the shed with his attendants; and a considerable number more placed themselves on the grass before this royal canopy. The prince himself sat facing the people, with his back to the "morai." This being done, three companies of ten or a dozen men in each started up from amongst the large crowd, a little after each other, and running hastily to the opposite side of the area, sat down for a few seconds; after which they returned in the same manner to their former stations. To them succeeded two men, each of whom held a small green branch in his hand, who got up and approached the prince, sitting down for a few seconds, three different times as they advanced; and then, turning their backs, retired in the same manner, inclining their branches to each other as they sat. In a little time two more repeated this ceremony.

The grand procession which I had seen march off from the other "morai" now began to come in. To judge of the circuit they had made, from the time they had been absent, it must have been pretty large. As they entered the area they marched up to the right of the shed, and, having prostrated themselves on the grass, deposited their pretended burthens (the poles above mentioned), and faced round to the prince. They then rose up and retired in the same order, closing their hands, which they held before them, with the most serious aspect, and seated themselves along the front of the area. During all the time that this numerous band were coming in and depositing their poles, three men who sat under the shed with the prince continued pronouncing separate sentences in a melancholy tone. After this a profound silence ensued for a little time, and then a man, who sat in the front of the area, began an oration (or prayer), during which, at several different times, he went and broke one of the poles which had been brought in by those who had walked in procession. When he had ended, the people sitting before the shed separated to make a lane through which the prince and his attendants passed, and the assembly broke up. Some of our party, satisfied with what they had already seen, now returned to the ships; but I and two or three more of the officers remained at Mooa to see the conclusion of the solemnity, which was not to be till the next day, being desirous of omitting no oppor-

tunity which might afford any information about the religious or the political institutions of this people. The small sticks or poles which had been brought into the area by those who walked in procession, being left lying on the ground after the crowd had dispersed, I went and examined them. I found that to the middle of each two or three small sticks were tied, as has been related. Yet we had been repeatedly told by the natives who stood near us that they were young yams, insomuch that some of our gentlemen believed them rather than their own eyes. As I had the demonstration of my senses to satisfy me that they were not real yams, it is clear that we ought to have understood that they were only the artificial representations of these roots.

Our supper was got ready about 7 o'clock. It consisted of fish and yams. We might have had pork also; but we did not choose to kill a large hog which the King had given to us for that purpose. He supped with us, and drank pretty freely of brandy and water; so that he went to bed with a sufficient dose. We passed the night in the same house with him and several of his attendants. About 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning they waked and conversed for about an hour, and then went to sleep again. All but Poulaho himself rose at day-break, and went I know not whither. Soon after, a woman, one of those who generally attended upon the chief, came in and inquired where he was. I pointed him out to her, and she immediately sat down by him, and began the same operation which Mr Anderson had seen practised upon Futtafaihe, tapping or beating gently with her clenched fists on his thighs. This, instead of prolonging his sleep as was intended, had the contrary effect; however, though he awaked, he continued to lie down. Omai and I now went to visit the prince, who had parted from us early in the evening. For he did not lodge with the King, but in apartments of his own, or at *least* such as had been allotted to him, at some distance from his father's house. We found him with a circle of boys, or youths, about his own age, sitting before him; and an old woman and an old man, who seemed to have the care of him, sitting behind. There were others, both men and women, employed about their necessary affairs in different departments, who probably belonged to his household.

From the prince we returned to the King. By this time he had got up, and had a crowded circle before him, composed chiefly of old men. While a large bowl of "kava" was preparing, a baked hog and yams, smoking hot, were brought in, the greatest part of which fell to our share, and was very acceptable to the boat's crew; for these people eat very little in the morning, especially the "kava" drinkers. I afterward walked out and visited several other chiefs; and found that all of them were taking their morning draught, or had already taken it. Returning to the King, I found him asleep in a small retired hut, with two women tapping on his breech. About 11 o'clock he arose again; and then some fish and yams, which tasted as if they had been stewed in cocoa-nut milk, were brought to him. Of these he ate a large portion, and lay down once more to sleep. I now left him, and carried to the prince a present of cloth, beads, and other articles, which I had brought with me from the ship for the purpose. There was a sufficient quantity of cloth to make him a complete suit; and he was immediately decked out with it. Proud of his dress, he first went to show himself to his father, and then conducted me to his mother; with whom were about ten or a dozen other women of a respectable appearance. Here the prince changed his apparel, and made me a present of two pieces of the cloth manufactured in the island. By this time it was past noon, when by appointment I repaired to the palace to dinner. Several of our gentlemen had returned this morning from the ships; and we were all invited to the

feast, which was presently served up, and consisted of two pigs and yams. I roused the drowsy monarch to partake of what he had provided for our entertainment. In the meantime two mullets and some shell-fish were brought to him, as I supposed, for his separate portion. But he joined it to our fare, sat down with us, and made a hearty meal.

When dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would soon begin, and were strictly enjoined not to walk out. I had resolved, however, to peep no longer from behind the curtain, but to mix with the actors themselves if possible. With this view I stole out from the plantation, and walked toward the "morai," the scene of the solemnity. I was several times desired to go back by people whom I met; but I paid no regard to them, and they suffered me to pass on. When I arrived at the "morai," I found a number of men seated on the side of the area, on each side of the road that leads up to it. A few were sitting on the opposite side of the area, and two men in the middle of it, with their faces turned to the "morai." When I got into the midst of the first company, I was desired to sit down, which I accordingly did. Where I sat there were lying a number of small bundles or parcels, composed of cocoa-nut leaves, and tied to sticks made into the form of hand-barrows. All the information I could get about them was that they were "taboo." Our number kept continually increasing; every one coming from the same quarter. From time to time, one or another of the company turned himself to those who were coming to join us, and made a short speech; in which I could remark that the word "arakee," that is, King, was generally mentioned. One man said something that produced bursts of hearty laughter from all the crowd; others of the speakers met with public applause. I was several times desired to leave the place; and at last, when they found that I would not stir, after some seeming consultation they applied to me to uncover my shoulders as theirs were. With this request I complied, and then they seemed to be no longer uneasy at my presence.

I sat a full hour without anything more going forward, beside what I have mentioned. At length the prince, the women, and the King all came in, as they had done the day before. The prince being placed under the shed, after his father's arrival, two men, each carrying a piece of mat, came repeating something seriously, and put them about him. The assembled people now began their operations; and first three companies ran backwards and forwards across the area, as described in the account of the proceedings of the former day. Soon after, the two men who sat in the middle of the area made a short speech or prayer; and then the whole body amongst whom I had my place started up, and ran and seated themselves before the shed under which the prince and three or four men were sitting. I was now partly under the management of one of the company, who seemed very assiduous to serve me. By his means I was placed in such a situation, that if I had been allowed to make use of my eyes, nothing that passed could have escaped me. But it was necessary to sit with down-cast looks, and demure as maids. Soon after, the procession came in, as on the day before; each two persons bearing on their shoulders a pole, round the middle of which a cocoa-nut leaf was plaited. These were deposited with ceremonies similar to those observed on the preceding day. This first procession was followed by a second; the men composing which brought baskets such as are usually employed by this people to carry provisions in, and made of palm leaves. These were followed by a third procession, in which were brought different kinds of small fish, each fixed at the end of a forked stick. The baskets were carried up to an old man, whom I took to be the chief priest, and who sat on the prince's right hand, without the shed. He held each in his

hand, while he made a short speech or prayer; then laid it down and called for another, repeating the same words as before; and thus he went through the whole number of baskets. The fish were presented, one by one, on the forked sticks, as they came in, to two men who sat on the left, and who till now held green branches in their hands. The first fish they laid down on their right, and the second on their left. When the third was presented, a stout-looking man who sat behind the other two reached his arm over between them and made a snatch at it; as also did the other two at the very same time. Thus they seemed to contend for every fish that was presented; but as there were two hands against one, besides the advantage of situation, the man behind got nothing but pieces; for he never quitted his hold till the fish was torn out of his hand, and what little remained in it he shook out behind him. The others laid what they got on the right and left alternately. At length, either by accident or design, the man behind got possession of a whole fish without either of the other two so much as touching it. At this the word "Mareeai," which signifies "Very good!" or "Well done!" was uttered in a low voice throughout the whole crowd. It seemed that he had performed now all that was expected from him, for he made no attempt upon the few fish that came after. These fish, as also the baskets, were all delivered, by the persons who brought them in, sitting; and in the same order and manner the small poles, which the first procession carried, had been laid upon the ground.

The last procession being closed, there was some speaking or praying by different persons. Then on some signal being given, we all started up, ran several paces to the left, and sat down with our backs to the prince and the few who remained with him. I was desired not to look behind me. However, neither this injunction, nor the remembrance of Lot's wife, discouraged me from facing about. I *now saw* that the prince had turned his face to the "morai;" but this last movement had brought so many people between him and me, that I could not perceive what was doing. I was afterward assured that at this very time the prince was admitted to the high honour of eating with his father, which till now had never been permitted to him; a piece of roasted yam being presented to each of them for this purpose. This was the more probable, as we had been told beforehand that this was to happen during the solemnity; and as all the people turned their backs to them at this time, which they always do when their monarch eats. After some little time we all faced about, and formed a semicircle before the prince, leaving a large open space between us. Presently there appeared some men coming toward us, two and two, bearing large sticks or poles upon their shoulders, making a noise that might be called singing, and waving their hands as they advanced. When they had got close up to us, they made a show of walking very fast, without proceeding a single step. Immediately after, three or four men started up from the crowd, with large sticks in their hands, who ran toward those newcomers. The latter instantly threw down the poles from their shoulders and scampered off; and the others attacked the poles, and, having beat them most unmercifully, returned to their places. As the pole-bearers ran off, they gave the challenge that is usual here in wrestling; and not long after, a number of stout fellows came from the same quarter, repeating the challenge as they advanced. These were opposed by a party who came from the opposite side almost at the same instant. The two parties paraded about the area for a few minutes, and then retired each to their own side. After this there were wrestling and boxing matches for about half-an-hour. Then two men seated themselves before the prince, and made speeches addressed, as I thought, entirely to him. With this the solemnity ended, and the whole assembly broke up.

I now went and examined the several baskets which had been presented; a curiosity that I was not allowed before to indulge, because everything was then "taboo." But the solemnity being now over, they became simply what I found them to be, empty baskets. So that whatever they were supposed to contain was emblematically represented. And so indeed was every other thing which had been brought in procession except the fish. We endeavoured in vain to find out the meaning, not only of the ceremony in general, which is called "Natche," but of its different parts. We seldom got any other answer to our inquiries, but "Taboo;" a word which, I have before observed, is applied to many other things. But as the prince was evidently the principal person concerned in it; and as we had been told by the King, ten days before the celebration of the "Natche," that the people would bring in yams for him and his son to eat together; and as he even described some part of the ceremony, we concluded from what he had then said, and from what we now saw, that an oath of allegiance, if I may so express myself, or solemn promise, was on this occasion made to the prince, as the immediate successor to the regal dignity, to stand by him and to furnish him with the several articles that were here emblematically represented. That seems the more probable, as all the principal people of the island whom we had ever seen assisted in the processions. But be this as it may, the whole was conducted with a great deal of mysterious solemnity; and that there was a mixture of religion in the institution was evident not only from the place where it was performed, but from the manner of performing it. Our dress and deportment had never been called in question upon any former occasion whatever. Now it was expected that we should be uncovered as low as the waist; that our hair should be loose and flowing over our shoulders; that we should like themselves sit cross-legged, and at times in the most humble posture, with down-cast eyes and hands locked together: all which requisites were most devoutly observed by the whole assembly. And, lastly, every one was excluded from the solemnity but the principal people and those who assisted in the celebration. All these circumstances were to me a sufficient testimony that upon this occasion they considered themselves as acting under the immediate inspection of a Supreme Being. The present "Natche" may be considered, from the above account of it, as merely figurative. For the small quantity of yams which we saw the first day could not be intended as a general contribution; and indeed we were given to understand that they were a portion consecrated to the "Otooa," or divinity. But we were informed that in about three months there would be performed, on the same account, a far more important and grander solemnity; on which occasion not only the tribute of Tongataboo, but that of Hapaee, Vavaoo, and of all the other islands, would be brought to the chief, and confirmed more awfully by sacrificing ten human victims from amongst the inferior sort of people. A horrid solemnity indeed! which is a most significant instance of the influence of gloomy and ignorant superstition over the minds of one of the most benevolent and humane nations upon earth. On inquiring into the reasons of so barbarous a practice, they only said that it was a necessary part of the "Natche;" and that if they omitted it the deity would certainly destroy their king.

Before the assembly broke up, the day was far spent; and as we were at some distance from the ships, and had an intricate navigation to go through, we were in haste to set out from Mooa. When I took leave of Poulaho, he pressed me much to stay till the next day, to be present at a funeral ceremony. The wife of Mareewagee, who was mother-in-law to the King, had lately died; and her corpse had, on account of the "Natche," been carried on board a canoe that lay in the lagoon. Poulaho told me that as soon as he had paid the last offices to her he

would attend me to Eooa; but, if I did not wait, that he would follow me thither. I understood at the same time, that if it had not been for the death of this woman most of the chiefs would have accompanied us to that island, where, it seems, all of them have possessions. I would gladly have waited to see this ceremony also, had not the tide been now favourable for the ships to get through the narrows. The wind, besides, which, for several days past had been very boisterous, was now moderate and settled; and to have lost this opportunity might have detained us a fortnight longer. But, what was decisive against my waiting, we understood that the funeral ceremonies would last five days; which was too long a time, as the ships lay in such a situation that I could not get to sea at pleasure. I however, assured the King that if we did not sail I should certainly visit him again the next day. And so we all took leave of him, and set out for the ships, where we arrived about 8 o'clock in the evening.

I had forgot to mention that Omai was present at this second day's ceremony as well as myself; but we were not together, nor did I know that he was there till it was almost over. He afterwards told me that as soon as the King saw that I had stolen out from the plantation, he sent several people one after another to desire me to come back. Probably these messengers were not admitted to the place where I was; for I saw nothing of them. At last intelligence was brought to the chief that I had actually stripped in conformity to their custom; and then he told Omai that he might be present also, if he would comply with all the necessary forms. Omai had no objection, as nothing was required of him but to conform to the custom of his own country. Accordingly he was furnished with a proper dress, and appeared at the ceremony as one of the natives. It is likely that one reason of our being excluded at first was an apprehension that we would not submit to the requisites to qualify us to assist.

While I was attending the "Natche" at Mooa, I ordered the horses, bull and cow, and goats, to be brought thither, thinking that they would be safer there, under the eyes of the chiefs, than at a place that would be in a manner deserted the moment after our departure. Besides the above-mentioned animals, we left with our friends here a young boar and three young sows of the English breed. They were exceedingly desirous of them, judging, no doubt, that they would greatly improve their own breed, which is rather small. Feenou also got from us two rabbits, a buck, and a doe; and before we sailed we were told that young ones had been already produced. If the cattle succeed, of which I make no doubt, it will be a vast acquisition to these islands; and as Tongataboo is a fine level country, the horses cannot but be useful.

[Weighing anchor on the morning of the 10th, the ships got with some difficulty through the channel, and did not weather the east end of Tongataboo before 10 o'clock next night. On the morning of the 12th they anchored off Middleburg Island, called by the natives Eooa, or English Road—the name Cook had given to his station in 1773.]

We had no sooner anchored than Taoofa the chief[1] and several other natives visited us on board, and seemed to rejoice much at our arrival. In a little time I went ashore with him in search of fresh water, the procuring of which was the chief object that brought me to Eooa. I had been told at Tongataboo that there was here a stream running from the hills into the sea, but this was not the case now. I was first conducted to a brackish spring, between low and high water mark amongst rocks in the cove where we landed, and where no one would ever have thought of looking for what we wanted. However, I be-

[1] In the account of Captain Cook's former voyage, he calls the only chief he then met with at this place Tioony.—*Note in Original Edition.*

lieve the water of this spring might be good, were it possible to take it up before the tide mixes with it. Finding that we did not like this, our friends took us a little way into the island, where in a deep chasm we found very good water, which, at the expense of some time and trouble, might be conveyed down to the shore by means of spouts or troughs that could be made with plantain leaves and the stem of the tree. But rather than undertake that tedious task I resolved to rest contented with the supply the ships had got at Tongataboo. Before I returned on board I set on foot a trade for hogs and yams. Of the former we could procure but few, but of the latter plenty. I put ashore at this island the ram and two ewes of the Cape of Good Hope breed of sheep, entrusting them to the care of Taoofa, who seemed proud of his charge. It was fortunate, perhaps, that Mareewagee, to whom I had given them, as before mentioned, slighted the present. Eooa, not having as yet got any dogs upon it, seems to be a properer place than Tongataboo for the rearing of sheep. As we lay at anchor, this island bore a very different aspect from any we had lately seen, and formed a most beautiful landscape. It is higher than any we had passed since leaving New Zealand (as Kao may justly be reckoned an immense rock), and from its top, which is almost flat, declines very gently toward the sea. As the other isles of this cluster are level, the eye can discover nothing but the trees that cover them; but here the land, rising gently upward, presents us with an extensive prospect, where groves of trees are only interspersed at irregular distances in beautiful disorder, and the rest covered with grass. Near the shore, again, it is quite shaded with various trees, amongst which are the habitations of the natives; and to the right of our station was one of the most extensive groves of cocoa-palms we had ever seen. . . .

Soon after we weighed, and with a light breeze at SE. stood out to sea; and then Taoofa and a few other natives that were in the ship left us. On heaving up the anchor, we found that the cable had suffered considerably by the rocks, so that the bottom in this road is not to be depended upon. Besides this, we experienced that a prodigious swell rolls in there from the SW. We had not been long under sail before we observed a sailing canoe coming from Tongataboo, and entering the creek before which we had anchored. Some hours after, a small canoe, conducted by four men, came off to us, for as we had but little wind, we were still at no great distance from the land. These men told us that the sailing canoe which we had seen arrive from Tongataboo had brought orders to the people of Eooa to furnish us with a certain number of hogs, and that in two days the King and other chiefs would be with us. They therefore desired we would return to our former station. There was no reason to doubt the truth of what these men told us. Two of them had actually come from Tongataboo in the sailing canoe, and they had no view in coming off to us but to give this intelligence. However, as we were now clear of the land, it was not a sufficient inducement to bring me back, especially as we had already on board a stock of fresh provisions sufficient in all probability to last during our passage to Otaheite. Besides Taoofa's present, we had got a good quantity of yams at Eooa in exchange chiefly for small nails. Our supply of hogs was also considerably increased there, though doubtless we should have got many more if the chiefs of Tongataboo had been with us, whose property they mostly were. At the approach of night these men, finding that we would not return, left us, as also some others who had come off in two canoes with a few cocoanuts and shaddocks to exchange them for what they could get; the eagerness of these people to get into their possession more of our commodities inducing them to follow the ships out to sea, and to continue their intercourse with us to the last moment.

CHAPTER X.[1]

Thus we took leave of the Friendly Islands and their inhabitants, after a stay of between two and three months, during which time we lived together in the most cordial friendship. Some accidental differences, it is true, now and then happened, owing to their great propensity to thieving, but too often encouraged by the negligence of our own people. But these differences were never attended with any fatal consequences, to prevent which all my measures were directed; and I believe few on board our ships left our friends here without some regret. The time employed amongst them was not thrown away. We expended very little of our sea provisions, subsisting in general upon the produce of the islands while we stayed, and carrying away with us a quantity of refreshments sufficient to last till our arrival at another station, where we could depend upon a fresh supply. I was not sorry, besides, to have had an opportunity of bettering the condition of these good people, by leaving the useful animals before mentioned among them; and at the same time those designed for Otaheite received fresh strength in the pastures of Tongataboo. Upon the whole, therefore, the advantages we received by touching here were very great; and I had the additional satisfaction to reflect that they were received without retarding one moment the prosecution of the great object of our voyage; the season for proceeding to the north being, as has been already observed, lost before I took the resolution of bearing away for these islands. But besides the immediate advantages which both the natives of the Friendly Islands and ourselves received by this visit, future navigators from Europe, if any such should ever tread our steps, will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean; and the more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, and to speculate on singular but faithful representations of the persons, the customs, the arts, the religion, the government, and the language of uncultivated man in remote and fresh discovered quarters of the globe, will perhaps find matter of amusement, if not of instruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him concerning the inhabitants of this archipelago. I shall suspend my narrative of the progress of the voyage, while I faithfully relate what I had opportunities of collecting on these several topics.

[Best articles for traffic at Friendly Islands: iron, tools, and nails of all kinds, red cloth, linen, looking-glasses, and beads—useful and ornamental commodities not always swaying the market with equal power, though the useful have generally the preference. In exchange may be procured hogs, fowl, fish, yams, bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, sugar-cane, and everything that can be got at the Society Islands, though not all of equally good quality. Good water is scarce, but indifferent may be had on all the islands.]

Under the denomination of Friendly Islands we must include not only the group at Hapaee which I visited, but also all those islands that have been discovered nearly under the same meridian to the north, as well as some others that have never been seen hitherto by any European navigators, but are under the dominion of Tongataboo, which, though not the largest, is the capital and seat of government. According to the information that we received there, this

[1] This, and the subsequent Chapter of Book II., devoted to an account of the Friendly Isles and their inhabitants, although obstructing not a little the course of Cook's narrative, have been retained with some unimportant or desirable omissions, condensations, and as giving, mainly from his own pen and his own observation, a lively picture of one of the great Australasian communities which he first unveiled to the knowledge of the world.

archipelago is very extensive. Above 150 islands were reckoned up to us by the natives, who made use of bits of leaves to ascertain their number; and Mr Anderson, with his usual diligence, even procured all their names. Fifteen of them are said to be high or hilly, such as Toofoa and Eooa; and thirty-five of them large. Of these only three were seen this voyage: Hapaee (which is considered by the natives as one island), Tongataboo, and Eooa; of the size of the unexplored thirty-two nothing more can be mentioned but that they must be all larger than Annamooka, which those from whom we had our information ranked amongst the smaller isles. Some, or indeed several, of this latter denomination are mere spots without inhabitants.[1]

I have not the least doubt that Prince William's Islands, discovered and so named by Tasman, are included in the foregoing list. For while we lay at Hapaee, one of the natives told me that three or four days' sail from thence to the NW. there was a cluster of small islands consisting of upwards of forty. This situation corresponds very well with that assigned, in the accounts we have of Tasman's voyage, to his Prince William's Islands.[2]

We have also very good authority to believe that Keppel's and Boscawen's Islands, two of Captain Wallis's discoveries in 1765, are comprehended in our list; and that they are not only well known to these people, but are under the same sovereign. The following information seemed to me decisive as to this. Upon my inquiring one day of Poulaho, the King, in what manner the inhabitants of Tongataboo had acquired the knowledge of iron, and from what quarter they had procured a small iron tool which I had seen amongst them when I first visited their island during my former voyage, he informed me that they had received this iron from an island which he called Neeootabootaboo. Carrying my inquiries further, I then desired to know whether he had ever been informed from whom the people of Neeootabootaboo had got it. I found him perfectly acquainted with its history. He said that one of these islanders sold a club for five nails to a ship which had touched there, and that these five nails afterwards were sent to Tongataboo. He added that this was the first iron known amongst them; so that what Tasman left of that metal must have been worn out and forgotten long ago. I was very particular in my inquiries about the situation, size, and form of the island; expressing my desire to know when this ship had touched there, how long she stayed, and whether any more were in company. The leading facts appeared to be fresh in his memory. He said that there was but one ship; that she did not come to an anchor, but left the island after her boat had been on shore. And from many circumstances which he mentioned, it could not be many years since this had happened. According to his information, there are two islands near each other, which he himself had been at. The one he described as high and peaked like Kao, and he called it Kootahee; the other, where the people of the ship landed, called Neeootabootaboo, he represented as much lower. He added that the natives of both are the same sort of people with those of Tongataboo, built their canoes in the same manner, that their islands had hogs and fowls, and in general the same vegetable productions. The ship so pointedly referred to in this conversation could be no other than

[1] Follows in the original a list of ninety-five islands of the group, mentioned by the inhabitants of the islands which Cook visited; but we mercifully spare the reader the infliction of the soft but unwieldy polysyllables.

[2] Tasman saw eighteen or twenty of these small islands, every one of which was surrounded with sands, shoals, and rocks. They are also called, in some charts, Heemskirk's Banks.—*Note in Original Edition.*

the Dolphin; the only single ship from Europe, as far as we have ever learned, that had touched of late years at any island in this part of the Pacific Ocean prior to my former visit to the Friendly Islands.[1]

But the most considerable islands in this neighbourhood that we now heard of (and we heard a great deal about them) are Hamoa, Vavaoo, and Feejee. Each of these was represented to us as larger than Tongataboo. No European that we know of has as yet seen any one of them. Tasman, indeed, lays down in his chart an island nearly in the situation where I suppose Vavaoo to be; that is, about the Latitude of 19°. But then that island is there marked as a very small one; whereas Vavaoo, according to the united testimony of all our friends at Tongataboo, exceeds the size of their own island, and has high mountains. I should certainly have visited it, and have accompanied Feenou from Hapaee, if he had not then discouraged me by representing it to be very inconsiderable and without any harbour. But Poulaho, the King, afterwards assured me that it was a large island, and that it not only produced everything in common with Tongataboo, but had the peculiar advantage of possessing several streams of fresh water, with as good a harbour as that which we found at his capital island. He offered to attend me if I would visit it; adding that if I did not find everything agreeing with his representation, I might kill him. I had not the least doubt of the truth of his intelligence; and was satisfied that Feenou, from some interested view, attempted to deceive me.

Hamoa, which is also under the dominion of Tongataboo, lies two days' sail NW. from Vavaoo. It was described to me as the largest of all their islands, as affording harbours and good water, and as producing in abundance every article of refreshment found at the places we visited. Poulaho himself frequently resides there. It should seem that the people of this island are in high estimation at Tongataboo, for we were told that some of the songs and dances with which we were entertained had been copied from theirs, and we saw some houses said to be built after their fashion.

Feejee, as we were told, lies three days' sail from Tongataboo in the direction of NW. by W. It was described to us as a high but very fruitful island, abounding with hogs, dogs, fowls, and all kinds of fruit and roots that are found in any of the others, and as much larger than Tongataboo, to the dominion of which, as was represented to us, it is not subject, as the other islands of this archipelago are. On the contrary, Feejee and Tongataboo frequently make war upon each other; and it appeared from several circumstances that the inhabitants of the latter are much afraid of this enemy. They used to express their sense of their own inferiority to the Feejee men by bending their body forward, and covering the face with their hands. And it is no wonder that they should be under this dread, for those of Feejee are formidable on account of the dexterity with which they use their bows and slings, but much more so on account of the savage practice to which they are addicted, like those of New Zealand, of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle. We were satisfied that this was not a misrepresentation; for we met with several Feejee people at Tongataboo, and on inquiring of them they did not deny the charge.

Now that I am again led to speak

[1] See Captain Wallis's voyage, in Hawkesworth's Collection. Captain Wallis there calls both these islands high ones. But the superior height of one of them may be inferred from his saying that it appears like a sugar-loaf. This strongly marks its resemblance to Kao. From comparing Poulaho's intelligence to Captain Cook, with Captain Wallis's account, it seems to be past all doubt that Boscawen's Island is our Kootahee, and Keppel's Island our Neeootaboo-taboo.—*Note in Original Edition.*

of cannibals, let me ask those who maintain that the want of food first brings men to feed on human flesh, What is it that induceth the Feejee people to keep it up in the midst of plenty? This practice is detested very much by those of Tongataboo, who cultivate the friendship of their savage neighbours of Feejee apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground, and carry off red feathers as their booty, which are in great plenty there, and, as has been frequently mentioned, are in great estimation amongst our Friendly Islanders. When the two islands are at peace, the intercourse between them seems to be pretty frequent, though they have doubtless been but lately known to each other, or we may suppose that Tongataboo and its adjoining islands would have been supplied before this with a breed of dogs which abound at Feejee, and had not been introduced at Tongataboo so late as 1773, when I first visited it. The natives of Feejee whom we met with here were of a colour that was a full shade darker than that of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands in general. One of them had his left ear slit, and the lobe was so distended that it almost reached his shoulder, which singularity I had met with at other islands of the South Sea during my second voyage. It appeared to me that the Feejee men whom we now saw were much respected here, not only perhaps from the power and cruel manner of their nation's going to war, but also from their ingenuity. For they seem to excel the inhabitants of Tongataboo in that respect, if we might judge from several specimens of their skill in workmanship which we saw, such as clubs and spears, which were carved in a very masterly manner, cloth beautifully chequered, variegated mats, earthen pots, and some other articles, all which had a cast of superiority in the execution.

I have mentioned that Feejee lies three days' sail from Tongataboo, because these people have no other method of measuring the distance from island to island but by expressing the time required to make the voyage in one of their canoes. In order to ascertain this with some precision, or at least to form some judgment how far these canoes can sail in a moderate gale in any given time, I went on board one of them when under sail, and by several trials with the log found that she went seven knots or miles in an hour, close-hauled in a gentle gale. From this I judge that they will sail on a medium, with such breezes as generally blow in their sea, about seven or eight miles in an hour. But the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty-four hours; for when they spoke of one day's sail, they mean no more than from the morning to the evening of the same day—that is, ten or twelve hours at most; and two days' sail with them signifies from the morning of the first day to the evening of the second; and so for any other number of days. In these navigations the sun is their guide by day, and the stars by night. When these are obscured they have recourse to the points from whence the winds and the waves come upon the vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves should shift (which, within the limits of the trade-wind, seldom happens at any other time), they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port, and are never heard of more. The history of Omai's countrymen, who were driven to Wateeoo, leads us to infer that those not heard of are not always lost.

Of all the harbours and anchoring places I have met with amongst these islands, that of Tongataboo is by far the best, not only on account of its great security, but of its capacity, and of the goodness of its bottom. Although Tongataboo has the best harbour, Annamooka furnishes the best water, and yet it cannot be called good. However, by digging holes near the side of the pond we can get what may be called tolerable. This island, too, is the best situated for drawing refreshments from all the

others, as being nearly in the centre of the whole group.

It may be expected that after spending between two and three months amongst the [natives] I should be enabled to give a tolerably satisfactory account of their customs, opinions, and institutions, both civil and religious, especially as we had a person on board who might be supposed qualified to act the part of an interpreter, by understanding their language and others. But poor Omai was very deficient; for unless the object or thing we wanted to inquire about was actually before us, we found it difficult to gain a tolerable knowledge of it from information only, without falling into a hundred mistakes, and to such mistakes Omai was more liable than we were; for having no curiosity, he never gave himself the trouble to make remarks for himself; and when he was disposed to explain matters to us, his ideas appeared to be so limited, and perhaps so different from ours, that his accounts were often so confused as to perplex instead of instructing us. Add to this, that it was very rare that we found amongst the natives a person who united the ability and the inclination to give us the information we wanted; and we found that most of them hated to be troubled with what they probably thought idle questions. Our situation at Tongataboo, where we remained the longest, was likewise unfavourable. It was in a part of the country where there were few inhabitants except fishers. It was always holiday with our visitors, as well as with those we visited; so that we had but few opportunities of observing what was really the domestic way of living of the natives. Under these disadvantages it is not surprising that we should not be able to bring away with us satisfactory accounts of many things; but some of us endeavoured to remedy those disadvantages by diligent observation; and I am indebted to Mr Anderson for a considerable share of what follows in this and in the following *Chapter*.

The natives of the Friendly Islands seldom exceed the common stature (though we have measured some who were above six feet), but are very strong and well made, especially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the shoulders, and though the muscular disposition of the men, which seems a consequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of strength than of beauty, there are several to be seen who are really handsome. Their features are very various, insomuch that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness by which to characterise them, unless it be a fulness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But, on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noses amongst them. Their eyes and teeth are good, but the last neither so remarkably white nor so well set as is often found amongst Indian nations, though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickness about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection. The women are not so much distinguished from the men by their features as by their general form, which is for the most part destitute of that strong fleshy firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are so delicate as not only to be a true index of their sex, but to lay claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, the rule is by no means so general as in many other countries. But at the same time this is frequently the most exceptionable part, for the bodies and limbs of most of the females are well proportioned, and some absolutely perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the most remarkable distinction in the women is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown, but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and some of the last are even a great deal fairer, which is prob-

ably the effect of being less exposed to the sun, as a tendency to corpulence in a few of the principal people seems to be the consequence of a more indolent life. It is also amongst the last that a soft clear skin is most frequently observed. Amongst the bulk of the people the skin is more commonly of a dull hue, with some degree of roughness, especially the parts that are not covered, which perhaps may be occasioned by some cutaneous disease. We saw a man and boy at Hapaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongst all black nations, but I apprehend that their colour is rather a disease than a natural phenomenon. There are, nevertheless, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongst them, though we saw two or three with their feet bent inward, and some afflicted with a sort of blindness occasioned by a disease of the cornea. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases, the most common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that seems to affect almost one-half of them, and leaves whitish serpentine marks everywhere behind it. But this is of less consequence than another disease which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body in large broad ulcers with thick white edges, discharging a thin, clear matter, some of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly those on the face, which were shocking to look at. And yet we met with some who seemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not effected without the loss of the nose, or of the best part of it. As we know for a certainty[1] (and the fact is acknowledged by themselves) that the people of these islands were subject to this loathsome disease before the English first visited them, notwithstanding the similarity of symptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion, unless we adopt a supposition, which I could wish had sufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal disorder was not introduced here from Europe by our ships in 1773. It assuredly was now found to exist amongst them, for we had not been long there before some of our people received the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence that all the care I took when I first visited these islands to prevent this dreadful disease from being communicated to their inhabitants had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not seem to regard it much; and as we saw few signs of its destroying effects, probably the climate and the way of living of these people greatly abate its virulence. [Two other diseases are frequent amongst them.] But in other respects they may be considered as uncommonly healthy, not a single person having been seen during our stay confined to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary, their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance; and they exert both in their usual employment and in their diversions, in such a manner that there can be no doubt of their being as yet little debilitated by the numerous diseases that are the consequence of indolence and an unnatural method of life. The graceful air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal accomplishments. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquired that nothing used to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness or good-nature which they possess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. One would indeed be apt to fancy that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled,

[1] Captain Cook, in the account of his Second Voyage, gives a particular account of meeting with a person afflicted with this disease at Annamooka on his landing there in 1773.

and such a command of their passions, as well as steadiness in conduct. But they are at the same time frank, cheerful, and good-humoured, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put on a degree of gravity and such a serious air as becomes stiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reserve. Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared in the smallest degree hostile; but on the contrary, like the most civilised people, have courted an intercourse with their visitors by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a sort of friendship. They understand barter (which they call "fukkatou") so perfectly that at first we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourse with the neighbouring islands, but we were afterward assured that they had little or no traffic except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers and the few other articles mentioned before. Perhaps no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust. We could always safely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about one to another; and they put the same confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual consent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind, such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and perhaps other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing. The only defect sullying their character that we know of is a propensity to thieving, to which we found those of all ages and both sexes addicted, and to an uncommon degree.

Their hair is in general straight, thick, and strong, though a few have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almost without exception, is black; but the greatest part of the men and some of the women have it stained of a brown or purple colour, and a few of an orange cast. The first colour is produced by applying a sort of plaster of burned coral mixed with water; the second by the raspings of a reddish wood, which is made up with water into a poultice and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of turmeric root. When I first visited these islands I thought it had been a universal custom for both men and women to wear the hair short, but during our present longer stay we saw a great many exceptions. Indeed they are so whimsical in their fashions of wearing it that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue. Some have it cut off one side of the head, while that on the other side remains long; some have only a portion of it cut short or perhaps shaved; others have it entirely cut off except a single lock, which is left commonly on one side; or it is suffered to grow to its full length without any of these mutilations. The women in general wear it short. The men have their beards cut short, and both men and women strip the hair from their arm-pits. The operation by which this is performed has been already described.[1] The men are stained from about the middle of the belly to about half way down the thighs with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone instrument cut full of fine teeth, which, being dipped in the staining mixture prepared from the juice of the "dooe dooe," is struck into the skin with a bit of stick, and by that means indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which in some are very elegant, both from the variety and from the arrangement. The women have only a few small lines or spots thus imprinted on the inside of their hands. Their kings, as a mark of distinction, are exempted from this custom, as also from inflict-

[1] In Chapter VI. of this Book, *ante*, page 592.

ing on themselves any of those bloody marks of mourning which shall be mentioned in another place.

The dress of both men and women is the same, and consists of a piece of cloth or matting (but mostly the former), about two yards wide and two and a half long; at least, so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down like a petticoat as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment above the girdle is plaited into several folds, so that when unfolded there is cloth sufficient to draw up and wrap round the shoulders; which is very seldom done. This, as to form, is the general dress; but large pieces of cloth and fine matting are worn only by the superior people. The inferior sort are satisfied with small pieces, and very often wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the "maro," which is a narrow piece of cloth or matting like a sash. This they pass between the thighs and wrap round the waist; but the use of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great "Haivas," or entertainments, they have various dresses made for the purpose, but the form is always the same, and the richest dresses are covered more or less with red feathers. On what particular occasion their chiefs wear their large red feather-caps I could not learn. Both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets made of various materials. As the clothing, so are the ornaments worn by those of both sexes the same. The most common of these are necklaces made of the fruit of the *Pandanus* and various sweet-smelling flowers, which go under the general name of "kabulla." Others are composed of small shells, the wing and leg-bones of birds, sharks' teeth, and other things; all which hang loose upon the breast. In the same manner they often wear a mother-of-pearl shell neatly polished, or a ring of the same substance carved, on the upper part of the arm; rings of tortoise-shell on the fingers; and a number of these joined together as bracelets on the wrists. The lobes of the ears (though most frequently only one) are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory about three inches long, introduced at one hole and brought out of the other, or bits of reed of the same size filled with a yellow pigment. This seems to be a fine powder of turmeric, with which the women rub themselves all over in the same manner as our ladies use their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

Nothing appears to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness; to produce which they frequently bathe in the ponds, which seem to serve no other purpose. Though the water in most of them stinks intolerably, they prefer them to the sea; and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin, that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea they commonly have some cocoa-nut shells filled with fresh water poured over them to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the same reason; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders, but rub the body all over briskly with a smaller quantity. And none but those who have seen this practice can easily conceive how the appearance of the skin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one, and the inferior sort of people doubtless appear less smooth for want of it.

CHAPTER XI.

THEIR domestic life is of that middle kind, neither so laborious as to be disagreeable, nor so vacant as to suffer them to degenerate into indolence. Nature has done so much for their country that the first can hardly occur, and their disposition seems to be a pretty good bar to the last. By this happy combination of circumstances their necessary labour seems to yield in its turn to their recrea-

tions in such a manner, that the latter are never interrupted by the thoughts of being obliged to recur to the former, till satiety makes them wish for such a transition.

The employment of the women is of the easy kind, and for the most part such as may be executed in the house. The manufacturing their cloth is wholly consigned to their care. Having already described the process, I shall only add that they have this cloth of different degrees of fineness. The coarser sort, of which they make very large pieces, does not receive the impression of any pattern. Of the finer sort they have some that is striped and chequered, and of other patterns differently coloured. But how these colours are laid on I cannot say, as I never saw any of this sort made. The cloth in general will resist water for some time, but that which has the strongest glaze will resist longest. The manufacture next in consequence, and also within the department of the women, is that of their mats, which excel everything I have seen at any other place both as to their texture and their beauty. In particular, many of them are so superior to those made at Otaheite, that they are not a bad article to carry thither by way of trade. Of these mats they have seven or eight different sorts for the purposes of wearing or sleeping upon, and many are merely ornamental. The last are chiefly made from the tough, membraneous part of the stock of the plantain tree; those that they wear, from the *Pandanus*, cultivated for that purpose, and never suffered to shoot into a trunk; and the coarser sort, which they sleep upon, from a plant called "evarra." There are many other articles of less note that employ the spare time of their females, as combs, of which they make vast numbers, little baskets made of the same substance as the mats, and others of the fibrous cocoa-nut husk, either plain or interwoven with small beads, but all finished with such neatness and taste in the disposition of the various parts, that a stranger cannot help admiring their assiduity and dexterity.

The province allotted to the men is, as might be expected, far more laborious and extensive than that of the women. Agriculture, architecture, boat-building, fishing, and other things that relate to navigation, are the objects of their care. Cultivated roots and fruits being their principal support, this requires their constant attention to agriculture, which they pursue very diligently, and seem to have brought almost to as great perfection as circumstances will permit. The large extent of the plantain fields has been taken notice of already; and the same may be said of the yams, these two together being at least as ten to one with respect to all the other articles. In planting both these, they dig small holes for their reception, and afterwards root up the surrounding grass, which in this hot country is quickly deprived of its vegetating power, and, soon rotting, becomes a good manure. The instruments they use for this purpose, which they call "hooo," are nothing more than pickets or stakes of different lengths, according to the depth they have to dig. These are flattened and sharpened to an edge at one end, and the largest have a short piece fixed transversely for pressing it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground of many acres in extent. In planting the plantains and yams they observe so much exactness, that whichever way you look the rows present themselves regular and complete.

The cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees are scattered about without any order, and seem to give them no trouble after they have attained a certain height. The same may be said of another large tree, which produces great numbers of a large, roundish, compressed nut, called "eeefee;" and of a smaller tree that bears a rounded oval nut two inches long, with two or three triangular kernels, tough and insipid, called "mabba," most fre-

quently planted near their houses. The "kappe" is, commonly, regularly planted, and in pretty large spots; but the "mawhaha" is interspersed amongst other things, as the "jeejee" and yams are; the last of which I have frequently seen in the interspaces of the plantain trees at their common distance. Sugar-cane is commonly in small spots, crowded closely together; and the mulberry, of which the cloth is made, though without order, has sufficient room allowed for it, and is kept very clean. The only other plant that they cultivate for their manufactures is the *Pandanus*, which is generally planted in a row close together at the sides of the other fields; and they consider it as a thing so distinct in this state, that they have a different name for it, which shows that they are very sensible of the great changes brought about by cultivation.

It is remarkable that these people, who in many things show much taste and ingenuity, should show little of either in building their houses; though the defect is rather in the design than in the execution. Those of the lower people are poor huts, scarcely sufficient to defend them from the weather, and very small. Those of the better sort are larger and more comfortable; but not what one might expect. The dimensions of one of a middling size are about thirty feet long, twenty broad, and twelve high. Their house is, properly speaking, a thatched roof or shed, supported by posts and rafters disposed in a very judicious manner. The floor is raised with earth smoothed, and covered with strong, thick matting, and kept very clean. The most of them are closed on the weather side (and some more than two-thirds round) with strong mats, or with branches of the cocoa-nut tree plaited or woven into each other. These they fix up edgewise, reaching from the eaves to the ground, and thus they answer the purpose of a wall. A thick, strong mat, about two and one-half or three feet broad, bent into the form of a semicircle, and set upon its edge with the ends touching the side of the house, in shape resembling the fender of a fire-hearth, encloses a space for the master and mistress of the family to sleep in. The lady, indeed, spends most of her time during the day within it. The rest of the family sleep upon the floor wherever they please to lie down; the unmarried men and women apart from each other. Or, if the family be large, there are small huts adjoining to which the servants retire in the night; so that privacy is as much observed here as one could expect. They have mats made on purpose for sleeping on; and the clothes that they wear in the day serve for their covering in the night. Their whole furniture consists of a bowl or two, in which they make "kava;" a few gourds, cocoa-nut shells, some small wooden stools which serve them for pillows, and, perhaps, a large stool for the chief or master of the family to sit upon. The only probable reason I can assign for their neglect of ornamental architecture in the construction of their houses, is their being fond of living much in the open air. Indeed, they seem to consider their houses, within which they seldom eat, as of little use but to sleep in and to retire to in bad weather. And the lower sort of people, who spend a great part of their time in close attendance upon the chiefs, can have little use for their own houses but in the last case.

They make amends for the defects of their houses by their great attention to and dexterity in naval architecture, if I may be allowed to give it that name. But I refer to the narrative of my last voyage for an account of their canoes, and their manner of building and navigating them. The only tools which they use to construct these boats are hatchets, or rather thick adzes, of a smooth black stone that abounds at Toofoa; augers made of sharks' teeth fixed on small handles; and rasps of a rough skin of a fish, fastened on flat pieces of wood, thinner on one side, which also have handles. The labour and time employed in finishing their

canoes, which are the most perfect of their mechanical productions, will account for their being very careful of them. For they are built and preserved under sheds; or they cover the decked part of them with cocoa-leaves when they are hauled on shore, to prevent their being hurt by the sun. The same tools are all they have for other works, if we except different shells, which they use as knives. But there are few of their productions that require these, unless it be some of their weapons; the other articles being chiefly their fishing materials, and cordage. The cordage is made from the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, which, though not more than nine or ten inches long, they plait, about the size of a quill or less, to any length that they please, and roll it up in balls, from which the larger ropes are made by twisting several of these together. The lines that they fish with are as strong and even as the best cord we make, resembling it almost in every respect. The other fishing implements are large and small hooks. The last are composed entirely of pearl-shell, but the first are only covered with it on the back, and the points of both commonly of tortoise-shell; those of the small being plain and the others barbed. With the large ones they catch bonitos and albicores, by putting them to a bamboo rod twelve or fourteen feet long, with a line of the same length, which rests in a notch of a piece of wood fixed in the stern of the canoe for that purpose, and is dragged on the surface of the sea as she rows along, without any other bait than a tuft of flaxy stuff near the point. They have also great numbers of pretty small seines, some of which are of a very delicate texture. These they use to catch fish with in the holes on the reefs when the tide ebbs.

The other manual employments consist chiefly in making musical reeds, flutes, warlike weapons, and stools or rather pillows to sleep on. The reeds have eight, nine, or ten pieces placed parallel to each other, but not in any regular progression, having the longest sometimes in the middle, and several of the same length; so that I have seen none with more than six notes; and they seem incapable of playing any music on them that is distinguishable by our ears. The flutes are a joint of bamboo, close at both ends, with a hole near each, and four others; two of which, and one of the first only, are used in playing. They apply the thumb of the left hand to close the left nostril, and blow into the hole at one end with the other. The middle finger of the left hand is applied to the first hole on the left, and the forefinger of the right to the lowest hole on that side. In this manner, though the notes are only three, they produce a pleasing yet simple music, which they vary much more than one would think possible with so imperfect an instrument. Their being accustomed to a music which consists of so few notes is perhaps the reason why they do not seem to relish any of ours, which is so complex. But they can taste what is more deficient than their own; for we observed that they used to be well pleased with hearing the chant of our two young New Zealanders, which consisted rather in mere strength than in melody of expression. The weapons which they make are clubs of different sorts (in the ornamenting of which they spend much time), spears, and darts. They have also bows and arrows; but these seemed to be designed only for amusement, such as shooting at birds, and not for military purposes. The stools are about two feet long, but only four or five inches high, and near four broad, bending downward in the middle, with four strong legs and circular feet; the whole made of one piece of black or brown wood, neatly polished and sometimes inlaid with bits of ivory. They also inlay the handles of flyflaps with ivory, after being neatly carved; and they shape bones into small figures of men, birds, and other things, which must be very difficult, as their carving instrument is only a shark's tooth.

Yams, plantains, and cocoa-nuts, compose the greatest part of their vegetable diet. Of their animal food, the chief articles are hogs, fowls, fish, and all sorts of shell-fish; but the lower people eat rats. The two first vegetable articles, with bread-fruit, are what may be called the basis of their food at different times of the year, with fish and shell-fish; for hogs, fowls, and turtle, seem only to be occasional dainties reserved for their chiefs. The intervals between the seasons of these vegetable productions must be sometimes considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantains, which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out and made up into small balls; but so sour and indifferent, that they often said our bread was preferable, though somewhat musty. Their food is, generally, dressed by baking, in the same manner as at Otaheite; and they have the art of making from different kinds of fruit several dishes which most of us esteemed very good. I never saw them make use of any kind of sauce; nor drink anything at their meals but water or the juice of the cocoa-nut; for the "kava" is only their morning draught. I cannot say that they are cleanly either in their cookery or manner of eating. The generality of them will lay their victuals upon the first leaf they meet with, however dirty it may be; but when food is served up to the chiefs it is commonly laid upon green plantain leaves. When the King made a meal, he was for the most part attended upon by three or four persons. One cut large pieces of the joint or of the fish; another divided it into mouthfuls; and others stood by with cocoa-nuts and whatever else he might want. I never saw a large company sit down to what we should call a sociable meal, by eating from the same dish. The food, be what it will, is always divided into portions, each to serve a certain number; these portions are again subdivided; so that one seldom sees above two or three persons eating together. The women are not excluded from eating with the men, but there are certain ranks or orders amongst them that can neither eat nor drink together. This distinction begins with the King, but where it ends I cannot say. They seem to have no set time for meals; though it should be observed that during our stay amongst them their domestic economy was much disturbed by their constant attention to us. As far as we could remark, those of the superior rank only drink "kava" in the forenoon, and the others eat perhaps a bit of yam; but we commonly saw all of them eat something in the afternoon. It is probable that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common; and their rest being thus interrupted they frequently sleep in the day. They go to bed as soon as it is dark, and rise with the dawn in the morning.

They are very fond of associating together, so that it is common to find several houses empty, and the owners of them convened in some other one, or rather upon a convenient spot in the neighbourhood where they recreate themselves by conversing and other amusements. Their private diversions are chiefly singing, dancing, and music performed by the women. When two or three women sing in concert, and snap their fingers, it is called "oobai;" but when there is a greater number they divide into several parties, each of which sings on a different key, which makes a very agreeable music, and is called "heeva" or "haiva." In the same manner, they vary the music of their flutes, by playing on those of a different size; but their dancing is much the same as when they perform publicly. The dancing of the men (if it is to be called dancing), although it does not consist much in moving the feet as we do, has a thousand different motions with the hands to which we are entire strangers; and they are performed with an ease and grace which are not to be described nor even conceived but by those who have seen them. But I need add nothing to what has

been already said on this subject in the account of the incidents that happened during our stay at the islands.

Whether their marriages be made lasting by any kind of solemn contract, we could not determine with precision; but it is certain, that the bulk of the people satisfied themselves with one wife. The chiefs, however, have commonly several women; though some of us were of opinion that there was only one that was looked upon as the mistress of the family. As female chastity at first sight seemed to be held in no great estimation, we expected to have found frequent breaches of their conjugal fidelity; but we did them great injustice. I do not know that a single instance happened during our whole stay. Neither are those of the better sort that are unmarried more free of their favours. It is true, there was no want of those of a different character; and perhaps such are more frequently met with here in proportion to the number of people, than in many other countries. But it appeared to me that the most, if not all of them, were of the lowest class; and such of them as permitted familiarities to our people were prostitutes by profession.

Nothing can be a greater proof of the humanity of these people than the concern they show for the dead. To use a common expression, their mourning is not in words but deeds. For, besides the "tooge" mentioned before, and burnt circles and scars, they beat the teeth with stones, strike a shark's tooth into the head until the blood flows in streams, and thrust spears into the inner part of the thigh, into their sides below the arm-pits, and through the cheeks into the mouth. All these operations convey an idea of such rigorous discipline as must require either an uncommon degree of affection, or the grossest superstition, to exact. I will not say that the last has no share in it; for sometimes it is so universal that many could not have any knowledge of the person for whom the concern is expressed. Thus we saw the people of *Tongataboo* mourning the death of a chief at Vavaoo; and other similar instances occurred during our stay. It should be observed, however, that the more painful operations are only practised on account of the death of those most nearly connected with the mourners. When a person dies, he is buried, after being wrapped up in mats and cloth, much after our manner. The chiefs seem to have the "fiatookas" appropriated to them as their burial-places; but the common people are interred in no particular spot. What part of the mourning ceremony follows immediately after is uncertain; but that there is something besides the general one, which is continued for a considerable length of time, we could infer from being informed that the funeral of Mareewagee's wife, as mentioned before, was to be attended with ceremonies that were to last five days, in which all the principal people were to commemorate her.

Their long and general mourning proves that they consider death as a very great evil. And this is confirmed by a very odd custom which they practise to avert it. When I first visited these islands, during my last voyage, I observed that many of the inhabitants had one or both of their little fingers cut off; and we could not then receive any satisfactory account of the reason of this mutilation. But we now learned that this operation is performed when they labour under some grievous disease and think themselves in danger of dying. They suppose that the Deity will accept of the little finger as a sort of sacrifice efficacious enough to procure the recovery of their health. They cut it off with one of their stone hatchets. There was scarcely one in ten of them whom we did not find thus mutilated in one or both hands; which has a disagreeable effect, especially as they sometimes cut so close that they encroach upon the bone of the hand which joins to the amputated finger.[1]

[1] It may be proper to mention here, on the authority of Captain King, that

From the rigid severity with which some of these mourning and religious ceremonies are executed, one would expect to find that they meant thereby to secure to themselves felicity beyond the grave; but their principal object relates to things merely temporal, for they seem to have little conception of future punishment for faults committed in this life. They believe, however, that they are justly punished upon earth; and consequently use every method to render their Divinities propitious. The Supreme Author of most things they call "Kallafootonga," who, they say, is a female residing in the sky and directing the thunder, wind, rain, and in general all the changes of weather. They believe that when she is angry with them the productions of the earth are blasted; that many things are destroyed by lightning; and that they themselves are afflicted with sickness and death, as well as their hogs and other animals. When this anger abates, they suppose that everything is restored to its natural order; and it should seem that they have a great reliance on the efficacy of their endeavours to appease their offended Divinity. They also admit a plurality of deities, though all inferior to "Kallafootonga." Amongst them they mention "Toofoa-boolootoo," god of the clouds and fog; "Talleteboo," and some others, residing in the heavens. The first in rank and power, who has the government of the sea and its productions, is called "Futtafaihe," or, as it was sometimes pronounced, "Footafoa," who, they say, is a male, and has for his wife "Fykavakajeea;" and here, as in heaven, there are several inferior potentates, such as "Vahaa-fonooa," "Tareeava," "Mattaba," "Evaroo," and others. The same religious system, however, does not extend all over the cluster of the Friendly Isles; for the supreme god of Hapaee, for instance, is called "Alo Alo;" and other isles have two or three of different names. But their notions of the power and other attributes of these beings are so very absurd, that they suppose they have no further concern with them after death.

They have, however, very proper sentiments about the immateriality and the immortality of the soul. They call it life, the living principle, or, what is more agreeable to their notions of it, an "Otooa;" that is, a divinity or invisible being. They say that immediately upon death the souls of their chiefs separate from their bodies, and go to a place called "Boolootoo," the chief or god of which is "Gooleho." This "Gooleho" seems to be a personification of death; for they used to say to us, "You and the men of Feejee" (by this junction meaning to pay a compliment expressive of their confession of our superiority over themselves) "are also subject to the power and dominion of 'Gooleho.'" His country, the general receptacle of the dead, according to their mythology, was never seen by any person; yet it seems they know that it lies to the westward of Feejee, and that they who are once transported thither live for ever, or, to use their own expression, are not subject to death again, but feast upon all the favourite products of their own country, with which this everlasting abode is supposed to abound. As to the souls of the lower sort of people, they undergo a sort of transmigration; or, as they say, are eaten up by a bird called "loata," which walks upon their graves for that purpose.

I think I may venture to assert that they do not worship anything that is the work of their own hands, or any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of hogs, dogs, and fruit, as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematically, for their "morais" were perfectly free from everything of the kind. But that they offer real human sacrifices is with me beyond a doubt. Their "mornis" or "fiatookas" (for they are called by

---

it is common for the inferior people to cut off a joint of their little finger, on account of the sickness of the chiefs to whom they belong.—*Note in Original Edition.*

both names, but mostly by the latter) are, as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, burying-grounds and places of worship, though some of them seemed to be only appropriated to the first purpose, but these were small, and in every other respect inferior to the others.

Of the nature of their government we know no more than the general outline. A subordination is established among them that resembles the feudal system of our progenitors in Europe. But of its subdivisions, of the constituent parts, and in what manner they are connected so as to form a body politic, I confess myself totally ignorant. Some of them told us that the power of the King is unlimited, and that the life and property of the subject is at his disposal. But the few circumstances that fell under our observation rather contradicted than confirmed the idea of a despotic government. Mareewagee, old Toobou, and Feenou, acted each like petty sovereigns, and frequently thwarted the measures of the King, of which he often complained. Neither was his court more splendid than those of the two first, who are the most powerful chiefs in the islands; and next to them Feenou, Mareewagee's son, seemed to stand highest in authority. But however independent on the despotic power of the King the great men may be, we saw instances enough to prove that the lower order of people have no property nor safety for their persons but at the will of the chiefs to whom they respectively belong.

Tongataboo is divided into many districts, of above thirty of which we learned the names. Each of these has its particular chief, who decides differences and distributes justice within his own district. But we could not form any satisfactory judgment about the extent of their power in general, or their mode of proportioning punishments to crimes. Most of these chiefs have possessions in other islands, whence they draw supplies. At least we know this is so with respect to the King, who at certain established times receives the product of his distant domains at Tongataboo, which is not only the principal place of his residence, but seemingly of all the people of consequence amongst these isles. Its inhabitants in common conversation call it the Land of Chiefs, while the subordinate isles are distinguished by the appellation of Lands of Servants. These chiefs are by the people styled not only Lords of the Earth, but of the Sun and Sky; and the King's family assume the name of Futtafaihe, from the god so called, who is probably their tutelary patron and perhaps their common ancestor. The Sovereign's peculiar earthly title is, however, simply "Tooee Tonga."

There is a decorum observed in the presence of their principal men, and particularly of their King, that is truly admirable. Whenever he sits down, whether it be in a house or without, all the attendants seat themselves at the same time in a semicircle before him, leaving always a convenient space between him and them, into which no one attempts to come unless he has some particular business. Neither is any one allowed to pass or sit behind him, nor even near him, without his order or permission; so that our having been indulged with this privilege was a significant proof of the great respect that was paid us. When any one wants to speak with the King, he advances and sits down before him, delivers what he has to say in a few words; and, having received his answer, retires again to the circle. But if the King speaks to any one, that person answers from his seat, unless he is to receive some order, in which case he gets up from his place and sits down before the chief with his legs across, which is a posture to which they are so much accustomed that any other mode of sitting is disagreeable to them.[1] To speak to the King standing would be accounted here as a striking mark of rudeness,

[1] This is peculiar to the men, the women always sitting with both legs thrown a little on one side.

as it would be with us for one to sit down and put on his hat when he addresses himself to his superior, and that superior on his feet and uncovered.

It does not indeed appear that any of the most civilised nations have ever exceeded this people in the great order observed on all occasions, in ready compliance with the commands of their chiefs, and in the harmony that subsists throughout all ranks, and unites them as if they were all one man, informed with and directed by the same principle. Such a behaviour is remarkably obvious whenever it is requisite that their chief should harangue any body of them collected together, which is frequently done. The most profound silence and attention are observed during the harangue, even to a much greater degree than is practised amongst us on the most interesting and serious deliberations of our most respectable assemblies. And whatever might have been the subject of the speech delivered, we never saw an instance when any individual present showed signs of his being displeased, or indicated the least inclination to dispute the declared will of a person who had a right to command. Nay, such is the force of these verbal laws, as I may call them, that I have seen one of their chiefs express his being astonished at a person's having acted contrary to such orders, though it appeared that the poor man could not possibly have been informed in time to have observed them.

Though some of the more potent chiefs may vie with the King in point of actual possessions, they fall very short in rank and in certain marks of respect which the collective body have agreed to pay the monarch. It is a particular privilege annexed to his sovereignty not to be punctured nor circumcised as all his subjects are. Whenever he walks out, every one whom he meets must sit down till he has passed. No one is allowed to be over his head; on the contrary, all must come under his feet, for there cannot be a greater outward mark of submission than that which is paid to the Sovereign and other great people of these islands by their inferiors. The method is this: the person who is to pay obeisance squats down before the chief, and bows the head to the sole of his foot, which when he sits is so placed that it can be easily come at; and having tapped or touched it with the under and upper side of the fingers of both hands, he rises up and retires. It should seem that the King cannot refuse any one who chooses to pay him this homage, which is called "moe moea," for the common people would frequently take it into their heads to do it when he was walking; and he was always obliged to stop and hold up one of his feet behind him till they had performed the ceremony. This to a heavy unwieldy man like Poulaho must be attended with some trouble and pain; and I have sometimes seen him make a run, though very unable, to get out of the way or to reach a place where he might conveniently sit down. The hands, after this application of them to the chief's feet, are in some cases rendered useless for a time, for until they be washed they must not touch any kind of food. This interdiction, in a country where water is so scarce, would seem to be attended with some inconvenience; but they are never at a loss for a succedaneum, and a piece of any juicy plant, which they can easily procure immediately, being rubbed upon them, this serves for the purpose of purification as well as washing them with water. When the hands are in this state they call it "taboo rema." "Taboo," in general, signifies forbidden; and "rema" is their word for hand.

When the "taboo" is incurred by paying obeisance to a great personage, it is thus easily washed off. But in some other cases it must necessarily continue for a certain time. We have frequently seen women who have been "taboo rema" fed by others. At the expiration of the time, the interdicted person washes herself in one of their baths, which are dirty holes, for the most part, of brackish water. She then waits upon the King, and

after making her obeisance in the usual way, lays hold of his foot and applies it to her breast, shoulders, and other parts of her body. He then embraces her on each shoulder, after which she retires purified from her uncleanness. I do not know that it is always necessary to come to the King for this purpose, though Omai assured me it was. If this be so, it may be one reason why he is for the most part travelling from island to island. I saw this ceremony performed by him two or three times, and once by Feenou to one of his own women; but as Omai was not then with me I could not ask the occasion. "Taboo," as I have before observed, is a word of an extensive signification. Human sacrifices are called "tangata taboo;" and when anything is forbidden to be eaten or made use of, they say that it is "taboo." They tell us that if the King should happen to go into a house belonging to a subject, that house would be "taboo," and could never more be inhabited by the owner, so that wherever he travels there are particular houses for his reception. Old Toobou at this time presided over the "taboo," that is, if Omai comprehended the matter rightly, he and his deputies inspected all the produce of the island, taking care that every man should cultivate and plant his quota, and ordering what should be eaten and what not. By this wise regulation they effectually guard against a famine, a sufficient quantity of ground is employed in raising provisions, and every article thus raised is secured from unnecessary waste.

By another prudent regulation in their government, they have an officer over the police, or something like it. This department when we were amongst them was administered by Feenou; whose business, we were told, it was to punish all offenders, whether against the State or against individuals. He was also generalissimo, and commanded the warriors when called out upon service; but by all accounts this is very seldom. The *King* frequently took some pains to inform us of Feenou's office; and, among other things, told us that if he himself should become a bad man, Feenou would kill him. What I understood by this expression of being a bad man was, that if he did not govern according to law or custom, Feenou would be ordered by the other great men, or by the people at large, to put him to death. There should seem to be no doubt that a sovereign thus liable to be controlled and punished for an abuse of power, cannot be called a despotic monarch. When we consider the number of islands that compose this little state, and the distance at which some of them lie from the seat of government, attempts to throw off the yoke and to acquire independency, it should seem, might be apprehended. But they tell us that this never happens. One reason why they are not thus disturbed by domestic quarrels may be this, that all the powerful chiefs, as we have already mentioned, reside at Tongataboo. They also secure the independence of the other islands by the celerity of their operations; for if at any time a troublesome and popular man should start up in any of them, Feenou, or whoever holds his office, is immediately despatched thither to kill him. By this means they crush a rebellion in its very infancy.

The orders or classes amongst their chiefs, or those who call themselves such, seemed to be almost as numerous as amongst us; but there are few in comparison that are lords of large districts of territory, the rest holding their lands under those principal barons, as they may be called. I was, indeed, told that when a man of property dies, everything he leaves behind him falls to the King; but that it is usual to give it to the eldest son of the deceased, with an obligation to make a provision out of it for the rest of the children. It is not the custom here, as at Otaheite, for the son, the moment he is born, to take from the father the homage and title, but he succeeds to them at his decease; so that their form of government is not only monarchical but hereditary.

The order of succession to the crown has not been of late interrupted; for we know from a particular circumstance that the Futtafaihes (Poulaho being only an addition to distinguish the King from the rest of his family) have reigned in a direct line for at least 135 years. Upon inquiring whether any account had been preserved amongst them of the arrival of Tasman's ships, we found that this history had been handed down to them from their ancestors with an accuracy which marks that oral tradition may sometimes be depended upon. For they described the two ships as resembling ours; mentioning the place where they had anchored; their having stayed but a few days; and their moving from that station to Annamooka. And, by way of informing us how long ago this had happened, they told us the name of the Futtafaihe who was then king, and of those who had succeeded, down to Poulaho, who is the fifth since that period; the first being an old man at the time of the arrival of the ships.

From what has been said of the present King, it would be natural to suppose that he had the highest rank of any person in the islands. But to our great surprise we found it is not so; for Latooliboolo, the person who was pointed out to me as King when I first visited Tongataboo, and three women, are in some respects superior to Poulaho himself. On our inquiring who these extraordinary personages were whom they distinguish by the name and title of "Tammaha," we were told that the late King, Poulaho's father, had a sister of equal rank, and older than himself; that she, by a man who came from the island of Feejee, had a son and two daughters; and that these three persons, as well as their mother, rank above Futtafaihe, the King. We endeavoured in vain to trace the reason of this singular pre-eminence of the "Tammahas;" for we could learn nothing besides this account of their pedigree. The mother, and one of the daughters, called Tooeela-kaipa, live at Vavaoo. Latooliboolo, the son, and the other daughter, whose name is Moungoula-kaipa, reside at Tongataboo. The latter is the woman who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 21st of June.[1] This gave occasion to our discovering her superiority over the King, who would not eat in her presence, though she made no scruple to do so before him, and received from him the customary obeisance by touching her foot. We never had an opportunity of seeing him pay this mark of respect to Latooliboolo; but we have observed him leave off eating, and have his victuals put aside, when the latter came into the same house. Latooliboolo assumed the privilege of taking anything from the people, even if it belonged to the King; and yet, in the ceremony called "Natche," he assisted only in the same manner as the other principal men. He was looked upon by his countrymen as a madman; and many of his actions seemed to confirm this judgment. At Eooa they showed me a good deal of land said to belong to him; and I saw there a son of his, a child whom they distinguished by the same title as his father. The son of the greatest prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little "Tammaha" was.[2]

[1] In Chapter VII. of this Book, *ante*, p. 607.

[2] The remainder of the Chapter is omitted; it is taken up with linguistic speculations, and lists of similar words current at the Friendly Islands and Otaheite; and with a technical record of the nautical and astronomical observations made during the sojourn at Tongataboo.

BOOK III.

TRANSACTIONS AT OTAHEITE, AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS; AND PROSECUTION OF THE VOYAGE TO THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

HAVING taken our final leave of the Friendly Islands, I now resume my narrative of the voyage. In the evening of the 17th of July, at 8 o'clock, the body of Eooa bore NE. by N., distant three or four leagues. The wind was now at E., and blew a fresh gale. With it I stood to the S. till half-an-hour past 6 o'clock the next morning, when a sudden squall from the same direction took our ship aback; and before the sails could be trimmed on the other tack, the main-sail and top-gallant sails were much torn. The wind kept between the SW. and SE. on the 19th and 20th; afterward it veered to the ENE., and N. The night between the 20th and 21st an eclipse of the moon was observed. I continued to stretch to the ESE., with the wind at NE. and N., without meeting with anything worthy of note till 7 o'clock in the evening of the 29th, when we had a sudden and very heavy squall of wind from the N. At this time we were under single reefed topsails, courses, and stay-sails. Two of the latter were blown to pieces; and it was with difficulty that we saved the other sails. After this squall, we observed several lights moving about on board the Discovery, by which we concluded that something had given way; and the next morning we saw that her main-topmast had been lost. Both wind and weather continued very unsettled till noon this day, when the latter cleared up, and the former settled in the NW. quarter. At this time we were in the Latitude of 28° 6′ S., and our Longitude was 198° 23′ E. Here we saw some pintado birds, being the first since we left the land.

On the 31st at noon Captain Clerke made a signal to speak with me. By the return of the boat which I sent on board his ship, he informed me that the head of the mainmast had been discovered to be sprung in such a manner as to render the rigging of another topmast very dangerous, and that therefore he must rig something lighter in its place. He also informed me that he had lost his maintop-gallantyard, and that he neither had another nor a spar to make one on board. The Resolution's spritsail and topsail-yard, which I sent him, supplied this want. The next day we got up a jury topmast, on which he set a mizzen topsail, and this enabled him to keep way with the Resolution. The wind was fixed in the western board—that is, from the N. round by the W. to S., and I steered E. and NE., without meeting with anything remarkable, till 11 o'clock in the morning of the 8th of August, when the land was seen bearing NNE. nine or ten leagues distant. At first it appeared in detached hills, like so many separate islands, but as we drew nearer we found that they were all connected, and belonged to one and the same island. I steered directly for it, with a fine gale at SE. by S., and at half-past 6 o'clock in the afternoon it extended from N. by E. to NNE. three-quarters E., distant three or four leagues.

The night was spent standing off and on, and at daybreak the next morning I steered for the NW., or leeside of the island; and as we stood round its S. or SW. part, we saw it everywhere guarded by a reef of coral rock, extending in some places a full mile from the land, and a high surf beating upon it. Some thought that they saw land to the southward of this island, but as that was to the windward it was left undetermined.

As we drew near we saw people on several parts of the coast, walking or running along shore, and in a little time after we had reached the leeside of the island we saw them launch two canoes, into which above a dozen men got, and paddled toward us. I now shortened sail, as well to give these canoes time to come up with us, as to sound for anchorage. At the distance of about half-a-mile from the reef we found from forty to thirty-five fathoms water, over a bottom of fine sand. Nearer in, the bottom was strewed with coral rocks. The canoes having advanced to about the distance of a pistol-shot from the ship, there stopped. Omai was employed, as he usually had been on such occasions, to use all his eloquence to prevail upon the men in them to come nearer, but no entreaties could induce them to trust themselves within our reach. They kept eagerly pointing to the shore with their paddles, and calling to us to go thither; and several of their countrymen who stood upon the beach held up something white, which we considered also as an invitation to land. We could very well have done this, as there was good anchorage without the reef, and a break or opening in it, from whence the canoes had come out, which had no surf upon it, and where, if there was not water for the ships, there was more than sufficient for the boats. But I did not think proper to risk losing the advantage of a fair wind for the sake of examining an island that appeared to be of little consequence. We stood in no need of refreshments, if I had been sure of meeting with them there; and having already been so unexpectedly delayed in my progress to the Society Islands, I was desirous of avoiding every possibility of further retardment. For this reason, after making several unsuccessful attempts to induce these people to come alongside, I made sail to the north, and left them, but not without getting from them during their vicinity to our ship the name of their island, which they called Toobouai. It is situated in the Latitude of 22° 15′ S., and in 210° 37′ E. Longitude. Its greatest extent in any direction, exclusive of the reef is not above five or six miles.

After leaving this island, I steered to the N. with a fresh gale at E. by S., and at daybreak in the morning of the 12th we saw the island of Maitea. Soon after Otaheite made its appearance, and at noon it extended from SW. by W. to WNW., the point of Oheitepeha Bay, bearing W., about four leagues distant. I steered for this bay, intending to anchor there, in order to draw what refreshments I could from the SE. part of the island before I went down to Matavai, from the neighbourhood of which station I expected my principal supply. We had a fresh gale easterly till 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when, being about a league from the bay, the wind suddenly died away, and was succeeded by baffling light airs from every direction, and calms by turns. This lasted about two hours; then we had sudden squalls, with rain, from the east. These carried us before the bay, where we got a breeze from the land, and attempted in vain to work in, to gain the anchoring place; so that at last, about 9 o'clock, we were obliged to stand out and to spend the night at sea.

When we first drew near the island several canoes came off to the ship, each conducted by two or three men. But as they were common fellows, Omai took no particular notice of them, nor they of him. They did not even seem to perceive that he was one of their countrymen, although they conversed with him for some time. At length a chief whom I had known before, named Ootee, and Omai's brother-in-law, who chanced to be now at this corner of the island, and three or four more persons, all of whom knew Omai before he embarked with Captain Furneaux, came on board. Yet there was nothing either tender or striking in their meeting. On the contrary, there seemed to be a perfect indifference on both sides, till Omai, having taken his brother

down into the cabin, opened the drawer where he kept his red feathers, and gave him a few. This being presently known amongst the rest of the natives upon deck, the face of affairs was entirely turned, and Ootee, who would hardly speak to Omai before, now begged that they might be "tayos,"[1] and exchange names. Omai accepted of the honour, and confirmed it with a present of red feathers, and Ootee, by way of return, sent ashore for a hog. But it was evident to every one of us that it was not the man, but his property, they were in love with. Had he not shown them his treasure of red feathers, which is the commodity in greatest estimation at the island, I question much whether they would have bestowed even a cocoa-nut upon him. Such was Omai's first reception among his countrymen. I own I never expected it would be otherwise, but still I was in hopes that the valuable cargo of presents with which the liberality of his friends in England had loaded him would be the means of raising him into consequence, and of making him respected and even courted by the first persons throughout the extent of the Society Islands. This could not but have happened had he conducted himself with any degree of prudence. But instead of it, I am sorry to say that he paid too little regard to the repeated advice of those who wished him well, and suffered himself to be duped by every designing knave.

From the natives who came off to us in the course of this day we learned that two ships had twice been in Oheitepeha Bay since my last visit to this island, in 1774, and that they had left animals there such as we had on board. But on further inquiry we found they were only hogs, dogs, goats, one bull, and the male of some other animal, which from the imperfect description now given us we could not find out. They told us that these ships had come from a place called "Reema," by which we guessed that Lima, the capital of Peru, was meant, and that these late visitors were Spaniards. We were informed that the first time they came they built a house, and left four men behind them —viz., two priests, a boy or servant, and a fourth person, called Mateema, who was much spoken of at this time, carrying away with them when they sailed four of the natives; that in about ten months the same two ships returned, bringing back two of the islanders, the other two having died at Lima; and that after a short stay they took away their own people, but that the house which they had built was left standing.

The important news of red feathers being on board our ships having been conveyed on shore by Omai's friends, day had no sooner begun to break next morning than we were surrounded by a multitude of canoes crowded with people, bringing hogs and fruit to market. At first, a quantity of feathers not greater than what might be got from a tom-tit would purchase a hog of forty or fifty pounds weight. But as almost everybody in the ships was possessed of some of this precious article in trade, it fell in its value above 500 per cent. before night. However, even then the balance was much in our favour; and red feathers continued to preserve their superiority over every other commodity. Some of the natives would not part with a hog unless they received an axe in exchange; but nails, and beads, and other trinkets, which during our former voyages had so great a run at this island, were now so much despised that few would deign so much as to look at them.

There being but little wind all the morning, it was 9 o'clock before we could get to an anchor in the bay, where we moored with two bowers. Soon after we had anchored, Omai's sister came on board to see him. I was happy to observe that, much to the honour of them both, their meeting was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than to be described. This moving scene having closed, and the

[1] Friends.

ship being properly moored, Omai and I went ashore. My first object was to pay a visit to a man whom my friend represented as a very extraordinary personage indeed, for he said that he was the god of Bolabola. We found him seated under one of those small awnings which they usually carry in their larger canoes. He was an elderly man, and had lost the use of his limbs, so that he was carried from place to place upon a hand-barrow. Some called him "Olla" or "Orra," which is the name of the god of Bolabola; but his own proper name was Etary. From Omai's account of this person I expected to have seen some religious adoration paid to him; but excepting some plantain trees that lay before him and upon the awning under which he sat, I could observe nothing by which he might be distinguished from their other chiefs. Omai presented to him a tuft of red feathers tied to the end of a small stick; but, after a little conversation on indifferent matters with this Bolabola man, his attention was drawn to an old woman, the sister of his mother. She was already at his feet, and had bedewed them plentifully with tears of joy.

I left him with the old lady, in the midst of a number of people who had gathered round him, and went to take a view of the house said to be built by the strangers who had lately been here. I found it standing at a small distance from the beach. The wooden materials of which it was composed seemed to have been brought hither ready prepared, to be set up occasionally; for all the planks were numbered. It was divided into two small rooms; and in the inner one were a bedstead, a table, a bench, some old hats, and other trifles, of which the natives seemed to be very careful, as also of the house itself, which had suffered no hurt from the weather, a shed having been built over it. There were scuttles all around which served as air holes; and perhaps they were also meant to fire from with muskets, if ever this should be found necessary. At a little distance from the front stood a wooden cross, on the transverse part of which was cut the following inscription:

"*Christus vincit.*"

And on the perpendicular part (which confirmed our conjecture that the two ships were Spanish):

"*Carolus III. Imperat.* 1774."

On the other side of the post I preserved the memory of the prior visits of the English by inscribing:

"*Georgius Tertius Rex,*
Annis 1767,
1769, 1773, 1774, & 1777."

The natives pointed out to us, near the foot of the cross, the grave of the Commodore of the two ships, who had died here while they lay in the bay the first time. His name, as they pronounced it, was Oreede. Whatever the intentions of the Spaniards in visiting this island might be, they seemed to have taken great pains to ingratiate themselves with the inhabitants; who upon every occasion mentioned them with the strongest expressions of esteem and veneration.

I met with no chief of any considerable note on this occasion excepting the extraordinary personage above described. Waheiadooa, the sovereign of Tiaraboo (as this part of the island is called), was now absent; and I afterwards found that he was not the same person, though of the same name, with the chief whom I had seen here during my last voyage, but his brother, a boy of about ten years of age, who had succeeded upon the death of the elder Waheiadooa, about twenty months before our arrival. We also learned that the celebrated Oberea was dead, but that Otoo and all our other friends were living. When I returned from viewing the house and cross erected by the Spaniards, I found Omai holding forth to a large company; and it was with some difficulty that he could be got away to accompany me on board, where I had an important affair to settle.

On our landing [on the 17th] we first visited Etary, who, carried on a

hand-barrow, attended us to a large house, where he was set down, and we seated ourselves on each side of him. I caused a piece of Tongataboo cloth to be spread out before us, on which I laid the presents I intended to make. Presently the young chief came, attended by his mother and several principal men, who all seated themselves at the other end of the cloth, facing us. Then a man who sat by me made a speech, consisting of short and separate sentences, part of which was dictated by those about him. He was answered by one from the opposite side, near the chief. Etary spoke next, then Omai; and both of them were answered from the same quarter. These orations were entirely about my arrival, and connections with them. The person who spoke last told me, amongst other things, that the men of "Reema," that is, the Spaniards, had desired them not to suffer me to come into Oheitepeha Bay if I should return any more to the island, for that it belonged to them; but that they were so far from paying any regard to this request, that he was authorised now to make a formal surrender of the province of Tiaraboo to me, and everything in it; which marks very plainly that these people are no strangers to the policy of accommodating themselves to present circumstances. At length the young chief was directed by his attendants to come and embrace me; and by way of confirming this treaty of friendship we exchanged names. The ceremony being closed, he and his friends accompanied me on board to dinner.

Omai had prepared a "maro," composed of red and yellow feathers, which he intended for Otoo, the King of the whole island; and, considering where we were, it was a present of very great value. I said all that I could to persuade him not to produce it now, wishing him to keep it on board till an opportunity should offer of presenting it to Otoo with his own hands. But he had too good an opinion of the honesty and fidelity of his countrymen to take my advice. Nothing would serve him but to carry it ashore on this occasion, and to give it to Waheiadooa, to be by him forwarded to Otoo, in order to its being added to the royal "maro." He thought by this management that he should oblige both chiefs; whereas he highly disobliged the one whose favour was of the most consequence to him, without gaining any reward from the other. What I had foreseen happened; for Waheiadooa kept the "maro" for himself, and only sent to Otoo a very small piece of feathers, not the twentieth part of what belonged to the magnificent present. On the 19th this young chief made me a present of ten or a dozen hogs, a quantity of fruit, and some cloth. In the evening we played off some fireworks, which both astonished and entertained the numerous spectators.

This day some of our gentlemen in their walks found what they were pleased to call a Roman Catholic chapel. Indeed, from their account, this was not to be doubted, for they described the altar and every other constituent part of such a place of worship. However, as they mentioned at the same time that two men who had the care of it would not suffer them to go in, I thought that they might be mistaken, and had the curiosity to pay a visit to it myself. The supposed chapel proved to be a "toopapaoo," in which the remains of the late Waheiadooa lay as it were in state. It was in a pretty large house, which was enclosed with a low palisade. The "toopapaoo" was uncommonly neat, and resembled one of those little houses, or awnings, belonging to their large canoes. Perhaps it had originally been employed for that purpose. It was covered, and hung round with cloth and mats of different colours so as to have a pretty effect. There was one piece of scarlet broad-cloth four or five yards in length conspicuous among the other ornaments, which no doubt had been a present from the Spaniards. This cloth, and a few tassels of feathers which our gentlemen supposed to be silk, suggested to them the idea of a

chapel; for whatever else was wanting to create a resemblance, their imagination supplied; and if they had not previously known that there had been Spaniards lately here they could not possibly have made the mistake. Small offerings of fruit and roots seemed to be daily made at this shrine, as some pieces were quite fresh. These were deposited upon a "whatta," or altar, which stood without the palisades; and within these we were not permitted to enter. Two men constantly attended night and day, not only to watch over the place, but also to dress and undress the "toopapaoo." For when I first went to survey it, the cloth and its appendages were all rolled up; but at my request the two attendants hung it out in order, first dressing themselves in clean white robes. They told me that the chief had been dead twenty months.

Having taken in a fresh supply of water, and finished all our other necessary operations, on the 22d I brought off the cattle and sheep which had been put on shore here to graze, and made ready for sea. In the morning of the 23d, while the ships were unmooring, Omai and I landed to take leave of the young chief. While we were with him, one of those enthusiastic persons whom they call "Eatooas," from a persuasion that they are possessed with the spirit of the Divinity, came and stood before us. He had all the appearance of a man not in his right senses, and his only dress was a large quantity of plantain leaves wrapped round his waist. He spoke in a low squeaking voice so as hardly to be understood, at least not by me. But Omai said that he comprehended him perfectly, and that he was advising Wahciadooa not to go with me to Matavai, an expedition which I had never heard he intended, nor had I ever made such a proposal to him. The "Eatooa" also foretold that the ships would not get to Matavai that day. But in this he was mistaken, though appearances now rather favoured his prediction, there not being a breath of wind in any direction. While he was prophesying, there fell a very heavy shower of rain, which made every one run for shelter but himself, who seemed not to regard it. He remained squeaking by us about half-an-hour, and then retired. No one paid any attention to what he uttered, though some laughed at him. I asked the chief what he was, whether an "Earee" or a "Towtow," and the answer I received was, that he was "taato eno," that is, a bad man. And yet, notwithstanding this, and the little notice any of the natives seemed to take of the mad prophet, superstition has so far got the better of their reason that they firmly believe such persons to be possessed with the spirit of the "Eatooa." Omai seemed to be very well instructed about them. He said that during the fits that came upon them they knew nobody, not even their most intimate acquaintances; and that if any one of them happens to be a man of property he will very often give away every movable he is possessed of if his friends do not put them out of his reach; and when he recovers, will inquire what had become of those very things which he had but just before distributed, not seeming to have the least remembrance of what he had done while the fit was upon him.

As soon as I got on board a light breeze springing up at E., we got under sail and steered for Matavai Bay, where the Resolution anchored the same evening. But the Discovery did not get in till the next morning, so that half of the man's prophecy was fulfilled.

CHAPTER II.

About 9 o'clock in the morning, Otoo, the King of the whole island, attended by a great number of canoes full of people, came from Oparre, his place of residence; and having landed on Matavai Point, sent a message on board expressing his desire to see me there. Accordingly I landed, accompanied by Omai and some of the offi-

cers. We found a prodigious number of people assembled on this occasion, and in the midst of them was the King, attended by his father, his two brothers, and three sisters. I went up first and saluted him, being followed by Omai, who kneeled and embraced his legs. He had prepared himself for this ceremony by dressing himself in his very best suit of clothes, and behaved with a great deal of respect and modesty. Nevertheless, very little notice was taken of him. Perhaps envy had some share in producing this cold reception. He made the chief a present of a large piece of red feathers and about two or three yards of gold cloth; and I gave him a suit of fine linen, a gold-laced hat, some tools, and, what was of more value than all the other articles, a quantity of red feathers and one of the bonnets in use at the Friendly Islands.

After the hurry of this visit was over, the King and the whole royal family accompanied me on board, followed by several canoes laden with all kinds of provisions, in quantity sufficient to have served the companies of both ships for a week. Each of the family owned, or pretended to own, a part, so that I had a present from every one of them; and every one of them had a separate present in return from me, which was the great object in view. Soon after, the King's mother, who had not been present at the first interview, came on board, bringing with her a quantity of provisions and cloth, which she divided between me and Omai. For although he was but little noticed at first by his countrymen, they no sooner gained the knowledge of his riches than they began to court his friendship. I encouraged this as much as I could, for it was my wish to fix him with Otoo. As I intended to leave all my European animals at this island, I thought he would be able to give some instruction about the management of them and about their use. Besides, I knew and saw that the farther he was from his native island *he would* be the better respected. But unfortunately poor Omai rejected my advice, and conducted himself in so imprudent a manner that he soon lost the friendship of Otoo, and of every other person of note in Otaheite. He associated with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole views were to plunder him; and if I had not interfered they would not have left him a single article worth the carrying from the island. This necessarily drew upon him the ill-will of the principal chiefs, who found that they could not procure from any one in the ships such valuable presents as Omai bestowed on the lowest of the people, his companions.

As soon as we had dined, a party of us accompanied Otoo to Oparre, taking with us the poultry with which we were to stock the island. They consisted of a peacock and hen (which Lord Bessborough was so kind as to send me for this purpose a few days before I left London), a turkey cock and hen, one gander and three geese, a drake and four ducks. All these I left at Oparre in the possession of Otoo; and the geese and ducks began to breed before we sailed. We found there a gander which the natives told us was the same that Captain Wallis had given to Oberea ten years before, several goats, and the Spanish bull, which they kept tied to a tree near Otoo's house. I never saw a finer animal of his kind. He was now the property of Etary, and had been brought from Oheitepeha to this place in order to be shipped for Bolabola. But it passes my comprehension how they can contrive to carry him in one of their canoes. If we had not arrived, it would have been of little consequence who had the property of him, as without a cow he could be of no use, and none had been left with him. Though the natives told us that there were cows on board the Spanish ships, and that they took them away with them, I cannot believe this, and should rather suppose that they had died in the passage from Lima. The next day I sent the three cows that I had on board to this bull; and the bull which

I had brought, the horse and mare, and sheep, I put ashore at Matavai. Having thus disposed of these passengers, I found myself lightened of a very heavy burthen. The trouble and vexation that attended the bringing of this living cargo thus far is hardly to be conceived; but the satisfaction that I felt in having been so fortunate as to fulfil his Majesty's humane design in sending such valuable animals to supply the wants of two worthy nations, sufficiently recompensed me for the many anxious hours I had passed before this subordinate object of my voyage could be carried into execution.

As I intended to make some stay here, we set up the two observatories on Matavai Point. Adjoining to them two tents were pitched for the reception of a guard, and of such people as it might be necessary to leave on shore in different departments. At this station I entrusted the command to Mr King, who, at the same time, attended the observations for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper and other purposes. During our stay various necessary operations employed the crews of both ships. The Discovery's mainmast was carried ashore and made as good as ever. Our sails and water-casks were repaired; the ships were calked; and the rigging all overhauled. We also inspected all the bread that we had on board in casks, and had the satisfaction to find that but little of it was damaged. On the 26th I had a piece of ground cleared for a garden, and planted it with several articles, very few of which I believe the natives will ever look after. Some melons, potatoes, and two pine-apple plants were in a fair way of succeeding before we left the place. I had brought from the Friendly Islands several shaddock trees. These I also planted here, and they can hardly fail of success, unless their growth should be checked by the same premature curiosity which destroyed a vine planted by the Spaniards at Oheitepeha. A number of the natives got together to taste the first fruit it bore; but as the grapes were still sour they considered it as little better than poison, and it was unanimously determined to tread it under foot. In that state Omai found it by chance, and was overjoyed at the discovery; for he had a full confidence that if he had but grapes he could easily make wine. Accordingly he had several slips cut from off the tree to carry away with him, and we pruned and put in order the remains of it. Probably grown wise by Omai's instructions, they may now suffer the fruit to grow to perfection, and not pass so hasty a sentence upon it again.

We had not been eight-and-forty hours at anchor in Matavai Bay before we were visited by our old friends whose names are recorded in the account of my last voyage. Not one of them came empty-handed, so that we had more provisions than we knew what to do with. What was still more, we were under no apprehensions of exhausting the island, which presented to our eyes every mark of the most exuberant plenty in every article of refreshment. Soon after our arrival here, one of the natives whom the Spaniards had carried with them to Lima paid us a visit; but in his external appearance he was not distinguishable from the rest of his countrymen. However, he had not forgot some Spanish words which he had acquired, though he pronounced them badly. Amongst them the most frequent were "Si, Señor;" and when a stranger was introduced to him he did not fail to rise up and accost him as well as he could. We also found here the young man whom we called Oedidee, but whose real name is Heete-heete. I had carried him from Ulietea in 1773, and brought him back in 1774, after he had visited the Friendly Islands, New Zealand, Easter Island, and the Marquesas, and been on board my ship in that extensive navigation about seven months. He was at least as tenacious of his good breeding as the man who had been at Lima, and "Yes, Sir," or "If you please, Sir," were as frequently repeated by him as "Si,

Señor" was by the other. Heeteheete, who is a native of Bolabola, had arrived in Otaheite about three months before, with no other intention that we could learn than to gratify his curiosity, or perhaps some other favourite passion, which are very often the only object of the pursuit of other travelling gentlemen. It was evident, however, that he preferred the modes and even garb of his countrymen to ours; for though I gave him some clothes which our Admiralty Board had been pleased to send for his use (to which I added a chest of tools and a few other articles as a present from myself), he declined wearing them after a few days. This instance, and that of the person who had been at Lima, may be urged as a proof of the strong propensity natural to man of returning to habits acquired at an early age, and only interrupted by accident. And perhaps it may be concluded that even Omai, who had imbibed almost the whole English manners, will in a very short time after our leaving him, like Oedidee and the visitor of Lima, return to his own native garments.

In the morning of the 27th a man came from Oheitepeha, and told us that two Spanish ships had anchored in that bay the night before; and in confirmation of this intelligence he produced a piece of coarse blue cloth, which he said he got out of one of the ships, and which, indeed, to appearance was almost quite new. He added that Mateema was in one of the ships, and that they were to come down to Matavai in a day or two. Some other circumstances which he mentioned with the foregoing ones, gave the story so much the air of truth, that I despatched Lieutenant Williamson in a boat to look into Oheitepeha Bay; and in the meantime I put the ships into a proper posture of defence. For though England and Spain were in peace when I left Europe, for aught I knew a different scene might by this time have opened. However, on further inquiry we had reason to think that the fellow who brought the intelligence had imposed upon us; and this was put beyond all doubt when Mr Williamson returned next day, who made his report to me that he had been at Oheitepeha, and found that no ships were there now, and that none had been there since we left it The people of this part of the island where we now were, indeed, told us from the beginning that it was a fiction invented by those of Tiaraboo. But what view they could have we were at a loss to conceive, unless they supposed that the report would have some effect in making us quit the island, and by that means deprive the people of Otaheite-nooe of the advantages they might reap from our ships continuing there; the inhabitants of the two parts of the island being inveterate enemies to each other.

From the time of our arrival at Matavai the weather had been very unsettled, with more or less rain every day, till the 29th; before which we were not able to get equal altitudes of the sun for ascertaining the going of the time-keeper. The same cause also retarded the calking and other necessary repairs of the ships. In the evening of this day the natives made a precipitate retreat both from on board the ships and from our station on shore, for what reason we could not at first learn, though in general we guessed it arose from their knowing that some theft had been committed, and apprehending punishment on that account. At length I understood what had happened. One of the surgeon's mates had been in the country to purchase curiosities, and had taken with him four hatchets for that purpose. Having employed one of the natives to carry them for him, the fellow took an opportunity to run off with so valuable a prize. This was the cause of the sudden flight, in which Otoo himself and his whole family had joined; and it was with difficulty that I stopped them, after following them two or three miles. As I had resolved to take no measures for the recovery of the hatchets, in order to put my people upon their guard against such negli-

gence for the future, I found no difficulty in bringing the natives back and in restoring everything to its usual tranquillity.

Hitherto the attention of Otoo and his people had been confined to us; but next morning a new scene of business opened by the arrival of some messengers from Eimeo or (as it is much oftener called by the natives) Morea,[1] with intelligence that the people in that island were in arms, and that Otoo's partisans there had been worsted and obliged to retreat to the mountains. The quarrel between the two islands, which commenced in 1774, had, it seems, partly subsisted ever since. . . .

On the arrival of these messengers, all the chiefs who happened to be at Matavai assembled at Otoo's house, where I actually was at the time, and had the honour to be admitted into their council. One of the messengers opened the business of the assembly in a speech of considerable length; but I understood little of it besides its general purport, which was to explain the situation of affairs in Eimeo, and to excite the assembled chiefs of Otaheite to arm on the occasion. This opinion was combated by others who were against commencing hostilities; and the debate was carried on with great order, no more than one man speaking at a time. At last they became very noisy, and I expected that our meeting would have ended like a Polish Diet. But the contending great men cooled as fast as they grew warm, and order was soon restored. At length the party for war prevailed, and it was determined that a strong force should be sent to assist their friends in Eimeo. But this resolution was far from being unanimous. Otoo during the whole debate remained silent, except that now and then he addressed a word or two to the speakers. Those of the council who were for prosecuting the war applied to me for my assistance; and all of them wanted to know what part I would take. Omai was sent for to be my interpreter; but as he could not be found I was obliged to speak for myself, and told them, as well as I could, that as I was not thoroughly acquainted with the dispute, and as the people of Eimeo had never offended me, I could not think myself at liberty to engage in hostilities against them. With this declaration they either were or seemed satisfied. The assembly then broke up; but before I left them Otoo desired me to come to him in the afternoon, and to bring Omai with me. Accordingly, a party of us waited upon him at the appointed time, and we were conducted by him to his father, in whose presence the dispute with Eimeo was again talked over. Being very desirous of devising some method to bring about an accommodation, I sounded the old chief on that head; but we found him deaf to any such proposal, and fully determined to prosecute the war. He repeated the solicitations which I had already resisted about giving them my assistance. On our inquiring into the cause of the war, we were told, that some years ago a brother of Waheiadooa, of Tiaraboo, was sent to Eimeo, at the request of Maheine, a popular chief of that island, to be their king; but that he had not been there a week before Maheine, having caused him to be killed, set up for himself, in opposition to Tierataboonooe, his sister's son, who became the lawful heir, or else had been pitched upon by the people of Otaheite to succeed to the government on the death of the other.

Towha, who is a relation of Otoo and chief of the district of Tettaha, a man of much weight in the island, and who had been commander-in-chief of the armament fitted out against Eimeo in 1774, happened not to be at Matavai at this time, and consequently was not present at any of these consultations. It, however, appeared that he was no stranger to what was transacted, and that he entered with more spirit into the affair than any other chief. For early in the morning of the 1st of September

[1] Morea, according to Dr Forster, is a district in Eimeo.

messenger arrived from him to acquaint Otoo that he had killed a man to be sacrificed to "Eatooa," to implore the assistance of the god against Eimeo. This act of worship was to be performed at the great "morai" at Attahooroo, and Otoo's presence, it seems, was absolutely necessary on that solemn occasion. That the offering of human sacrifices is part of the religious institutions of this island had been mentioned by M. de Bougainville on the authority of the native whom he carried with him to France. During my last visit to Otaheite, and while I had opportunities of conversing with Omai on the subject, I had satisfied myself that there was too much reason to admit that such a practice, however inconsistent with the general humanity of the people, was here adopted. But as this was one of those extraordinary facts about which many are apt to retain doubts unless the relater himself has had ocular proofs to confirm what he had heard from others, I thought this a good opportunity of obtaining the highest evidence of its certainty by being present myself at the solemnity, and accordingly proposed to Otoo that I might be allowed to accompany him. To this he readily consented, and we immediately set out in my boat, with my old friend Potatou, Mr Anderson, and Mr Webber, Omai following in a canoe. In our way we landed upon a little island which lies off Tettaha, where we found Towha and his retinue. After some little conversation between the two chiefs on the subject of the war, Towha addressed himself to me, asking my assistance. When I excused myself, he seemed angry; thinking it strange that I, who had always declared myself to be the friend of their island, would not now go and fight against its enemies. Before we parted, he gave to Otoo two or three red feathers tied up in a tuft, and a lean, half-starved dog was put into a canoe that was to accompany us. We then embarked again, taking on board a priest who was to assist at the solemnity.

As soon as we landed at Attahooroo, which was about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Otoo expressed his desire that the seamen might be ordered to remain in the boat; and that Mr Anderson, Mr Webber, and myself, might take off our hats as soon as we should come to the "morai," to which we immediately proceeded, attended by a great many men and some boys, but not one woman. We found four priests and their attendants or assistants waiting for us. The dead body, or sacrifice, was in a small canoe that lay on the beach, and partly in the wash of the sea, fronting the "morai." Two of the priests, with some of their attendants, were sitting by the canoe; the others at the "morai." Our company stopped about twenty or thirty paces from the priests. Here Otoo placed himself; we and a few others standing by him, while the bulk of the people remained at a greater distance.

The ceremonies now began. One of the priest's attendants brought a young plantain tree and laid it down before Otoo. Another approached with a small tuft of red feathers, twisted on some fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, with which he touched one of the King's feet, and then retired with it to his companions. One of the priests seated at the "morai," facing those who were upon the beach, now began a long prayer, and at certain times sent down young plantain trees, which were laid upon the sacrifice. During this prayer, a man who stood by the officiating priest held in his hands two bundles, seemingly of cloth. In one of them, as we afterward found, was the royal "maro," and the other, if I may be allowed the expression, was the ark of the "Eatooa." As soon as the prayer was ended, the priests at the "morai," with their attendants, went and sat down by those upon the beach, carrying with them the two bundles. Here they renewed their prayers, during which the plantain trees were taken one by one, at different times, from off the sacrifice, which was partly wrapped up in cocoa leaves and small branches. It was now taken out of the canoe, and laid upon the beach,

with the feet to the sea. The priests placed themselves around it, some sitting and others standing, and one or more of them repeated sentences for about ten minutes. The dead body was now uncovered, by removing the leaves and branches, and laid in a parallel direction with the sea-shore. One of the priests then, standing at the feet of it, pronounced a long prayer, in which he was at times joined by the others, each holding in his hand a tuft of red feathers. In the course of this prayer, some hair was pulled off the head of the sacrifice, and the left eye taken out; both which were presented to Otoo, wrapped up in a green leaf. He did not, however, touch it, but gave to the man who presented it the tuft of feathers which he had received from Towha. This, with the hair and eye, was carried back to the priests. Soon after, Otoo sent to them another piece of feathers, which he had given me in the morning to keep in my pocket. During some part of this last ceremony, a kingfisher making a noise in the trees, Otoo turned to me, saying, "That is the 'Eatooa,'" and seemed to look upon it to be a good omen.

The body was then carried a little way, with its head toward the "morai," and laid under a tree; near which were fixed three broad thin pieces of wood differently but rudely carved. The bundles of cloth were laid on a part of the "morai;" and the tufts of red feathers were placed at the feet of the sacrifice, round which the priests took their stations; and we were now allowed to go as near as we pleased. He who seemed to be the chief priest sat at a small distance, and spoke for a quarter of an hour, but with different tones and gestures; so that he seemed often to expostulate with the dead person, to whom he constantly addressed himself; and sometimes asked several questions, seemingly with respect to the propriety of his having been killed. At other times he made several demands, as if the deceased either now had power himself, or interest with the Divinity, to engage him to comply with such requests. Amongst which, we understood, he asked him to deliver Eimeo, Maheine its chief, the hogs, women, and other things of the island, into their hands; which was, indeed, the express intention of the sacrifice. He then chanted a prayer, which lasted half-an-hour, in a whining, melancholy tone, accompanied by two other priests; in which Potatou and some others joined. In the course of this prayer some more hair was plucked by a priest from the head of the corpse, and put upon one of the bundles. After this the chief priest prayed alone, holding in his hand the feathers which came from Towha. When he had finished, he gave them to another, who prayed in like manner. Then all the tufts of feathers were laid upon the bundles of cloth; which closed the ceremony at this place.

The corpse was then carried up to the most conspicuous part of the "morai," with the feathers, the two bundles of cloth, and the drums; the last of which beat slowly. The feathers and bundles were laid against the pile of stones, and the corpse at the foot of them. The priests, having again seated themselves round it, renewed their prayers; while some of the attendants dug a hole about two feet deep, into which they threw the unhappy victim, and covered it with earth and stones. While they were putting him into the grave, a boy squeaked aloud, and Omai said to me that it was the "Eatooa." During this time, a fire having been made, the dog before mentioned was produced, and killed by twisting his neck and suffocating him. The hair was singed off, and the entrails taken out and thrown into the fire, where they were left to consume. But the heart, liver, and kidneys were only roasted by being laid on the stones for a few minutes; and the body of the dog, after being besmeared with the blood which had been collected in a cocoa-nut shell and dried over the fire, was, with the liver, &c., carried and laid down before the priests, who sat praying round the grave. They

continued their ejaculations over the dog for some time, while two men, at intervals, beat on two drums very loud; and a boy screamed, as before, in a loud, shrill voice three different times. This, as we were told, was to invite the "Eatooa" to feast on the banquet that they had prepared for him. As soon as the priests had ended their prayers, the carcase of the dog, with what belonged to it, were laid on a "whatta," or scaffold, about six feet high, that stood close by, on which lay the remains of two other dogs and of two pigs which had lately been sacrificed and at this time emitted an intolerable stench. This kept us at a greater distance than would otherwise have been required of us. For after the victim was removed from the seaside toward the "morai," we were allowed to approach as near as we pleased. Indeed, after that, neither seriousness nor attention were much observed by the spectators. When the dog was put upon the "whatta," the priests and attendants gave a kind of shout, which closed the ceremonies for the present. The day being now also closed, we were conducted to a house belonging to Potatou, where we were entertained and lodged for the night. We had been told that the religious rites were to be renewed in the morning; and I would not leave the place, while anything remained to be seen.

Being unwilling to lose any part of the solemnity, some of us repaired to the scene of action pretty early, but found nothing going forward. However, soon after, a pig was sacrificed and laid upon the same "whatta" with the others. About 8 o'clock, Otoo took us again to the "morai," where the priests and a great number of men were by this time assembled. The two bundles occupied the place in which we had seen them deposited the preceding evening; the two drums stood in the front of the "morai," but somewhat nearer it than before; and the priests were beyond them. Otoo placed himself between the two drums, and desired me to stand by *him*. The ceremony began as usual with bringing a young plantain-tree and laying it down at the King's feet. After this a prayer was repeated by the priests, who held in their hands several tufts of red feathers, and also a plume of ostrich feathers, which I had given to Otoo on my first arrival, and which had been consecrated to this use. When the priests had made an end of the prayer, they changed their station, placing themselves between us and the "morai;" and one of them—the same person who had acted the principal part the day before—began another prayer, which lasted about half-an-hour. During the continuance of this, the tufts of feathers were one by one carried and laid upon the ark of the "Eatooa."

Some little time after, four pigs were produced; one of which was immediately killed, and the others were taken to a sty hard by, probably reserved for some future occasion of sacrifice. One of the bundles was now untied, and it was found, as I have before observed, to contain the "maro," with which these people invest their kings; and which seems to answer in some degree to the European ensigns of royalty. It was carefully taken out of the cloth in which it had been wrapped up, and spread at full length upon the ground before the priests. It is a girdle about five yards long and fifteen inches broad; and from its name seems to be put on in the same manner as is the common "maro," or piece of cloth, used by these people to wrap round the waist. It was ornamented with red and yellow feathers, but mostly with the latter, taken from a dove found upon the island. The one end was bordered with eight pieces, each about the size and shape of a horse-shoe, having their edges fringed with black feathers. The other end was forked, and the points were of different lengths. The feathers were in square compartments, ranged in two rows, and otherwise so disposed as to produce a pleasing effect. They had been first pasted or fixed upon some of their own country cloth, and then sewed to the upper end of the pa-

dant which Captain Wallis had displayed, and left flying ashore, the first time that he landed at Matavai. This was what they told us; and we had no reason to doubt it, as we could easily trace the remains of an English pendant. About six or eight inches square of the "maro" was unornamented; there being no feathers upon that space, except a few that had been sent by Waheiadoua, as already mentioned. The priests made a long prayer relative to this part of the ceremony, and, if I mistook not, they called it the prayer of the "maro." When it was finished, the badge of royalty was carefully folded up, put into the cloth, and deposited again upon the "morai." The other bundle which I have distinguished by the name of the ark, was next opened at one end; but we were not allowed to go near enough to examine its mysterious contents. The information we received was, that the "Eatooa" to whom they had been sacrificing, and whose name is "Ooro," was concealed in it; or rather what is supposed to represent him. This sacred repository is made of the twisted fibres of the husk of the cocoa-nut, shaped somewhat like a large fid, or sugar-loaf—that is, roundish, with one end much thicker than the other. We had very often got small ones from different people, but never knew their use before.

By this time the pig that had been killed was cleaned, and the entrails taken out. These happened to have a considerable share of those convulsive motions which often appear in different parts after an animal is killed; and this was considered by the spectators as a very favourable omen to the expedition on account of which the sacrifices had been offered. After being exposed for some time, that those who choose might examine their appearances, the entrails were carried to the priests and laid down before them. While one of the number prayed, another inspected the entrails more narrowly, and kept turning them gently with a stick.[1] When they had been sufficiently examined, they were thrown into the fire and left to consume. The sacrificed pig, and its liver, &c., were now put upon the "whatta" where the dog had been deposited the day before; then all the feathers, except the ostrich plume, were enclosed with the "Eatooa" in the ark; and the solemnity finally closed. Four double canoes lay upon the beach before the place of sacrifice all the morning. On the fore-part of each of these was fixed a small platform covered with palm-leaves tied in mysterious knots; and this also is called a "morai." Some cocoa-nuts, plantains, pieces of bread-fruit, fish, and other things, lay upon each of these naval "morais." We were told that they belonged to the "Eatooa;" and that they were to attend the fleet designed to go against Eimeo.

The unhappy victim offered to the object of their worship upon this occasion seemed to be a middle-aged man, and, as we were told, was a tow-tow—that is, one of the lowest class of the people. But, after all my inquiries, I could not learn that he had been pitched upon on account of any particular crime committed by him meriting death. It is certain, however, that they generally make choice of such guilty persons for their sacrifice; or else of common low fellows, who stroll about from place to place and from island to island without having any fixed abode or any visible way of getting an honest livelihood; of which description of men enough are to be met with at these islands. Having had an opportunity of examining the appearance of the body of the poor sufferer now offered up, I could observe that it was bloody about the head and face, and a good deal bruised upon the right temple, which marked the manner of his being

[1] There is a grotesque analogy between these South Sea soothsayers and the Roman "haruspices," whose never highly-honoured craft it was to draw omens of good or ill from the entrails of victims slain in the same sort of interrogatory sacrifice.

killed. And we were told that he had been privately knocked on the head with a stone. Those who are devoted to suffer, in order to perform this bloody act of worship, are never apprized of their fate till the blow is given that puts an end to their existence. Whenever any one of the great chiefs thinks a human sacrifice necessary on any particular emergency, he pitches upon the victim. Some of his trusty servants are then sent, who fall upon him suddenly and put him to death with a club or by stoning him. The King is next acquainted with it, whose presence at the solemn rites that follow is, as I was told, absolutely necessary; and indeed on the present occasion we could observe that Otoo bore a principal part. The solemnity itself is called "Poore Eree," or chief's prayer; and the victim, who is offered up, "Taata-taboo," or consecrated man. This is the only instance where we have heard the word "taboo" used at this island, where it seems to have the same mysterious signification as at Tonga; though it is there applied to all cases where things are not to be touched. But at Otaheite the word "raa" serves the same purpose, and is full as extensive in its meaning.

The "morai" (which, undoubtedly, is a place of worship, sacrifice, and burial, at the same time) where the sacrifice was now offered, is that where the supreme chief of the whole island is always buried, and is appropriated to his family and some of the principal people. It differs little from the common ones except in extent. Its principal part is a large, oblong pile of stones, lying loosely upon each other, about twelve or fourteen feet high, contracted towards the top, with a square area on each side loosely paved with pebble stones, under which the bones of the chiefs are buried. At a little distance from the end nearest the sea is the place where the sacrifices are offered; which, for a considerable extent, is also loosely paved. There is here a very large scaffold, or "whatta," on which the offerings of fruits and other vegetables are laid. But the animals are deposited on a smaller one, already mentioned, and the human sacrifices are buried under different parts of the pavement. There are several other relics which ignorant superstition had scattered about this place; such as small stones, raised in different parts of the pavement, some with bits of cloth tied round them, others covered with it; and upon the side of the large pile which fronts the area are placed a great many pieces of carved wood, which are supposed to be sometimes the residence of their divinities, and consequently held sacred. But one place, more particular than the rest, is a heap of stones, at one end of the large "whatta," before which the sacrifice was offered, with a kind of platform at one side. On this are laid the skulls of all the human sacrifices, which are taken up after they have been several months under ground. Just above them are placed a great number of the pieces of wood; and it was also here where the "maro" and the other bundles supposed to contain the god "Ooro" (and which I call the ark) were laid during the ceremony, a circumstance which denotes its agreement with the altar of other nations.

It is much to be regretted that a practice so horrid in its own nature, and so destructive of that inviolable right of self-preservation which every one is born with, should be found still existing; and (such is the power of superstition to counteract the first principles of humanity!) existing amongst a people in many other respects emerged from the brutal manners of savage life. What is still worse, it is probable that these bloody rites of worship are prevalent throughout all the wide extended islands of the Pacific Ocean. The similarity of customs and language which our late voyages have enabled us to trace between the most distant of these islands, makes it not unlikely that some of the most important articles of their religious institutions should agree. And, indeed, we have the most authentic information that human sacrifices continue to be offered at the

Friendly Islands. When I described the "Natche" at Tongataboo, I mentioned that, on the approaching sequel of that festival, we had been told that ten men were to be sacrificed. This may give us an idea of the extent of this religious massacre in that island. And though we should suppose that never more than one person is sacrificed on any single occasion at Otaheite, it is more than probable that these occasions happen so frequently as to make a shocking waste of the human race; for I counted no less than forty-nine skulls of former victims lying before the "morai" where we saw one more added to the number. And as none of those skulls had as yet suffered any considerable change from the weather, it may hence be inferred that no great length of time had elapsed since at least this considerable number of unhappy wretches had been offered upon this altar of blood.

The custom, though no consideration can make it cease to be abominable, might be thought less detrimental in some respects if it served to impress any awe for the Divinity, or reverence for religion, upon the minds of the multitude. But this is so far from being the case, that though a great number of people had assembled at the "morai" on this occasion, they did not seem to show any proper reverence for what was doing or saying during the celebration of the rites. And Omai happening to arrive after they had begun, many of the spectators flocked round him and were engaged the remainder of the time in making him relate some of his adventures, which they listened to with great attention, regardless of the solemn offices performing by their priests. Indeed, the priests themselves, except the one who chiefly repeated the prayers, either from their being familiarised to such objects, or from want of confidence in the efficacy of their institutions, observed very little of that solemnity which is necessary to give to religious performances their due weight. Their dress was only an ordinary one; they conversed together without scruple; and the only attempt made by them to preserve any appearance of decency was by exerting their authority to prevent the people from coming upon the very spot where the ceremonies were performed, and to suffer us as strangers to advance a little forward. They were, however, very candid in their answers to any questions that were put to them concerning the institution; and particularly on being asked what the intention of it was. They said that it was an old custom, and was agreeable to their god, who delighted in, or in other words came and fed upon, the sacrifices; in consequence of which he complied with their petitions. Upon its being objected that he could not feed on these, as he was neither seen to do it, nor were the bodies of the animals quickly consumed; and that as to the human victim they prevented his feeding on him by burying him: to all this they answered, that he came in the night, but invisibly; and fed only on the soul or immaterial part, which according to their doctrine remains about the place of sacrifice until the body of the victim be entirely wasted by putrefaction.

It were much to be wished that this deluded people may learn to entertain the same horror of murdering their fellow-creatures, in order to furnish such an invisible banquet to their god, as they now have of feeding corporeally on human flesh themselves. And yet we have great reason to believe that there was a time when they were cannibals. We were told (and indeed partly saw it) that it is a necessary ceremony, when a poor wretch is sacrificed, for the priest to take out the left eye. This he presents to the king, holding it to his mouth, which he desires him to open; but instead of putting it in, immediately withdraws it. This they call "eating the man," or "food for the chief;" and perhaps we may observe here some traces of former times, when the dead body was really feasted upon. But, not to insist upon this, it is certain that human sacrifices are not the only barbarous custom we find still prevailing amongst this benevolent, humane

people. For besides cutting out the jaw-bones of their enemies slain in battle, which they carry about as trophies, they in some measure offer their dead bodies as a sacrifice to the "Eatooa." Soon after a battle in which they have been victors, they collect all the dead that have fallen into their hands, and bring them to the "morai," where with a great deal of ceremony they dig a hole and bury them all in it, as so many offerings to the gods; but their skulls are never after taken up.

Their own great chiefs that fall in battle are treated in a different manner. We were informed that their late King Tootaha, Tubourai-tamaide, and another chief who fell with them in the battle, fought with those of Tiaraboo, and were brought to this "morai," at Attahooroo. There their bowels were cut out by the priests before the great altar; and the bodies afterward buried in three different places, which were pointed out to us, in the great pile of stones that compose the most conspicuous part of this "morai." And their common men who also fell in this battle were all buried in one hole at the foot of the pile. This Omai, who was present, told me was done the day after the battle, with much pomp and ceremony, and in the midst of a great concourse of people, as a thanksgiving offering to the "Eatooa," for the victory they had obtained; while the vanquished had taken refuge in the mountains. There they remained a week or ten days, till the fury of the victors was over, and a treaty set on foot by which it was agreed that Otoo should be declared King of the whole island; and the solemnity of investing him with the "maro" was performed at the same "morai," with great pomp, in the presence of all the principal men of the country.

CHAPTER III.

The close of the very singular scene exhibited at the "morai," which I have faithfully described in the last Chapter, leaving us no other business in Attahooroo, we embarked about noon in order to return to Matavai, and in our way visited Towha, who had remained on the little island where we met him the day before. Some conversation passed between Otoo and him on the present posture of public affairs, and then the latter solicited me once more to join them in their war against Eimeo. By my positive refusal I entirely lost the good graces of this chief. . . .

On the 14th, a party of us dined ashore with Omai, who gave excellent fare, consisting of fish, fowls, pork, and puddings. After dinner, I attended Otoo, who had been one of the party, back to his house, where I found all his servants very busy getting a quantity of provisions ready for me. Amongst other articles there was a large hog, which they killed in my presence. The entrails were divided into eleven portions, in such a manner that each of them contained a bit of everything. These portions were distributed to the servants, and some dressed theirs in the same oven with the hog, while others carried off undressed what had come to their share. There was also a large pudding, the whole process in making which I saw. It was composed of bread-fruit, ripe plantains, taro, and palm, or *Pandanus*, nuts, each rasped, scraped, or beat up fine, and baked by itself. A quantity of juice expressed from cocoa-nut kernels was put into a large tray or wooden vessel. The other articles, hot from the oven, were deposited in this vessel, and a few hot stones were also put in, to make the contents simmer. Three or four men made use of sticks to stir the several ingredients, till they were incorporated one with another, and the juice of the cocoa-nut was turned to oil; so that the whole mass at last became of the consistency of a hasty-pudding. Some of these puddings are excellent, and few that we make in England equal them. I seldom or never dined without one when I could get it, which was not always the case. Otoo's hog

being baked, and the pudding which I have described being made, they, together with two living hogs and a quantity of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, were put into a canoe and sent on board my ship, followed by myself and all the royal family.

The following evening, a young ram of the Cape breed, that had been lambed, and with great care brought up on board the ship, was killed by a dog. Incidents are of more or less consequence, as connected with situation. In our present situation, desirous as I was to propagate this useful race amongst these islands, the loss of the ram was a serious misfortune, as it was the only one I had of that breed, and I had only one of the English breed left. And in the evening of the 7th we played off some fireworks before a great concourse of people.

The next day a party of us dined with our former shipmate, Oedidee, on fish and pork. The hog weighed about thirty pounds; and it may be worth mentioning that it was alive, dressed, and brought upon the table within the hour. We had but just dined, when Otoo came and asked me if my belly was full? On my answering in the affirmative, he said, "Then come along with me." I accordingly went with him to his father's, where I found some people employed in dressing two girls with a prodigious quantity of fine cloth, after a very singular fashion. The one end of each piece of cloth, of which there was a good many, was held up over the heads of the girls, while the remainder was wrapped round their bodies, under the arm-pits. Then the upper ends were let fall, and hung down in folds to the ground over the other, so as to bear some resemblance to a circular hoop-petticoat. Afterwards, round the outside of all, were wrapped several pieces of differently coloured cloth, which considerably increased the size; so that it was not less than five or six yards in circuit, and the weight of this singular attire was as much as the poor girls could support. To each were hung two "taames," or breast-plates, by way of enriching the whole, and giving it a picturesque appearance. Thus equipped, they were conducted on board the ship, together with several hogs and a quantity of fruit, which, with the cloth, was a present to me from Otoo's father. Persons of either sex dressed in this manner are called "atee;" but I believe it is never practised except when large presents of cloth are to be made. At least I never saw it practised upon any other occasion, nor, indeed, had I ever such a present before; but both Captain Clerke and I had cloth given to us afterwards thus wrapped round the bearers. The next day I had a present of five hogs and some fruit from Otoo, and one hog and some fruit from each of his sisters. Nor were other provisions wanting. For two or three days great quantities of mackerel had been caught by the natives, within the reef, in seines; some of which they brought to the ships and tents, and sold.

Otoo was not more attentive to supply our wants by a succession of presents, than he was to contribute to our amusement by a succession of diversions. A party of us having gone down to Oparre on the 10th, he treated us with what may be called a play. His three sisters were the actresses; and the dresses they appeared in were new and elegant, that is, more so than we had usually met with at any of these islands. But the principal object I had in view this day in going to Oparre was to take a view of an embalmed corpse, which some of our gentlemen had happened to meet with at that place, near the residence of Otoo. On inquiry I found it to be the remains of Tee, a chief well known to me when I was at this island during my last voyage. It was lying in a "toopapaoo," more elegantly constructed than their common ones, and in all respects similar to that lately seen by us at Oheitepeha, in which the remains of Waheiadooa are deposited, embalmed in the same manner. When we arrived at the place, the body was under cover and wrap-

ped up in cloth within the "toopapaoo;" but at my desire the man who had the care of it brought it out and laid it upon a kind of bier, in such a manner that we had as full a view of it as we could wish; but we were not allowed to go within the pales that enclosed the "toopapaoo." After he had thus exhibited the corpse, he hung the place with mats and cloth, so disposed as to produce a very pretty effect. We found the body not only entire in every part, but what surprised us much more, was that putrefaction seemed scarcely to be begun, as there was not the least disagreeable smell proceeding from it, though the climate is one of the hottest, and Tee had been dead above four months. The only remarkable alteration that had happened was a shrinking of the muscular parts of the eyes; but the hair and nails were in their original state, and still adhered firmly; and the several joints were quite pliable, or in that kind of relaxed state which happens to persons who faint suddenly. Such were Mr Anderson's remarks to me, who also told me, that on his inquiring into the method of effecting this preservation of their dead bodies, he had been informed that soon after their death they are disembowelled by drawing the intestines and other viscera out at the anus, and the whole cavity is then filled or stuffed with cloth introduced through the same part; that when any moisture appeared on the skin it was carefully dried up, and the bodies afterward rubbed all over with a large quantity of perfumed cocoa-nut oil, which being frequently repeated, preserved them a great many months, but at last they gradually moulder away. This was the information Mr Anderson received; for my own part I could not learn any more about their mode of operation than what Omai told me, who said that they made use of the juice of a plant which grows amongst the mountains; of cocoa-nut oil; and of frequent washing with sea-water. I was also told that the bodies of all their great men who died a natural death are preserved in this manner; and that they expose them to public view for a considerable time after. At first they are laid out every day when it does not rain, afterwards the intervals become greater and greater, and at last they are seldom to be seen.

In the evening we returned from Oparee, where we left Otoo and all the royal family; and I saw none of them till the 12th, when all but the chief himself paid me a visit. He, as they told me, was gone to Attahooroo to assist this day at another human sacrifice which the chief of Tiaraboo had sent thither to be offered up at the "morai." This second instance within the course of a few days was too melancholy a proof how numerous the victims of this bloody superstition are amongst this humane people. I would have been present at this sacrifice too had I known of it in time, for now it was too late. From the very same cause I missed being present at a public transaction which had passed at Oparre the preceding day, when Otoo, with all the solemnities observed on such occasions, restored to the friends and followers of the late King Tootaha the lands and possessions which had been withheld from them ever since his death. Probably the new sacrifice was the concluding ceremony of what may be called the reversal of attainder.

The following evening Otoo returned from exercising this most disagreeable of all his duties as Sovereign; and the next day, being now honoured with his company, Captain Clerke and I, mounted on horseback, took a ride round the plain of Matavai, to the very great surprise of a great train of people who attended on the occasion, gazing upon us with as much astonishment as if we had been Centaurs. Omai, indeed, had once or twice before this attempted to get on horseback, but he had as often been thrown off before he could contrive to seat himself; so that this was the first time they had seen anybody ride a horse. What Captain Clerke and I began was after this repeated every

day while we stayed, by one or another of our people, and yet the curiosity of the natives continued still unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with these animals, after they had seen the use that was made of them; and as far as I could judge they conveyed to them a better idea of the greatness of other nations than all the other novelties put together that their European visitors had carried amongst them. Both the horse and mare were in good case, and looked extremely well.

The next day, Etary or Olla, the god of Bolabola, who had for several days past been in the neighbourhood of Matavai, removed to Oparre, attended by several sailing canoes. We were told that Otoo did not approve of his being so near our station, where his people could more easily invade our property. I must do Otoo the justice to say that he took every method prudence could suggest to prevent thefts and robberies; and it was more owing to his regulations than to our circumspection that so few were committed. He had taken care to erect a little house or two on the other side of the river behind our post, and two others close to our tents on the bank between the river and the sea. In all these places some of his own people constantly kept watch, and his father generally resided on Matavai Point, so that we were in a manner surrounded by them. Thus stationed, they not only guarded us in the night from thieves, but could observe everything that passed in the day, and were ready to collect contributions from such girls as had private connections with our people, which was generally done every morning. So that the measures adopted by him to secure our safety at the same time served the more essential purpose of enlarging his own profits. Otoo informing me that his presence was necessary at Oparre, where he was to give audience to the great personage from Bolabola, and asking me to accompany him, I readily consented in hopes of meeting with something worth our notice. Accordingly I went with him in the morning of the 16th, attended by Mr Anderson. Nothing, however, occurred on this occasion that was either interesting or curious. We saw Etary and his followers present some coarse cloth and hogs to Otoo, and each article was delivered with some ceremony and a set speech. After this, they and some other chiefs held a consultation about the expedition to Eimeo. Etary at first seemed to disapprove of it, but at last his objections were overruled. Indeed it appeared next day that it was too late to deliberate about this measure; and that Towha, Potatou, and another chief had already gone upon the expedition, with the fleet of Attahooroo. For a messenger arrived in the evening with intelligence that they had reached Eimeo, and that there had been some skirmishes without much loss or advantage on either side.

In the morning of the 18th Mr Anderson, myself, and Omai went again with Otoo to Oparre, and took with us the sheep which I intended to leave upon the island, consisting of an English ram and ewe and three Cape ewes, all which I gave to Otoo. As all the three cows had taken the bull, I thought I might venture to divide them and carry some to Ulietea. With this view I had them brought before us, and proposed to Etary that if he would leave his bull with Otoo, he should have mine and one of the three cows, adding that I would carry them for him to Ulietea; for I was afraid to remove the Spanish bull, lest some accident should happen to him, as he was a bulky, spirited beast. To this proposal of mine Etary at first made some objections, but at last agreed to it, partly through the persuasion of Omai. However, just as the cattle were putting into the boat, one of Etary's followers valiantly opposed any exchange whatever being made. Finding this, and suspecting that Etary had only consented to the proposed arrangement for the present moment to please me, and that after I was gone he might take away his bull, and then Otoo would not have one, I thought it best to drop the

idea of an exchange, as it could not be made with the mutual consent of both parties, and finally determined to leave them all with Otoo, strictly enjoining him never to suffer them to be removed from Oparre, not even the Spanish bull, nor any of the sheep, till he should get a stock of young ones, which he might then dispose of to his friends, and send to the neighbouring islands.

This being settled, we left Etary and his party to ruminate upon their folly, and attended Otoo to another place hard by, where we found the servants of a chief whose name I forgot to ask, waiting with a hog, a pig, and a dog, as a present from their master to the Sovereign. These were delivered with the usual ceremonies, and with an harangue in form in which the speaker in his master's name inquired after the health of Otoo and of all the principal people about him. This compliment was echoed back in the name of Otoo by one of his ministers, and then the dispute with Eimeo was discussed, with many arguments for and against it. The deputies of this chief were for prosecuting the war with vigour, and advised Otoo to offer a human sacrifice. On the other hand, a chief who was in constant attendance on Otoo's person opposed it, seemingly with great strength of argument. This confirmed me in the opinion that Otoo himself never entered heartily into the spirit of this war. He now received repeated messages from Towha strongly soliciting him to hasten to his assistance. We were told that his fleet was in a manner surrounded by that of Maheine, but that neither the one nor the other durst hazard an engagement.

After dining with Otoo, we returned to Matavai, leaving him at Oparre. This day, and also the 19th, we were very sparingly supplied with fruit. Otoo hearing of this, he and his brother, who had attached himself to Captain Clerke, came from Oparre between 9 and 10 o'clock in the evening with a large supply for both ships. This marked his humane attention more strongly than anything he had hitherto done for us. The next day all the royal family came with presents, so that our wants were not only relieved, but we had more provisions than we could consume.

Having got all our water on board, the ships being calked, the rigging overhauled, and everything put in order, I began to think of leaving the island, that I might have sufficient time to spare for visiting others in this neighbourhood. With this view we removed from the shore our observatories and instruments, and bent the sails. Early the next morning Otoo came on board to acquaint me that all the war canoes of Matavai and of the three other districts adjoining were going to Oparre to join those belonging to that part of the island, and that there would be a general review there. Soon after the squadron of Matavai was all in motion, and, after parading a while about the bay, assembled ashore near the middle of it. I now went in my boat to take a view of them. Of those with stages on which they fight, or what they call their war-canoes, there were about sixty, with near as many more of a smaller size. I was ready to have attended them to Oparre, but soon after a resolution was taken by the chiefs that they should not move till the next day. I looked upon this to be a fortunate delay, as it afforded me a good opportunity to get some insight into their manner of fighting. With this view I expressed my wish to Otoo that he would order some of them to go through the necessary manœuvres. Two were accordingly ordered out into the bay, in one of which Otoo, Mr King, and myself embarked, and Omai went on board the other. When we had got sufficient sea-room, we faced and advanced upon each other, and retreated by turns, as quick as our rowers could paddle. During this, the warriors on the stages flourished their weapons, and played a hundred antic tricks, which could answer no other end, in my judgment, than to work up their passions and prepare them for fighting.

Otoo stood by the side of our stage, and gave the necessary orders when to advance and when to retreat. In this great judgment and a quick eye combined together seemed requisite to seize every advantage that might offer, and to avoid giving any advantage to the adversary. At last, after advancing and retreating from each other at least a dozen times, the two canoes closed, head to head or stage to stage; and after a short conflict the troops on our stage were supposed to be all killed, and we were boarded by Omai and his associates. At that very instant Otoo and all our paddlers leaped overboard, as if reduced to the necessity of endeavouring to save their lives by swimming.

If Omai's information is to be depended upon, their naval engagements are not always conducted in this manner. He told me that they sometimes begin with lashing the two vessels together, head to head, and then fight till all the warriors are killed on one side or the other. But this close combat, I apprehend, is never practised but when they are determined to conquer or die. Indeed, one or the other must happen, for all agree that they never give quarter, unless it be to reserve their prisoners for a more cruel death the next day. The power and strength of these islands lie entirely in their navies. I never heard of a general engagement on land, and all their decisive battles are fought on the water. If the time and place of conflict are fixed upon by both parties, the preceding day and night are spent in diversions and feasting. Toward morning they launch the canoes, put everything in order, and with the day begins the battle, the fate of which generally decides the dispute. The vanquished save themselves by a precipitate flight, and such as reach the shore fly with their friends to the mountains, for the victors, while their fury lasts, spare neither the aged, women, nor children. The next day they assemble at the "morai," to return thanks to the "Eatooa" for the victory, and to offer up the slain as sacrifices, and the prisoners also if they have any. After this a treaty is set on foot, and the conquerors for the most part obtain their own terms, by which particular districts of land, and sometimes whole islands, change their owners. Omai told us that he was once taken a prisoner by the men of Bolabola, and carried to that island, where he and some others would have been put to death the next day if they had not found means to escape in the night.

As soon as this mock-fight was over, Omai put on his suit of armour, mounted a stage in one of the canoes, and was paddled all along the shore of the bay, so that every one had a full view of him. His coat of mail did not draw the attention of his countrymen so much as might have been expected. Some of them, indeed, had seen a part of it before; and there were others, again, who had taken such a dislike to Omai, from his imprudent conduct at this place, that they would hardly look at anything, however singular, that was exhibited by him.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY in the morning of the 22d, Otoo and his father came on board to know when I proposed sailing. For having been informed that there was a good harbour at Eimeo, I had told them that I should visit that island on my way to Huaheine; and they were desirous of taking a passage with me, and of their fleet sailing at the time to reinforce Towha. As I was ready to take my departure, I left it to them to name the day; and the Wednesday following was fixed upon, when I was to take on board Otoo, his father, mother, and in short the whole family. These points being settled, I proposed setting out immediately for Oparre, where all the fleet fitted out for the expedition was to assemble this day and to be reviewed.

I had but just time to get into my boat when news was brought that Towha had concluded a treaty with

Maheine, and had returned with his fleet to Attahooroo. This unexpected event made all further proceedings in the military way quite unnecessary; and the war-canoes, instead of rendezvousing at Oparre, were ordered home to their respective districts. This alteration, however, did not hinder me from following Otoo to Oparre, accompanied by Mr King and Omai. Soon after our arrival, and while dinner was preparing, a messenger arrived from Eimeo and related the conditions of the peace, or rather of the truce, it being only for a limited time. The terms were disadvantageous to Otaheite, and much blame was thrown upon Otoo, whose delay in sending reinforcements had obliged Towha to submit to a disgraceful accommodation. It was even currently reported that Towha, resenting his not being supported, had declared that as soon as I could leave the island he would join his forces to those of Tiaraboo, and attack Otoo at Matavai or Oparre. This called upon me to declare in the most public manner that I was determined to espouse the interest of my friend against any such combination, and that whoever presumed to attack him should feel the weight of my heavy displeasure when I returned again to their island. My declaration probably had the desired effect, and if Towha had any such hostile intention at first, we soon heard no more of the report. Whappai, Otoo's father, highly disapproved of the peace, and blamed Towha very much for concluding it. This sensible old man wisely judged that my going down with them to Eimeo must have been of singular service to their cause, though I should take no other part whatever in the quarrel. And it was upon this that he built his arguments, and maintained that Otoo had acted properly by waiting for me, though this had prevented his giving assistance to Towha so soon as he expected.

Our debates at Oparre on this subject were hardly ended before a messenger arrived from Towha, desiring Otoo's attendance the next day at the "morai" in Attahooroo, to give thanks to the gods for the peace he had concluded; at least such was Omai's account to me of the object of this solemnity. I was asked to go, but being much out of order was obliged to decline. Desirous, however, of knowing what ceremonies might be observed on so memorable an occasion, I sent Mr King and Omai, and returned on board my ship, attended by Otoo's mother, his three sisters, and eight more women. At first I thought that this numerous train of females came into my boat with no other view than to get a passage to Matavai. But when we arrived at the ship they told me they intended passing the night on board for the express purpose of undertaking the cure of the disorder I complained of, which was a pain of the rheumatic kind extending from the hip to the foot. I accepted the friendly offer, had a bed spread for them upon the cabin floor, and submitted myself to their directions. I was desired to lay myself down amongst them. Then as many of them as could get round me began to squeeze me with both hands from head to foot, but more particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing-down before I went to bed; and it was so effectual that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning before they went ashore, and again in the evening when they returned on board, after which I found the pains entirely removed; and the cure being perfected, they took their leave of me the following morning. This they call "romee," an operation which in my opinion far exceeds the flesh-brush, or anything of the kind that we make use of externally. It is universally practised amongst these islanders, being sometimes performed by the men, but more generally by

the women. If at any time one appears languid and tired, and sits down by any one of them, they immediately begin to practise the "romee" upon his legs; and I have always found it to have an exceeding good effect. . . .

[On the 27th] I accompanied Otoo to Oparre; and before I left it I looked at the cattle and poultry which I had consigned to my friend's care at that place. Everything was in a promising way, and properly attended to. Two of the geese and two of the ducks were sitting; but the pea and turkey hens had not begun to lay. I got from Otoo four goats, two of which I intended to leave at Ulietea, where none had as yet been introduced; and the other two I proposed to reserve for the use of any other islands I might meet with in my passage to the north.

Our friend Omai got one good thing at this island for the many good things he gave away. This was a very fine double sailing canoe, completely equipped, and fit for the sea. Some time before I had made up for him a suit of English colours; but he thought these too valuable to be used at this time, and patched up a parcel of colours, such as flags and pendants, to the number of ten or a dozen, which he spread on different parts of this vessel all at the same time, and drew together as many people to look at her as a man-of-war would, dressed, in a European port. These streamers of Omai were a mixture of English, French, Spanish, and Dutch, which were all the European colours that he had seen. When I was last at this island, I gave to Otoo an English jack and pendant, and to Towha a pendant; which I now found they had preserved with the greatest care. Omai had also provided himself with a good stock of cloth and cocoa-nut oil, which are not only in greater plenty, but much better, at Otaheite than at any of the Society Islands, insomuch that they are articles of trade. Omai would not have behaved so inconsistently, and so much unlike himself as he did in many instances, but for his sister and brother-in-law, who, together with a few more of their acquaintance, engrossed him entirely to themselves, with no other view than to strip him of everything he had got. And they would undoubtedly have succeeded in their scheme, if I had not put a stop to it in time, by taking the most useful articles of his property into my possession. But even this would not have saved Omai from ruin, if I had suffered these relations of his to have gone with or to have followed us to his intended place of settlement, Huaheine. This they had intended, but I disappointed their further views of plunder by forbidding them to show themselves in that island while I remained in the neighbourhood; and they knew me too well not to comply.

On the 28th Otoo came on board, and informed me that he had got a canoe, which he desired I would take with me, and carry home as a present from him to the "Earee rahie no Pretane;" it being the only thing, he said, that he could send worth his Majesty's acceptance. I was not a little pleased with Otoo for this mark of his gratitude. It was a thought entirely his own, not one of us having given him the least hint about it; and it showed that he fully understood to whom he was indebted for the most valuable presents that he had received. At first I thought that this canoe had been a model of one of their vessels of war; but I soon found that it was a small "ivahah," about sixteen feet long. It was double, and seemed to have been built for the purpose; and was decorated with all those pieces of carved work which they usually fix upon their canoes. As it was too large for me to take on board, I could only thank him for his good intention; but it would have pleased him much better if his present could have been accepted.

We were detained here some days longer than I expected, by light breezes from the west, and calms, by turns; so that we could not get out of the bay. During this time the ships were crowded with our friends,

and surrounded by a multitude of canoes; for not one would leave the place till we were gone. At length, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 29th the wind came at east, and we weighed anchor. As soon as the ships were under sail, at the request of Otoo, and to gratify the curiosity of his people, I fired seven guns loaded with shot; after which all our friends, except him and two or three more, left us with such marks of affection and grief as sufficiently showed how much they regretted our departure. Otoo being desirous of seeing the ship sail, I made a stretch out to sea and then in again; when he also bid us farewell and went ashore in his canoe. The frequent visits we have lately paid to this island seem to have created a full persuasion that the intercourse will not be discontinued. It was strictly enjoined to me by Otoo to request, in his name, the "Earee rahie no Pretane" to send him by the next ships red feathers and the birds that produce them, axes, half-a-dozen muskets, with powder and shot; and by no means to forget horses.

I have occasionally mentioned my receiving considerable presents from Otoo and the rest of the family, without specifying what returns I made. It is customary for these people, when they make a present, to let us know what they expect in return; and we find it necessary to gratify them; so that what we get by way of present comes dearer than what we get by barter. But as we were sometimes pressed by occasional scarcity, we could have recourse to our friends for a present or supply when we could not get our wants relieved by any other method; and therefore, upon the whole, this way of traffic was full as advantageous to us as to the natives. For the most part, I paid for each separate article as I received it, except in my intercourse with Otoo. His presents generally came so fast upon me, that no account was kept between us. Whatever he asked for that I could spare, he had whenever he asked for it; and I always found him moderate in his demands.

If I could have prevailed upon Omai to fix himself at Otaheite, I should not have left it so soon as I did. For there was not a probability of our being better or cheaper supplied with refreshments at any other place than we continued to be here even at the time of our leaving it. Besides, such a cordial friendship and confidence subsisted between us and the inhabitants as could hardly be expected any where else; and it was a little extraordinary that this friendly intercourse had never once been suspended by any untoward accident, nor had there been a theft committed that deserves to be mentioned. Not that I believe their morals in this respect to be much mended, but am rather of opinion that their regularity of conduct was owing to the fear the chiefs were under of interrupting a traffic which they might consider as the means of securing to themselves a more considerable share of our commodities than could have been got by plunder or pilfering. Indeed, this point I settled at the first interview with their chiefs after my arrival. For observing the great plenty that was in the island, and the eagerness of the natives to possess our various articles of trade, I resolved to make the most of these two favourable circumstances, and explained myself in the most decisive terms that I would not suffer them to rob us as they had done upon many former occasions. In this Omai was of great use, as I instructed him to point out to them the good consequences of their honest conduct, and the fatal mischiefs they must expect to suffer by deviating from it. It is not always in the power of the chiefs to prevent robberies; they are frequently robbed themselves, and complain of it as a great evil. Otoo left the most valuable things he had from me in my possession till the day before we sailed; and the reason he gave for it was that they were nowhere so safe. Since the bringing-in of new riches, the inducements to pilfering must have increased. The chiefs, sensible of this, are now extremely desirous of chests. They

seemed to set much value upon a few the Spaniards had left amongst them; and they were continually asking us for some. I had one made for Otoo, the dimensions of which, according to his own directions, were eight feet in length, five in breadth, and about three in depth. Locks and bolts were not a sufficient security; but it must be large enough for two people to sleep upon, by way of guarding it in the night.

It will appear a little extraordinary that we, who had a smattering of their language, and Omai besides for an interpreter, could never get any clear account of the time when the Spaniards arrived, how long they stayed, and when they departed. The more we inquired into this matter, the more we were convinced of the inability of most of these people to remember or note the time when past events happened; especially if it exceeded ten or twenty months. It, however, appeared by the date of the inscription upon the cross, and by the information we received from the most intelligent of the natives, that two ships arrived at Oheitepeha in 1774, soon after I left Matavai, which was in May the same year. They brought with them the house and live stock before mentioned. Some said that after landing these things, and some men, they sailed in quest of me and returned in about ten days. But I have some doubt of the truth of this, as they were never seen either at Huaheine or at Ulietea. The live stock they left here consisted of one bull, some goats, hogs, and dogs, and the male of some other animal; which we afterward found to be a ram, and at this time was at Bolabola, whither the bull was also to have been transported. The hogs are of a large kind, have already greatly improved the breed originally found by us upon the island, and at the time of our late arrival were very numerous. Goats are also in tolerable plenty, there being hardly a chief of any note that has not some. As to the dogs that the Spaniards put ashore, which are of two or three sorts, I think they would have done the island a great deal more service if they had hanged them all, instead of leaving them upon it. It was to one of them that my young ram fell a victim.

When these ships left the islands four Spaniards remained behind. Two were priests, one a servant, and the fourth made himself very popular among the natives, who distinguish him by the name of Mateema. He seems to have been a person who had studied their language, or at least to have spoken it so as to be understood; and to have taken uncommon pains to impress the minds of the islanders with the most exalted ideas of the greatness of the Spanish nation, and to make them think meanly of the English. He even went so far as to assure them that we no longer existed as an independent nation; that "Pretane" was only a small island which they (the Spaniards) had entirely destroyed; and for me, that they had met with me at sea, and with a few shot had sent my ship and every soul in her to the bottom, so that my visiting Otaheite at this time was of course very unexpected. All this and many other improbable falsehoods did this Spaniard make these people believe. If Spain had no other views in this expedition but to depreciate the English they had better have kept their ships at home; for my returning again to Otaheite was considered as a complete confutation of all that Mateema had said.

With what design the priests stayed we can only guess. If it was to convert the natives to the Catholic faith, they have not succeeded in any one instance. But it does not appear that they ever attempted it; for, if the natives are to be believed, they never conversed with them either on this or on any other subject. The priests resided constantly in the house at Oheitepeha; but Mateema roved about, visiting most parts of the island. At length, after he and his companions had stayed ten months, two ships came to Oheitepeha, took them on board, and sailed again in

five days. This hasty departure shows that whatever design the Spaniards might have had upon this island, they had now laid it aside. And yet, as I was informed by Otoo and many others, before they went away they would have the natives believe that they still meant to return, and to bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, and men and women who were to settle, live, and die on the island. Otoo, when he told me this, added that if the Spaniards should return he would not let them come to Matavai Fort, which, he said, was ours. It was easy to see that the idea pleased him, little thinking that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite; which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen. Our occasional visits may in some respects have benefited its inhabitants; but a permanent establishment amongst them conducted as most European establishments amongst Indian nations have unfortunately been, would, I fear, give them just cause to lament that our ships had ever found them out. Indeed, it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition nor of private avarice; and without such inducements I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken.

I have already mentioned the visit that I had from one of the two natives of this island who had been carried by the Spaniards to Lima. I never saw him afterward; which I rather wondered at, as I had received him with uncommon civility. I believe, however, that Omai had kept him at a distance from me by some rough usage, jealous that there should be another traveller upon the island who might vie with himself. Our touching at Teneriffe was a fortunate circumstance for Omai, as he prided himself in having visited a place belonging to Spain as well as this man. I did not meet with the other who had returned from Lima; but Captain Clerke, who had seen him, spoke of him as a low fellow, and as a little out of his senses. His own countrymen, I found, agreed in the same account of him. In short, these two adventurers seemed to be held in no esteem. They had not, indeed, been so fortunate as to return home with such valuable acquisitions of property as we had bestowed upon Omai, and with the advantages he reaped from his voyage to England, it must be his own fault if he should sink into the same state of insignificance.

CHAPTER V.

As I did not give up my design of touching at Eimeo, at daybreak in the morning of the 30th, after leaving Otaheite, I stood for the north end of the island; the harbour which I wished to examine being at that part of it. Omai, in his canoe, having arrived there long before us, had taken some necessary measures to show us the place. However, we were not without pilots, having several men of Otaheite on board, and not a few women. Not caring to trust entirely to these guides, I sent two boats to examine the harbour; and on their making the signal for safe anchorage, we stood in with the ships, and anchored close up to the head of the inlet, in ten fathoms water. We had no sooner anchored than the ships were crowded with the inhabitants, whom curiosity alone brought on board; for they had nothing with them for the purposes of barter. But the next morning this deficiency was supplied; several canoes then arriving from more distant parts, which brought with them abundance of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and a few hogs. These they exchanged for hatchets, nails, and beads; for red feathers were not so much sought after here as at Otaheite. The ship being a good deal pestered with rats, I hauled her within thirty yards of

the shore, as near as the depth of water would allow, and made a path for them to get to the land, by fastening hawsers to the trees. It is said that this experiment has sometimes succeeded, but I believe we got clear of very few, if any, of the numerous tribe that haunted us.

In the morning of the 2d, Maheine, the chief of the island, paid me a visit. He approached the ship with great caution, and it required some persuasion to get him on board. Probably he was under some apprehensions of mischief from us as friends of the Otaheiteans; these people not being able to comprehend how we can be friends with any one without adopting at the same time his cause against his enemies. Maheine was accompanied by his wife, who, as I was informed, is sister to Oamo of Otaheite, of whose death we had an account while we were at this island. I made presents to both of them, of such things as they seemed to set the highest value upon; and after a stay of about half-an-hour they went away. Not long after, they returned with a large hog, which they meant as a return for my present, but I made them another present to the full value of it. After this they paid a visit to Captain Clerke.

This chief, who, with a few followers, has made himself in a manner independent of Otaheite, is between forty and fifty years old. He is bald-headed, which is rather an uncommon appearance in these islands at that age. He wore a kind of turban, and seemed ashamed to show his head; but whether they themselves considered this deficiency of hair as a mark of disgrace, or whether they entertained a notion of our considering it as such, I cannot say. We judged that the latter supposition was the truth, from this circumstance, that they had seen us shave the head of one of their people whom we had caught stealing. They therefore concluded that this was the punishment usually inflicted by us upon all thieves; and one or two of our gentlemen, whose heads were not overburthened with hair, we could observe, lay under violent suspicions of being "tetos." In the evening, Omai and I mounted on horseback, and took a ride along the shore to the eastward. Our train was not very numerous, as Omai had forbid the natives to follow us, and many complied, the fear of giving offence getting the better of their curiosity. Towha had stationed his fleet in this harbour, and though the war lasted but a few days, the marks of its devastation were everywhere to be seen. The trees were stripped of their fruit, and all the houses in the neighbourhood had been pulled down or burned.

[On the morning of the 6th they had intended putting off to sea, when they were prevented by first one and then another of their goats being stolen. One of them was recovered without much difficulty, the other was only restored to them after a threatening message had been sent to the chief Maheine, and a number of their canoes had been burned.]

About 9 o'clock [on the 11th] we weighed with a breeze down the harbour, but it proved so faint and variable that it was noon before we got out to sea, when I steered for Huaheine, attended by Omai in his canoe. He did not depend entirely upon his own judgment, but had got on board a pilot. I observed that they shaped as direct a course for the island as I could do. At Eimeo we abundantly supplied the ships with firewood. We had not taken in any at Otaheite, where the procuring this article would have been very inconvenient, there not being a tree at Matavai but what is useful to the inhabitants. We also got here good store of refreshments, both in hogs and vegetables, that is, bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, little else being in season. I do not know that there is any difference between the produce of this island and of Otaheite; but there is a very striking difference in their women, that I can by no means account for. Those of Eimeo are of low stature, have a dark hue, and, in general, forbidding features. It was

met with a fine woman amongst them, we were sure, upon inquiry, to find that she had come from some other island.

CHAPTER VI.

Having left Eimeo, with a gentle breeze and fine weather, at daybreak the next morning we saw Huaheine extending from SW. by W. half W. to W. by N. At noon we anchored at the north entrance of Owharre harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The whole afternoon was spent in warping the ships into a proper berth and mooring. Omai entered the harbour just before us in his canoe, but did not land. Nor did he take much notice of any of his countrymen, though many crowded to see him; but far more of them came off to the ships, insomuch that we could hardly work on account of their numbers. Our passengers presently acquainted them with what we had done at Eimeo, and multiplied the number of houses and canoes that we had destroyed by ten at least. I was not sorry for this exaggerated account, as I saw that it made a great impression upon all who heard it, so that I had hopes it would induce the inhabitants of this island to behave better to us than they had done during my former visits. While I was at Otaheite I had learned that my old friend Oree was no longer the chief of Huaheine; and that at this time he resided at Ulietea. Indeed, he never had been more than regent during the minority of Taireetareea, the present "Earee rahie;" but he did not give up the regency till he was forced. His two sons, Opoony and Towha, were the first who paid me a visit, coming on board before the ship was well in the harbour, and bringing a present with them.

Our arrival brought all the principal people of the island to our ships on the next morning, being the 13th. This was just what I wished, as it was high time to think of settling Omai; and the presence of these chiefs, I guessed, would enable me to do it in the most satisfactory manner. He now seemed to have an inclination to establish himself at Ulietea; and if he and I could have agreed about the mode of bringing that plan to bear, I should have had no objection to adopt it. His father had been dispossessed by the men of Bolabola, when they conquered Ulietea, of some land in that island; and I made no doubt of being able to get it restored to the son in an amicable manner. For that purpose it was necessary that he should be upon good terms with those who now were masters of the island; but he was too great a patriot to listen to any such thing, and was vain enough to suppose that I would reinstate him in his forfeited lands by force. This made it impossible to fix him at Ulietea, and pointed out to me Huaheine as the proper place. I therefore resolved to avail myself of the presence of the chief men of the island, and to make this proposal to them.

After the hurry of the morning was over, we got ready to pay a formal visit to Taireetareea, meaning then to introduce his business. Omai dressed himself very properly on the occasion, and prepared a handsome present for the chief himself, and another for his "Eatooa." Indeed, after he had got clear of the gang that surrounded him at Otaheite, he behaved with such prudence as to gain respect. Our landing drew most of our visitors from the ships, and they, as well as those that were on shore, assembled in a large house. The concourse of people on this occasion was very great; and amongst them there appeared to be a greater proportion of personable men and women than we had ever seen in one assembly at any of these new islands. Not only the bulk of the people seemed in general much stouter and fairer than those of Otaheite, but there was also a much greater number of men who appeared to be of consequence, in proportion to the extent of the island; most of whom had exactly the corpulent appearance of the chiefs of Wateeo.

We waited some time for Taireetareea, as I would do nothing till the "Earee rahie" came; but when he appeared I found that his presence might have been dispensed with, as he was not above eight or ten years of age. Omai, who stood at a little distance from this circle of great men, began with making his offering to the gods, consisting of red feathers, cloth, &c. Then followed another offering, which was to be given to the gods by the chief, and after that several other small pieces and tufts of red feathers were presented. Each article was laid before one of the company, who, I understood, was a priest, and was delivered with a set speech or prayer, spoken by one of Omai's friends who sat by him, but mostly dictated by himself. In these prayers he did not forget his friends in England, nor those who had brought him safe back. The "Earee rahie no Pretane," Lord Sandwich, "Toote," "Tatee,"[1] were mentioned in every one of them. When Omai's offerings and prayers were finished, the priest took each article, in the same order in which it had been laid before him, and after repeating a prayer, sent it to the "morai," which, as Omai told us, was at a great distance, otherwise the offerings would have been made there.

These religious ceremonies having been performed, Omai sat down by me, and we entered upon business by giving the young chief my present, and receiving his in return; and, all things considered, they were liberal enough on both sides. Some arrangements were next agreed upon as to the manner of carrying on the intercourse betwixt us; and I pointed out the mischievous consequences that would attend their robbing us as they had done during my former visits. Omai's establishment was then proposed to the assembled chiefs. He acquainted them "that he had been carried by us into our country, where he was well received by the great King and his 'Earees,' and treated with every mark of regard and affection while he stayed amongst us; that he had been brought back again, enriched by our liberality with a variety of articles which would prove very useful to his countrymen; and that, besides the two horses which were to remain with him, several other new and valuable animals had been left at Otaheite, which would soon multiply and furnish a sufficient number for the use of all the islands in the neighbourhood. He then signified to them that it was my earnest request, in return for all my friendly offices, that they would give him a piece of land to build a house upon, and to raise provisions for himself and servants, adding that if this could not be obtained for him in Huaheine, either by gift or by purchase, I was determined to carry him to Ulietea and fix him there."

Perhaps I have here made a better speech for my friend than he actually delivered, but these were the topics I dictated to him. I observed that what he concluded with, about carrying him to Ulietea, seemed to meet with the approbation of all the chiefs, and I instantly saw the reason. Omai had, as I have already mentioned, vainly flattered himself that I meant to use force in restoring him to his father's lands in Ulietea, and he had talked idly and without any authority from me on this subject to some of the present assembly, who dreamed of nothing less than a hostile invasion of Ulietea, and of being assisted by me to drive the Bolabola men out of that island. It was of consequence, therefore, that I should undeceive them; and in order to this I signified in the most peremptory manner that I neither would assist them in such an enterprise, nor suffer it to be put in execution while I was in their seas; and that if Omai fixed himself in Ulietea, he must be introduced as a friend, and not forced upon the Bolabola men as their conqueror.

This declaration gave a new turn to the sentiments of the council. One of the chiefs immediately expressed himself to this effect: "That the whole island of Huaheine, and

[1] Cooke and Clerke.

everything in it, were mine, and that therefore I might give what portion of it I pleased to my friend." Omai, who like the rest of his countrymen seldom sees things beyond the present moment, was greatly pleased to hear this, thinking, no doubt, that I should be very liberal and give him enough. But to offer what it would have been improper to accept, I considered as offering nothing at all; and therefore I now desired that they would not only assign the particular spot, but also the exact quantity of land which they would allot for the settlement. Upon this some chiefs who had already left the assembly were sent for, and after a short consultation among themselves, my request was granted by general consent, and the ground immediately pitched upon adjoining to the house where our meeting was held. The extent, along the shore of the harbour, was about 200 yards, and its depth to the foot of the hill somewhat more; but a proportional part of the hill was included in the grant. This business being settled to the satisfaction of all parties, I set up a tent ashore, established a post, and erected the observatories. The carpenters of both ships were also set to work to build a small house for Omai, in which he might secure the European commodities that were his property. At the same time some hands were employed in making a garden for his use, planting shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetable articles; all of which I had the satisfaction of observing to be in a flourishing state before I left the island.

Omai now began seriously to attend to his own affairs, and repented heartily of his ill-judged prodigality while at Otaheite. He found at Huaheine a brother, a sister, and a brother-in-law, the sister being married; but these did not plunder him as he had lately been by his other relations. I was sorry, however, to discover that though they were too honest to do him any injury, they were of too little consequence in the island to do him any positive good. They had neither authority nor influence to protect his person or his property; and in that helpless situation I had reason to apprehend that he ran great risk of being stripped of everything he had got from us as soon as he should cease to have us within his reach to enforce the good behaviour of his countrymen by an immediate appeal to our irresistible power. A man who is richer than his neighbours is sure to be envied by numbers who wish to see him brought down to their own level. But in countries where civilisation, law, and religion impose their restraints, the rich have a reasonable ground of security. And, besides, there being in all such communities a diffusion of property, no single individual need fear that the efforts of all the poorer sort can ever be united to injure him, exclusively of others who are equally the objects of envy. It was very different with Omai. He was to live amongst those who are strangers, in a great measure, to any other principle of action besides the immediate impulse of their natural feelings. But what was his principal danger, he was to be placed in the very singular situation of being the only rich man in the community to which he was to belong; and having, by a fortunate connection with us, got into his possession an accumulated quantity of a species of treasure which none of his countrymen could create by any art or industry of their own, while all coveted a share of this envied wealth, it was natural to apprehend that all would be ready to join in attempting to strip its sole proprietor. To prevent this, if possible, I desired him to make a proper distribution of some of his movables to two or three of the principal chiefs, who, being thus gratified themselves, might be induced to take him under their patronage and protect him from the injuries of others. He promised to follow my advice; and I heard with satisfaction before I sailed that this very prudent step had been taken. Not trusting, however, entirely to the operation of

gratitude, I had recourse to the more forcible motive of intimidation. With this view I took every opportunity of notifying to the inhabitants that it was my intention to return to their island again, after being absent the usual time, and that if I did not find Omai in the same state of security in which I was now to leave him, all those whom I should then discover to have been his enemies might expect to feel the weight of my resentment. This threatening declaration will probably have no inconsiderable effect; for our successive visits of late years have taught these people to believe that our ships are to return at certain periods; and while they continue to be impressed with such a notion, which I thought it a fair stratagem to confirm, Omai has some prospect of being permitted to thrive upon his new plantation.[1]

While we lay in this harbour we carried ashore the bread remaining in the bread-room to clear it of vermin. The number of cockroaches that infested the ship at this time is incredible. The damage they did us was very considerable, and every method devised by us to destroy them proved ineffectual. These animals, which at first were a nuisance like all other insects, had now become a real pest, and so destructive that few things were free from their ravages. If food of any kind was exposed only for a few minutes, it was covered with them; and they soon pierced it full of holes resembling a honeycomb. They were particularly destructive to birds which had been stuffed and preserved as curiosities, and, what was worse, were uncommonly fond of ink, so that the writing on the labels fastened to different articles was quite eaten out; and the only thing that preserved books from them was the closeness of the binding, which prevented these devourers getting between the leaves. According to Mr Anderson's observations, they were of two sorts, the *Blatta orientalis* and *germanica*. The first of these had been carried home in the ship from her former voyage, where they withstood the severity of the hard winter in 1776, though she was in dock all the time. The others had only made their appearance since our leaving New Zealand, but had increased so fast, that they now not only did all the mischief mentioned above, but had even got amongst the rigging, so that when a sail was loosened thousands of them fell upon the decks. The *orientales*, though in infinite numbers, scarcely came out but in the night, when they made everything in the cabins seem as if in motion from the particular noise in crawling about. And, besides their disagreeable appearance, they did great mischief to our bread, which was so bespattered with their excrement that it would have been badly relished by delicate feeders.

The intercourse of trade and friendly offices was carried on between us and the natives without being disturbed by any one accident till the evening of the 22d, when a man found means to get into Mr Bayly's observatory, and to carry off a sextant unobserved. As soon as I was made acquainted with the theft, I went ashore and got Omai to apply to the chiefs to procure restitution. He did so, but they took no steps toward it, being more attentive to a "haiva" that was then acting, till I ordered the performers of the exhibition to desist. They were now convinced that I was in earnest, and began to make some inquiry after the thief, who was sitting in the midst of them quite unconcerned, insomuch that I was in great doubt of his being the guilty person, especially as he denied it. Omai, however, assuring me that he was the man, I sent him on board the ship and there confined him. This raised a general ferment amongst the assembled natives, and the whole body fled in spite of all my endeavours to stop them. Having employed Omai to examine the prisoner, with some difficulty he was brought to confess where he had laid the sextant; but as it was now dark he could not find

[1] See Note at end of Chapter on the subsequent fortunes of Omai.

it till daylight the next morning, when it was brought back unhurt. After this the natives recovered from their fright and began to gather about us as usual. And as to the thief, he appearing to be a hardened scoundrel, I punished him more severely than I had done any culprit before. Besides having his head and beard shaved, I ordered both his ears to be cut off, and then dismissed him.

This, however, did not deter him from giving us further trouble; for, in the night between the 24th and 25th, a general alarm was spread, occasioned as was said by one of our goats being stolen by this very man. On examination we found that all was safe in that quarter. Probably the goats were so well guarded that he could not put his design in execution. But his hostilities had succeeded against another object, and it appeared that he had destroyed and carried off several vines and cabbage-plants in Omai's grounds; and he publicly threatened to kill him and to burn his house as soon as we should leave the island. To prevent the fellow's doing me and Omai any more mischief, I had him seized and confined on board the ship with a view of carrying him off the island; and it seemed to give general satisfaction to the chiefs that I meant thus to dispose of him. He was from Bolabola, but there were too many of the natives here ready to assist him in any of his designs whenever he should think of executing them. I had always met with more troublesome people in Huaheine than in any other of the neighbouring islands; and it was only fear, and the want of opportunities, that induced them to behave better now. Anarchy seemed to prevail amongst them. Their nominal Sovereign, the "Earee rahie," as I have before observed, was but a child; and I did not find that there was any one man, or set of men, who managed the government for him; so that whenever any misunderstanding happened between us, I never knew with sufficient precision where to make application in order to bring about an accommodation or to procure redress. The young chief's mother would, indeed, sometimes exert herself; but I did not perceive that she had greater authority than many others.

Omai's house being nearly finished, many of his movables were carried ashore on the 26th. Amongst a variety of other useless articles was a box of toys, which when exposed to public view seemed greatly to please the gazing multitude. But as to his pots, kettles, dishes, plates, drinking-mugs, glasses, and the whole train of our domestic accommodations, hardly any one of his countrymen would so much as look at them. Omai himself now began to think that they were of no manner of use to him; that a baked hog was more savoury food than a boiled one; that a plantain-leaf made as good a dish or plate as pewter; and that a cocoa-nut shell was as convenient a goblet as a black-jack. And therefore he very wisely disposed of as many of these articles of English furniture for the kitchen and pantry as he could find purchasers for amongst the people of the ships, receiving from them in return hatchets and other iron tools, which had a more intrinsic value in this part of the world, and added more to his distinguishing superiority over those with whom he was to pass the remainder of his days. In the long list of the presents bestowed upon him in England fireworks had not been forgotten. Some of these we exhibited in the evening of the 28th before a great concourse of people, who beheld them with a mixture of pleasure and fear. What remained after the evening's entertainment were put in order and left with Omai, agreeably to their original destination. Perhaps we need not lament it as a serious misfortune that the far greater share of this part of his cargo had been already expended in exhibitions at other islands, or rendered useless by being kept so long.

Between midnight and four in the morning of the 30th the Bolabola man whom I had in confinement found means to make his escape out of the ship. He carried with him the shackle

of the bilbo-bolt that was about his leg, which was taken from him as soon as he got on shore by one of the chiefs, and given to Omai, who came on board very early in the morning to acquaint me that his mortal enemy was again let loose upon him. Upon inquiry it appeared that not only the sentry placed over the prisoner, but the whole watch upon the quarter-deck where he was confined, had laid themselves down to sleep. He seized the opportunity to take the key of the irons out of the binnacle-drawer, where he had seen it put, and set himself at liberty. This escape convinced me that my people had been very remiss in their night-duty, which made it necessary to punish those who were now in fault, and to establish some new regulations to prevent the like negligence for the future. I was not a little pleased to hear afterwards that the fellow who escaped had transported himself to Ulietea, in this seconding my views of putting him a second time in irons.

As soon as Omai was settled in his new habitation I began to think of leaving the island, and got everything off from the shore this evening except the horse and mare, and a goat big with kid, which were left in the possession of our friend, with whom we were now finally to part. I also gave him a boar and two sows of the English breed, and he had got a sow or two of his own. The horse covered the mare while we were at Otaheite, so that I consider the introduction of a breed of horses into these islands as likely to have succeeded by this valuable present. The history of Omai will perhaps interest a very numerous class of readers more than any other occurrence of a voyage, the objects of which do not in general promise much entertainment. Every circumstance, therefore, which may serve to convey a satisfactory account of the exact situation in which he was left will be thought worth preserving; and the following particulars are added to complete the view of his domestic establishment. He had picked up at Otaheite four or five "Toutous:" the two New Zealand youths remained with him; and his brother and some others joined him at Huaheine, so that his family consisted already of eight or ten persons, if that can be called a family to which not a single female as yet belonged, nor, I doubt, was likely to belong, unless its master became less volatile. At present Omai did not seem at all disposed to take unto himself a wife. The house which we erected for him was twenty-four feet by eighteen, and ten feet high. It was composed of boards, the spoils of our military operations at Eimeo; and in building it, as few nails as possible were used, that there might be no inducement, from the love of iron, to pull it down. It was settled that immediately after our departure he should begin to build a large house after the fashion of his country, one end of which was to be brought over that which we had erected, so as to enclose it entirely for greater security. In this work some of the chiefs promised to assist him; and if the intended building should cover the ground which he marked out, it will be as large as most upon the island. His European weapons consisted of a musket, bayonet, and cartouche-box; a fowling-piece; two pair of pistols; and two or three swords or cutlasses. The possession of these made him quite happy, which was my only view in giving him such presents. For I was always of opinion that he would have been happier without fire-arms, and other European weapons, than with them; as such implements of war, in the hands of one whose prudent use of them I had some grounds for mistrusting, would rather increase his dangers than establish his superiority. After he had got on shore everything that belonged to him, and was settled in his house, he had most of the officers of both ships two or three times to dinner; and his table was always well supplied with the very best provisions that the island produced.

Before I sailed, I had the following inscription cut upon the outside of his house:

"*Georgius Tertius Rex*, 2 *Novembris*, 1777.

Naves { *Resolution*, *Jac. Cook*, *Pr.*
{ *Discovery*, *Car. Clerke*, *Pr.*"

On the 2d of November, at four in the afternoon, I took the advantage of a breeze which then sprung up at E., and sailed out of the harbour. Most of our friends remained on board till the ships were under sail; when, to gratify their curiosity, I ordered five guns to be fired. They then all took their leave, except Omai, who remained till we were at sea. We had come to sail by a hawser fastened to the shore. In casting the ship it parted, being cut by the rocks, and the outer end was left behind, as those who cast it off, did not perceive that it was broken; so that it became necessary to send a boat to bring it on board. In this boat Omai went ashore, after taking a very affectionate farewell of all the officers. He sustained himself with a manly resolution till he came to me. Then his utmost efforts to conceal his tears failed; and Mr King, who went in the boat, told me that he wept all the time in going ashore.

It was no small satisfaction to reflect that we had brought him safe back to the very spot from which he was taken. And yet such is the strange nature of human affairs, that it is probable we left him in a less desirable situation than he was in before his connection with us. I do not by this mean that, because he has tasted the sweets of civilised life, he must become more miserable from being obliged to abandon all thoughts of continuing them. I confine myself to this single disagreeable circumstance, that the advantages he received from us have placed him in a more hazardous situation with respect to his personal safety. Omai, from being much caressed in England, lost sight of his original condition, and never considered in what manner his acquisitions either of knowledge or of riches would be estimated by his countrymen at his return; which were the only things he could have to recommend him to them now more than before, and on which he could build either his future greatness or happiness. He seemed even to have mistaken their genius in this respect, and, in some measure to have forgotten their customs; otherwise he must have known the extreme difficulty there would be in getting himself admitted as a person of rank, where there is perhaps no instance of a man's being raised from an inferior station by the greatest merit. Rank seems to be the very foundation of all distinction here, and of its attendant, power; and so pertinaciously or rather blindly adhered to, that unless a person has some degree of it, he will certainly be despised and hated if he assumes the appearance of exercising any authority. This was really the case in some measure with Omai; though his countrymen were pretty cautious of expressing their sentiments while we remained among them. Had he made a proper use of the presents he brought with him from England, this, with the knowledge he had acquired by travelling so far, might have enabled him to form the most useful connections. But we have given too many instances, in the course of our narrative, of his childish inattention to this obvious means of advancing his interest. His schemes seemed to be of a higher though ridiculous nature; indeed I might say meaner; for revenge, rather than a desire of becoming great, appeared to actuate him from the beginning. This, however, may be excused if we consider that it is common to his countrymen. His father was doubtless a man of considerable property in Ulietea when that island was conquered by those of Bolabola; and, with many others, sought refuge in Huaheine, where he died and left Omai with some other children, who by that means became totally dependent. In this situation he was taken up by Captain Furneaux and carried to England. Whether he really expected, from his treatment there, that any assistance would be given him against the enemies of his father and

his country, or whether he imagined that his own personal courage and superiority of knowledge would be sufficient to dispossess the conquerors of Ulietea, is uncertain; but from the beginning of the voyage this was his constant theme. He would not listen to our remonstrances on so wild a determination; but flew into a passion if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage. Nay, so infatuated and attached to his favourite scheme was he, that he affected to believe these people would certainly quit the conquered island as soon as they should hear of his arrival at Otaheite. As we advanced, however, on our voyage, he became more sensible of his error; and by the time we reached the Friendly Islands had even such apprehensions of his reception at home, that, as I have mentioned in my journal, he would fain have stayed behind at Tongataboo under Feenou's protection. At these islands he squandered away much of his European treasure very unnecessarily; and he was equally imprudent, as I also took notice of above, at Tiaraboo, where he could have no view of making friends, as he had not any intention of remaining there. At Matavai he continued the same inconsiderate behaviour till I absolutely put a stop to his profusion; and he formed such improper connections there, that Otoo, who was at first much disposed to countenance him, afterward openly expressed his dislike of him on account of his conduct. It was not, however, too late to recover his favour; and he might have settled to great advantage in Otaheite, as he had formerly lived several years there, and was now a good deal noticed by Towha, whose valuable present of a very large double canoe we have seen above. The objection to admitting him to some rank would have also been much lessened if he had fixed at Otaheite; as a native will always find it more difficult to accomplish such a change of state amongst his countrymen, than a stranger, who naturally claims respect. But Omai remained undetermined to the last, and would not, I believe, have adopted my plan of settlement in Huaheine, if I had not so explicitly refused to employ force in restoring him to his father's possessions. Whether the remains of his European wealth, which after all his improvident waste was still considerable, will be more prudently administered by him, or whether the steps I took to insure him protection in Huaheine shall have proved effectual, must be left to the decision of future navigators of this ocean; with whom it cannot but be a principal object of curiosity to trace the future fortunes of our traveller. At present I can only conjecture that his greatest danger will arise from the very impolitic declarations of his antipathy to the inhabitants of Bolabola. For these people, from a principle of jealousy, will no doubt endeavour to render him obnoxious to those of Huaheine, as they are at peace with that island at present, and may easily effect their designs, many of them living there. This is a circumstance which, of all others, he might the most easily have avoided. For they were not only free from any aversion to him, but the person mentioned before, whom we found at Tiaraboo as an ambassador, priest, or god, absolutely offered to reinstate him in the property that was formerly his father's. But he refused this peremptorily; and to the very last continued determined to take the first opportunity that offered of satisfying his revenge in battle. To this, I guess, he is not a little spurred by the coat of mail he brought from England; clothed in which, and in possession of some fire-arms, he fancies that he shall be invincible.

Whatever faults belonged to Omai's character, they were more than overbalanced by his great good-nature and docile disposition. During the whole time he was with me I very seldom had reason to be seriously displeased with his general conduct. His grateful heart always retained the highest sense of the favours he had received in England; nor will he ever forget those who honoured him

with their protection and friendship during his stay there. He had a tolerable share of understanding, but wanted application and perseverance to exert it; so that his knowledge of things was very general, and in many instances imperfect. He was not a man of much observation. There were many useful arts, as well as elegant amusements, amongst the people of the Friendly Islands, which he might have conveyed to his own; where they probably would have been readily adopted as being so much in their own way. But I never found that he used the least endeavour to make himself master of any one. This kind of indifference is, indeed, the characteristic foible of his nation. Europeans have visited them at times for these ten years past, yet we could not discover the slightest trace of any attempt to profit by this intercourse; nor have they hitherto copied after us in any one thing. We are not, therefore, to expect that Omai will be able to introduce many of our arts and customs among them, or much improve those to which they have been long habituated. I am confident, however, that he will endeavour to bring to perfection the various fruits and vegetables we planted, which will be no small acquisition. But the greatest benefit these islands are likely to receive from Omai's travels will be in the animals that have been left upon them; which probably they never would have got had he not come to England. When these multiply, of which I think there is little doubt, Otaheite and the Society Islands will equal, if not exceed, any place in the known world for provisions.

Omai's return, and the substantial proofs he brought back with him of our liberality, encouraged many to offer themselves as volunteers to attend me to "Pretane." I took every opportunity of expressing my determination to reject all such applications. But notwithstanding this, Omai, who was very ambitious of remaining the only great traveller, being afraid lest I might be prevailed upon to put others in a situation of rivalling him, frequently put me in mind that Lord Sandwich had told him no others of his countrymen were to come to England. If there had been the most distant probability of any ship being again sent to New Zealand, I would have brought the two youths of that country home with me, as both of them were very desirous of continuing with us. Tiarooa, the eldest, was an exceedingly well disposed young man, with strong natural sense, and capable of receiving any instruction. He seemed to be fully sensible of the inferiority of his own country to these islands, and resigned himself, though perhaps with reluctance, to end his days in ease and plenty in Huaheine. But the other was so strongly attached to us, that he was taken out of the ship and carried ashore by force. He was a witty, smart boy; and on that account much noticed on board.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

The boat that carried Omai ashore, never to join us again, having returned to the ship with the remainder of the

[1] "Omai did not live long to enjoy his good fortune; it does not appear that he had any reason to complain of the rapacity or covetousness of his neighbours. The numerous articles of European manufacture which were in his possession rendered his house a splendid museum of curiosities in the eyes of a South Sea islander; and it is possible that his pride felt gratified in being thus able to minister to their wonder and admiration. He conducted himself prudently, and gained the esteem of his neighbours by the affability with which he recounted his voyages and adventures. About two years and a half after Captain Cook's departure, Omai died a natural death; nor did the New Zealanders survive him long enough to furnish European navigators with an ampler account of the influence which his experience and observations abroad may have exerted on his countrymen."

hawser, we hoisted her in and immediately stood over for Ulietea, where I intended to touch next. At 10 o'clock at night we brought to till four the next morning, when we made sail round the south end of the island for the harbour of Ohamaneno. We met with calms and light airs of wind from different directions by turns, so that at noon we were still a league from the entrance of the harbour. While we were thus detained, my old friend Oreo, chief of the island, with his son, and Pootoe, his son-in-law, came off to visit us. . . .

Though we had separated from Omai, we were still near enough to have intelligence of his proceeding; and I had desired to hear from him. Accordingly, about a fortnight after our arrival at Ulietea he sent two of his people in a canoe, who brought me the satisfactory intelligence that he remained undisturbed by the people of the island, and that everything went well with him, except that his goat had died in kidding. He accompanied this intelligence with a request that I would send him another goat and two axes. Being happy to have this additional opportunity of serving him, the messengers were sent back to Husheine on the 18th with the axes, and two kids, male and female, which were spared for him out of the Discovery.

The next day I delivered to Captain Clerke instructions how to proceed in case of being separated from me after leaving these islands; and it may not be improper to give them a place here.

"*By Captain James Cook, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop the Resolution.*

"Whereas the passage from the Society Islands to the northern coast of America is of considerable length both in distance and in time, and as a part of it must be performed in the very depth of winter, when gales of wind and bad weather must be expected, and may possibly occasion a separation, you are to take all imaginable care to prevent this. But if, notwithstanding all our endeavours to keep company, you should be separated from me, you are first to look for me where you last saw me. Not seeing me in five days, you are to proceed (as directed by the instructions of their Lordships, a copy of which you have already received) for the coast of New Albion, endeavouring to fall in with it in the Latitude of 45°.

"In that latitude, and at a convenient distance from the land, you are to cruise for me ten days. Not seeing me in that time, you are to put into the first convenient port, in or to the north of that latitude, to recruit your wood and water, and to procure refreshments.

"During your stay in port, you are constantly to keep a good look-out for me. It will be necessary, therefore, to make choice of a station situated as near the sea-coast as is possible, the better to enable you to see me when I shall appear in the offing.

"If I do not join you before the 1st of next April, you are to put to sea, and proceed northward to the Latitude 56°; in which latitude, and at a convenient distance from the coast, never exceeding fifteen leagues, you are to cruise for me till the 10th of May.

"Not seeing me in that time, you are to proceed northward, and endeavour to find a passage into the Atlantic Ocean, through Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, as directed by the above-mentioned instructions.

"But if you should fail in finding a passage through either of the said bays, or by any other way, as the season of the year may render it unsafe for you to remain in high latitudes, you are to repair to the harbour of St Peter and St Paul in Kamtschatka, in order to refresh your people and to pass the winter.

"But nevertheless if you find that you cannot procure the necessary refreshments at the said port, you are at liberty to go where you shall judge most proper; taking care, before you depart, to leave with the governor an account of your intended destination, to be delivered to me upon my arrival; and in the spring of the ensuing year,

1779, you are to repair back to the above-mentioned port, endeavouring to be there by the 10th of May, or sooner.

"If, on your arrival, you receive no orders from, or account of me, so as to justify your pursuing any other measures than what are pointed out in the before-mentioned instructions, your future proceedings are to be governed by them.

"You are also to comply with such parts of said instructions as have not been executed, and are not contrary to these orders. And in case of your inability, by sickness or otherwise, to carry these and the instructions of their Lordships into execution, you are to be careful to leave them with the next officer in command, who is hereby required to execute them in the best manner he can.

"Given under my hand, on board the Resolution, at Ulietea, the 18th day of November 1777.

"J. Cook.

"*To Captain Charles Clerke, Commander of His Majesty's Sloop the Discovery.*"

While we lay moored to the shore, we heeled, and scrubbed both sides of the bottoms of the ships. At the same time, we fixed some tin plates under the binds; first taking off the old sheathing, and putting in a piece unfilled, over which the plates were nailed. These plates I had from the ingenious Mr Pelham, Secretary to the Commissioners for Victualling his Majesty's Navy, with a view of trying whether tin would answer the same end as copper on the bottoms of ships.

On the 24th in the morning I was informed that a midshipman and a seaman, both belonging to the Discovery, were missing. Soon after, we learned from the natives that they went away in a canoe the preceding evening, and were at this time at the other end of the island. As the midshipman was known to have expressed a desire to remain at these islands, it seemed pretty certain that he and his companion had gone off with this intention, and Captain Clerke set out in quest of them with two armed boats and a party of marines. His expedition proved fruitless, for he returned in the evening without having got any certain intelligence where they were. From the conduct of the natives, Captain Clerke seemed to think that they intended to conceal the deserters, and with that view had amused him with false information the whole day, and directed him to search for them in places where they were not to be found. The captain judged right, for the next morning we were told that our runaways were at Otaha. As these two were not the only persons in the ships who wished to end their days at these favourite islands, in order to put a stop to any further desertion it was necessary to get them back at all events, and that the natives might be convinced that I was in earnest, I resolved to go after them myself, having observed, from repeated instances, that they seldom offered to deceive me with false information. Accordingly I set out the next morning with two armed boats, being accompanied by the chief himself. I proceeded, as he directed, without stopping anywhere till we came to the middle of the east side of Otaha. There we put ashore; and Oreo despatched a man before us with orders to seize the deserters and keep them till we should arrive with the boats. But when we got to the place where we expected to find them, we were told that they had quitted this island and gone over to Bolabola the day before. I did not think proper to follow them thither, but returned to the ships, fully determined, however, to have recourse to a measure which I guessed would oblige the natives to bring them back.

Soon after daybreak the chief, his son, daughter, and son-in-law came on board the Resolution. The three last I resolved to detain till the two deserters should be brought back. With this view Captain Clerke invited them to go on board his ship; and, as soon as they arrived there,

confined them in his cabin. The chief was with me when the news reached him. He immediately acquainted me with it, supposing that this step had been taken without my knowledge and consequently without my approbation. I instantly undeceived him; and then he began to have apprehensions as to his own situation, and his looks expressed the utmost perturbation of mind. But I soon made him easy as to this, by telling him that he was at liberty to leave the ship whenever he pleased, and to take such measures as he should judge best calculated to get our two men back; that if he succeeded, his friends on board the Discovery should be delivered up; if not, that I was determined to carry them away with me. I added that his own conduct, as well as that of many of his people, in not only assisting these two men to escape, but in being even at this very time assiduous in enticing others to follow them, would justify any step I could take to put a stop to such proceedings.

This explanation of the motives upon which I acted, and which we found means to make Oreo and his people who were present fully comprehend, seemed to recover them in a great measure from that general consternation into which they were at first thrown. But, if relieved from apprehensions about their own safety, they continued under the deepest concern for those who were prisoners. Many of them went under the Discovery's stern in canoes to bewail their captivity; which they did with long and loud exclamations. "Poedooa!" for so the chief's daughter was called, resounded from every quarter, and the women seemed to vie with each other in mourning her fate with more significant expressions of their grief than tears and cries, for there were many bloody heads upon the occasion. Oreo himself did not give way to unavailing lamentations, but instantly began his exertions to recover our deserters by dispatching a canoe to Bolabola with a message to Opoony, the Sovereign of that island, acquainting him with what had happened, and requesting him to seize the two fugitives and send them back. The messenger, who was no less a man than the father of Pootoe, Oreo's son-in-law, before he set out came to receive my commands. I strictly enjoined him not to return without the deserters; and to tell Opoony from me that if they had left Bolabola he must send canoes to bring them back; for I suspected that they would not long remain in one place.

The consequence, however, of the prisoners was so great that the natives did not think proper to trust to the return of our people for their release; or at least their impatience was so great, that it hurried them to make an attempt which might have involved them in still greater distress had it not been fortunately prevented. Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the evening I observed that all their canoes in and about the harbour, began to move off as if some sudden panic had seized them. I was ashore, abreast of the ship at the time, and inquired in vain to find out the cause; till our people called to us from the Discovery, and told us that a party of the natives had seized Captain Clerke and Mr Gore, who had walked out a little way from the ships. Struck with the boldness of this plan of retaliation, which seemed to counteract me so effectually in my own way, there was no time to deliberate. I instantly ordered the people to arm, and in less than five minutes a strong party under the command of Mr King was sent to rescue our two gentlemen. At the same time two armed boats, and a party under Mr Williamson, went after the flying canoes to cut off their retreat to the shore. These several detachments were hardly out of sight before an account arrived that we had been misinformed; upon which I sent and called them all in.

It was evident, however, from several corroborating circumstances, that the design of seizing Captain Clerke had really been in agitation amongst the natives; nay, they made no

secret in speaking of it the next day. But their first and great plan of operations was to have laid hold of me. It was my custom every evening to bathe in the fresh water. Very often I went alone, and always without arms. Expecting to go as usual this evening, they had determined to seize me, and Captain Clerke too, if he had accompanied me. But I had, after confining Oreo's family, thought it prudent to avoid putting myself in their power; and had cautioned Captain Clerke and the officers not to go far from the ships. In the course of the afternoon the chief asked me three several times if I would not go to the bathing-place; and when he found at last that I could not be prevailed upon, he went off with the rest of his people, in spite of all I could do or say to stop him. But as I had no suspicion at this time of their design, I imagined that some sudden fright had seized them, which would as usual soon be over. Finding themselves disappointed as to me, they fixed on those who were more in their power. It was fortunate for all parties that they did not succeed, and not less fortunate that no mischief was done on the occasion. For not a musket was fired, except two or three to stop the canoes. To that firing, perhaps, Messrs Clerke and Gore owed their safety;[1] for at that very instant a party of the natives armed with clubs were advancing toward them; and on hearing the report of the muskets they dispersed. This conspiracy, as it may be called, was first discovered by a girl whom one of the officers had brought from Huaheine. She, overhearing some of the Ulieteans say that they would seize Captain Clerke and Mr Gore, ran to acquaint the first of our people that she met with. Those who were charged with the execution of the design threatened to kill her, as soon as we should leave the island, for disappointing them. Being aware of this, we contrived that her friends should come some days after, and take her out of the ship to convey her to a place of safety, where she might lie concealed till they should have an opportunity of sending her back to Huaheine.

On the 27th our observatories were taken down, and everything we had ashore carried on board; the moorings of the ships were cast off; and we transported them a little way down the harbour, where they came to an anchor again. Toward the afternoon the natives began to shake off their fears, gathering round and on board the ships as usual; and the awkward transaction of the day before seemed to be forgotten on both sides. The following night the wind blew in hard squalls from S. to E., attended with heavy showers of rain. In one of the squalls the cable by which the Resolution was riding, parted just without the hawse. We had another anchor ready to let go; so that the ship was presently brought up again. In the afternoon the wind became moderate, and we hooked the end of the best small bower cable and got it again into the hawse.

Oreo, the chief, being uneasy, as well as myself, that no account had been received from Bolabola, set out this evening for that island, and desired me to follow down the next day with the ships. This was my intention, but the wind which kept us in the harbour brought Oreo back from Bolabola with the two deserters. They had reached Otaha the same night they deserted; but finding it impossible to get to any of the islands to the eastward (which was their intention) for want of wind, they had proceeded to Bolabola, and from thence to the small island Toobaee, where they were taken by the father of Pootoe, in consequence of the first message sent to Opoony. As soon as they were on board, the three pri-

[1] Perhaps they owed their safety principally to Captain Clerke's walking with a pistol in his hand, which he once fired. This circumstance is omitted both in Captain Cook's and in Mr Anderson's journal, but is here mentioned on the authority of Captain King.—*Note in Original Edition.*

soners were released. Thus ended an affair which had given me much trouble and vexation. Nor would I have exerted myself so resolutely on the occasion but for the reason before mentioned, and to save the son of a brother officer from being lost to his country. The wind continued constantly between the N. and W., and confined us in the harbour till 8 o'clock in the morning of the 7th of December, when we took the advantage of a light breeze which then sprung up at NE., and with the assistance of all the boats got out to sea, with the Discovery in company.

During the last week we had been visited by people from all parts of the island, who furnished us with a large stock of hogs and green plantains; so that the time we lay wind-bound in the harbour was not entirely lost, green plantains being an excellent substitute for bread, as they will keep good a fortnight or three weeks. Besides this supply of provisions we also completed our wood and water. The inhabitants of Ulietea seemed in general smaller and blacker than those of the other neighbouring islands, and appeared also less orderly, which perhaps may be considered as the consequence of their having become subject to the natives of Bolabola. Oreo, their chief, is only a sort of deputy of the Sovereign of that island, and the conquest seems to have lessened the number of subordinate chiefs resident among them; so that they are less immediately under the inspection of those whose interest it is to enforce due obedience to authority. Ulietea, though now reduced to this humiliating state, was formerly, as we were told, the most eminent of this cluster of islands, and probably the first seat of government; for they say that the present royal family of Otaheite is descended from that which reigned here before the late revolution. Ooroo, the dethroned monarch of Ulietea, was still alive when we were at Huaheine, where he resides, a royal wanderer, furnishing in his person an instance of the instability of power, but what is more remarkable, of the respect paid by these people to particular families, and to the customs which have once conferred sovereignty; for they suffer Ooroo to preserve all the ensigns which they appropriate to majesty, though he has lost his dominions.

We saw a similar instance of this while we were at Ulietea. One of the occasional visitors I now had was my old friend Oree, the late chief of Huaheine. He still preserved his consequence, came always at the head of a numerous body of attendants, and was always provided with such presents as were very acceptable. This chief looked much better now than I had ever seen him during either of my former voyages.[1] I could account for his improving in health as he grew older only from his drinking less copiously of the "ava" in his present station as a private gentleman than he had been accustomed to do when he was regent.

CHAPTER VIII.

As soon as we had got clear of the harbour we took leave of Ulietea and steered for Bolabola. The chief, if not sole, object I had in view by visiting that island was to procure from its monarch, Opoony, one of the anchors which M. de Bougainville had lost at Otaheite. This having afterwards been taken up by the natives there, had as they informed me been sent by them as a present to that chief. My desire to get possession of it did not arise from our being in want of anchors. But having expended all the hatchets and other iron tools which we had brought from England in purchasing refreshments, we were now reduced to the necessity of creating a fresh assortment of trad-

[1] Captain Cook had seen Oree in 1769, when he commanded the Endeavour; also twice during his second voyage in 1772.—*Note in Original Edition.*

ing articles by fabricating them out of the spare iron we had on board; and in such conversions, and in the occasional uses of the ships, great part of that had been already expended. I thought that M. de Bougainville's anchor would supply our want of this useful material, and I made no doubt that I should be able to tempt Opoony to part with it.

Oreo, and six or eight men more from Ulietea, took a passage with us to Bolabola. Indeed, most of the natives in general, except the chief himself, would have gladly taken a passage with us to England. At sunset, being the length of the south point of Bolabola, we shortened sail, and spent the night making short boards. At daybreak on the 8th we made sail for the harbour, which is on the west side of the island. The wind was scant, so that we had to ply up, and it was 9 o'clock before we got near enough to send away a boat to sound the entrance; for I had thoughts of running the ships in and anchoring for a day or two. When the boat returned, the master, who was in her, reported that though at the entrance of the harbour the bottom was rocky, there was good ground within, and the depth of water twenty-seven and twenty-five fathoms, and that there was room to turn the ships in, the channel being one-third of a mile broad. In consequence of this report we attempted to work the ships in; but the tide as well as the wind being against us, after making two or three trips I found that it could not be done till the tide should turn in our favour. Upon this I gave up the design of carrying the ships into the harbour, and having ordered the boats to be got ready, I embarked in one of them, accompanied by Oreo and his companions, and was rowed in for the island.

We landed where the natives directed us, and soon after I was introduced to Opoony, in the midst of a great concourse of people. Having no time to lose, as soon as the necessary formality of compliments was over I asked the chief to give me the anchor, and produced the present I had prepared for him, consisting of a linen night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads and other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last there was a general outcry. I could only guess the cause by Opoony's absolutely refusing to receive my present till I should get the anchor. He ordered three men to go and deliver it to me, and, as I understood, I was to send by them what I thought proper in return. With these messengers we set out in our boats for an island lying at the north side of the entrance into the harbour, where the anchor had been deposited. I found it to be neither so large nor so perfect as I expected. It had originally weighed 700 pounds, according to the mark that was upon it; but the ring, with part of the shank, and the two points, were now wanting. I was no longer at a loss to guess the reason of Opoony's refusing my present; he doubtless thought that it so much exceeded the value of the anchor in its present state that I should be displeased when I saw it. Be this as it may, I took the anchor as I found it, and sent him every article of the present that I at first intended. Having thus completed my negotiation, I returned on board, and having hoisted in the boats, made sail from the island to the north.

While the boats were hoisting in, some of the natives came off in three or four canoes to see the ships, as they said. They brought with them a few cocoa-nuts and one pig, which was the only one we got at the island. I make no doubt, however, that if we had stayed till the next day we should have been plentifully supplied with provisions; and I think the natives would feel themselves disappointed when they found that we were gone. But as we had already a very good stock both of hogs and of fruit on board, and very little of anything left to purchase more, I could have no inducement to defer any longer the prosecution of our voyage. [An account is here omitted

of the circumstances attending the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha by the people of Bolabola—those two islands remaining under the sway of King Opoony, while Huaheine, which had also been conquered, thanks to the aid of the Otaheiteans, regained and retained their independence. The reader will recall Omai's rancour against the Bolabolans, through whose predominance in the contest he lost his patrimony in Ulietea.]

Ever since the conquest of Ulietea and Otaha, the Bolabola men have been considered by their neighbours as invincible; and such is the extent of their fame, that even at Otaheite, which is almost out of their reach, if they are not dreaded, they are at least respected for their valour. It is said that they never fly in battle, and that they always beat an equal number of the other islanders. But, besides these advantages, their neighbours seem to ascribe a great deal to the superiority of their god, who, they believed, detained us at Ulietea by contrary winds, as being unwilling that we should visit an island under his special protection. How high the Bolabola men are now in estimation at Otaheite may be inferred from M. de Bougainville's anchor having been conveyed to them. To the same cause we must ascribe the intention of transporting to their island the Spanish bull. And they had already got possession of a third European curiosity, the male of another animal, brought to Otaheite by the Spaniards. We had been much puzzled by the imperfect description of the natives to guess what this could be; but Captain Clerke's deserters, when brought back from Bolabola, told me that the animal had been there shown to them, and that it was a ram. It seldom happens but that some good arises out of evil; and if our two men had not deserted I should not have known this. In consequence of their information, at the same time that I landed to meet Opoony, I carried ashore a ewe which we had brought from the Cape of Good Hope; and I hope that by this present I have laid the foundation for a breed of sheep at Bolabola. I also left at Ulietea, under the care of Oreo, an English boar and sow and two goats; so that not only Otaheite, but all the neighbouring islands will in a few years have their race of hogs considerably improved, and probably be stocked with all the valuable animals which have been transported hither by their European visitors.

When once this comes to pass, no part of the world will equal these islands in variety and abundance of refreshments for navigators. Indeed, even in their present state I know no place that excels them. After repeated trials in the course of several voyages, we find when they are not disturbed by intestine broils, but live in amity with one another, which has been the case for some years past, that their productions are in the greatest plenty, and particularly the most valuable of all their articles, their hogs. If we had had a larger assortment of goods and a sufficient quantity of salt on board, I make no doubt that we might have salted as much pork as would have served both ships near twelve months. But our visiting the Friendly Islands, and our long stay at Otaheite and the neighbourhood, quite exhausted our trading commodities, particularly our axes, with which alone hogs in general were to be purchased; and we had hardly salt enough to cure fifteen puncheons of meat. Of these, five were added to our stock of provisions at the Friendly Islands, and the other ten at Otaheite. Captain Clerke also salted a proportionable quantity for his ship.

Perhaps the frequent visits Europeans have lately made to these islanders may be one great inducement to their keeping a large stock of hogs, as they have had experience enough to know that whenever we come they may be sure of getting from us what they esteem a valuable consideration for them. At Otaheite they expect the return of the Spaniards every day; and they will look for the English two or three years hence not only there, but at the other islands. It is

to no purpose to tell them that you will not return. They think you must, though not one of them knows or will give himself the trouble to inquire the reason of your coming. I own I cannot avoid expressing it as my real opinion, that it would have been far better for these poor people never to have known our superiority in the accommodations and arts that make life comfortable, than after once knowing it to be again left and abandoned to their original incapacity of improvement. Indeed, they cannot be restored to that happy mediocrity in which they lived before we discovered them, if the intercourse between us should be discontinued. It seems to me that it has become in a manner incumbent on the Europeans to visit them once in three or four years, in order to supply them with those conveniences which we have introduced among them and have given them a predilection for. The want of such occasional supplies will probably be very heavily felt by them, when it may be too late to go back to their old, less perfect contrivances which they now despise and have discontinued since the introduction of ours. For by the time that the iron tools of which they are now possessed are worn out, they will have almost lost the knowledge of their own. A stone hatchet is at present as rare a thing amongst them as an iron one was eight years ago, and a chisel of bone or stone is not to be seen. Spike-nails have supplied the place of the last; and they are weak enough to fancy that they have got an inexhaustible store of them, for these were not now at all sought after. Sometimes, however, nails much smaller than a spike would still be taken in exchange for fruit. Knives happened at present to be in great esteem at Ulietea, and axes and hatchets remained unrivalled by any other of our commodities at all the islands. With respect to articles of mere ornament, these people are as changeable as any of the polished nations of Europe; so that what pleases their fancy while a fashion is in vogue may be rejected when another whim has supplanted it. But our iron tools are so strikingly useful that they will, we may confidently pronounce, continue to prize them highly, and be completely miserable if, neither possessing the materials nor trained up to the art of fabricating them, they should cease to receive supplies of what may now be considered as having become necessary to their comfortable existence.[1]

CHAPTER IX.[2]

PERHAPS there is scarcely a spot in the universe that affords a more luxuriant prospect than the south-east part of Otaheite. The hills are high and steep, and in many places craggy; but they are covered to the very summits with trees and shrubs, in such a manner that the spectator can scarcely help thinking that the very rocks possess the property of producing and supporting their verdant clothing. The flat land which bounds those hills toward the sea, and the interjacent valleys, also teem with various productions, that grow with the most exuberant vigour, and at once fill the mind of the beholder with the idea that no place upon earth can outdo this in the strength and beauty of vegetation. Nature has been no less liberal in distributing rivulets, which are found in every valley, and, as they approach the sea, often divide into two or three branches, fertilising the flat lands through which they run. The habitations of the natives are scattered without order upon the flats, and many of them appearing

[1] The rest of the Chapter, chiefly consisting of the record of astronomical and nautical observations, is omitted.

[2] This Chapter, contributed by Mr Anderson's pen, has been considerably curtailed by omission of the more uninteresting technical, naturalistic, linguistic, and professional passages.

toward the shore presented a delightful scene viewed from our ships, especially as the sea, within the reef which bounds the coast, is perfectly still, and affords a safe navigation at all times for the inhabitants, who are often seen paddling their canoes indolently along, in passing from place to place, or in going to fish. On viewing these charming scenes, I have often regretted my inability to transmit to those who have had no opportunity of seeing them such a description as might in some measure convey an impression similar to what must be felt by every one who has been fortunate enough to be upon the spot. It is doubtless the natural fertility of the country, combined with the mildness and serenity of the climate, that renders the natives so careless in their cultivation that in many places, though overflowing with the richest productions, the smallest traces of it cannot be observed.

The products of the island are not so remarkable for their variety as great abundance; and curiosities of any kind are not numerous. Amongst these we may reckon a pond or lake of fresh water, at the top of one of the highest mountains, to go to and to return from which takes three or four days. It is remarkable for its depth, and has eels of an enormous size in it, which are sometimes caught by the natives, who go upon this water in little floats of two or three wild plantain trees fastened together. This is esteemed one of the greatest natural curiosities of the country, insomuch that travellers who come from the other islands are commonly asked, amongst the first things, by their friends at their return, if they have seen it. There is also a sort of water, of which there is only one small pond upon the island, as far distant as the lake, and to appearance very good, with a yellow sediment at the bottom; but it has a bad taste, and proves fatal to those who drink any quantity, or makes them break out in blotches if they bathe in it.

Nothing could make a stronger impression at first sight, on our arrival here, than the remarkable contrast between the robust make and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo, and a sort of delicacy and whiteness which distinguish the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even some time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheiteans; and then only, perhaps, because we became accustomed to them, the marks which had recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, struck us as superior in every respect, and as possessing all those delicate characteristics which distinguish them from the other sex in many countries. The beard, which the men here wear long, and the hair, which is not cut so short as is the fashion at Tongataboo, made also a great difference; and we could not help thinking that on every occasion they showed a greater degree of timidity and fickleness. The muscular appearance so common amongst the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin, which, though perhaps more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage, as it seems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions, not observable in the others. This observation is fully verified in their boxing and wrestling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which these exercises are performed at the Friendly Islands.

Personal endowments being in great esteem amongst them, they have recourse to several methods of improving them, according to their notions of beauty. In particular, it is a practice, especially amongst the "Erreoes," or unmarried men of some consequence, to undergo a kind of physical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the house, during which time they wear a great quan-

tity of clothes, and eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they ascribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They also speak as if their corpulence and colour at other times depended upon their food, as they are obliged, from the change of seasons, to use different sorts at different times. Their common diet is made up of at least nine-tenths of vegetable food; and I believe more particularly the "mahee," or fermented bread-fruit, which enters almost every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a costive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food. And it is perhaps owing to this temperate course of life that they have so few diseases among them. They only reckon five or six, which might be called chronic or national disorders; amongst which are the dropsy, and the "fefai," or indolent swellings before mentioned as frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this short catalogue a disease which abundantly supplies the place of all the others, and is now almost universal. For this they seem to have no effectual remedy.

Their behaviour on all occasions seems to indicate a great openness and generosity of disposition. Omai, indeed, who as their countryman should be supposed rather willing to conceal any of their defects, has often said that they are sometimes cruel in punishing their enemies. According to his representation, they torment them very deliberately, at one time tearing out small pieces of flesh from different parts, at another taking out the eyes, then cutting of the nose, and lastly killing them by opening the belly. But this only happens on particular occasions. If cheerfulness argues a conscious innocence, one would suppose that their life is seldom sullied by crimes. This, however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, seem in no case permanent; for I never saw them in any misfortune labour under the appearance of anxiety after the critical moment was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity. I have seen them when brought to the brink of the grave by disease, and when preparing to go to battle, but in neither case ever observed their countenances overclouded with melancholy, or serious reflection. Such a disposition leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleasure and ease. Their amusements all tend to excite and continue their amorous passions; and their songs, of which they are immoderately fond, answer the same purpose. But as a constant succession of sensual enjoyments must cloy, we found that they frequently varied them to more refined subjects, and had much pleasure in chanting their triumphs in war and their occupations in peace, their travels to other islands and adventures there, and the peculiar beauties and superior advantages of their own island over the rest, or of different parts of it over other less favourable districts. This marks that they receive great delight from music; and though they rather expressed a dislike to our complicated compositions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious sounds produced singly on our instruments, as approaching nearer to the simplicity of their own.

Neither are they strangers to the soothing effects produced by particular sorts of motion, which in some cases seem to allay any perturbation of mind with as much success as music. Of this I met with a remarkable instance. For on walking one day about Matavai Point, where our tents were erected, I saw a man paddling in a small canoe so quickly, and looking about him with such eagerness on each side, as to command all my attention. At first I imagined that he had stolen something from one of the ships, and was pursued; but, on waiting patiently, saw him repeat his amusement. He went out from the shore till he was near the place where

the swell begins to take its rise; and, watching its first motion very attentively, paddled before it with great quickness, till he found that it overlooked him, and had acquired sufficient force to carry his canoe before it without passing underneath. He then sat motionless, and was carried along at the same swift rate as the wave, till it landed him upon the beach. Then he started out, emptied his canoe, and went in search of another swell. I could not help concluding that this man felt the most supreme pleasure while he was driven on so fast and so smoothly, by the sea; especially as, though the tents and ships were so near, he did not seem in the least to envy or even to take any notice of the crowds of his countrymen collected to view them as objects which were rare and curious. During my stay, two or three of the natives came up, who seemed to share his felicity, and always called out when there was an appearance of a favourable swell, as he sometimes missed it by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I understood that this exercise, which is called "choroee," was frequent amongst them; and they have probably more amusements of this sort which afford them at least as much pleasure as skating, which is the only one of ours with whose effects I could compare it.

The language of Otaheite abounds with beautiful and figurative expressions which, were it perfectly known, would, I have no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are most in esteem for their warmth and bold images. For instance, the Otaheiteans express their notions of death very emphatically by saying "that the soul goes into darkness," or rather "into night." And if you seem to entertain any doubt in asking the question, "If such a person is their mother?" they immediately reply with surprise, "Yes, the mother that bore me." They have one expression, that corresponds exactly with the phraseology of the Scriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They use it on all occasions when the passions give them uneasiness; as they constantly refer pain from grief, anxious desire, and other affections, to the bowels as its seat; where they likewise suppose all operations of the mind are performed. Their language admits of that inverted arrangement of words which so much distinguishes the Latin and Greek from most of our modern European tongues, whose imperfections require a more orderly construction, to prevent ambiguities. It is so copious that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different states, they have above twenty names; as many for the "taro" root; and about ten for the cocoa-nut. Add to this, that besides the common dialect they often expostulate in a kind of stanza or recitative, which is answered in the same manner.

Their arts are few and simple; yet, if we may credit them, they perform cures in surgery which our extensive knowledge in that branch has not as yet enabled us to imitate. In simple fractures they bind them up with splints; but if part of the substance of the bone be lost, they insert a piece of wood between the fractured ends, made hollow like the deficient part. In five or six days the "rapaoo," or surgeon, inspects the wound, and finds the wood partly covered with the growing flesh. In as many more days it is generally entirely covered; after which, when the patient has acquired some strength, he bathes in the water, and recovers. We know that wounds will heal over leaden bullets; and sometimes, though rarely, over other extraneous bodies. But what makes me entertain some doubt of the truth of so extraordinary skill as in the above instance is, that in other cases which fell under my own observation they are far from being so dexterous. I have seen the stump of an arm, which was taken off after being shattered by a fall from a tree, that bore no marks of skilful operation, though some allowance be made for their defective instruments. And I met a man going about with a dis-

located shoulder, some months after the accident, from their being ignorant of a method to reduce it; though this be considered as one of the simplest operations of our surgery. They know that fractures or luxations of the spine are mortal, but not fractures of the skull; and they likewise know from experience in what parts of the body wounds prove fatal. They have sometimes pointed out those inflicted by spears, which, if made in the direction they mentioned, would certainly have been pronounced deadly by us; and yet these people have recovered. Their physical knowledge seems more confined; and that, probably, because their diseases are fewer than their accidents.

The times of eating at Otaheite are very frequent. Their first meal, or (as it may rather be called) their last, as they go to sleep after it, is about 2 o'clock in the morning; and the next is at eight. At eleven they dine; and again, as Omai expressed it, at two and at five; and sup at eight. In this article of domestic life they have adopted some customs which are exceedingly whimsical. The women, for instance, have not only the mortification of being obliged to eat by themselves, and in a different part of the house from the men; but, by a strange kind of policy, are excluded from a share of most of the better sorts of food. They dare not taste turtle, nor fish of the tunny kind, which is much esteemed, nor some particular sorts of the best plantains; and it is very seldom that even those of the first rank are suffered to eat pork. The children of each sex also eat apart, and the women generally serve up their own victuals; for they would certainly starve before any grown man would do them such an office. In this, as well as in some other customs relative to their eating, there is a mysterious conduct which we could never thoroughly comprehend. When we inquired into the reasons of it, we could get no other answer but that it is right and necessary it should be so.

In other customs respecting the females there seems to be no such obscurity; especially as to their connections with the men. If a young man and woman, from mutual choice, cohabit, the man gives the father of the girl such things as are necessary in common life, as hogs, cloth, or canoes, in proportion to the time they are together; and if he thinks that he has not been sufficiently paid for his daughter, he makes no scruple of forcing her to leave her friend and to cohabit with another person who may be more liberal. The man, on his part, is always at liberty to make a new choice; but, should his consort become pregnant, he may kill the child, and after that either continue his connection with the mother or leave her. But if he should adopt the child, and suffer it to live, the parties are then considered as in the married state, and they commonly live together ever after. However, it is thought no crime in the man to join a more youthful partner to his first wife, and to live with both. The custom of changing their connections is, however, much more general than this last; and it is a thing so common that they speak of it with great indifference. The "Erreoes,"[1] are only those of the better sort who from their fickleness, and their possessing the means of purchasing a succession of fresh connections, are constantly roaming about, and, from having no particular attachment, seldom adopt the more settled method mentioned above. And so agreeable is this licentious plan of life to their disposition, that the most beautiful of both sexes thus

[1] Otherwise spelt "Arreoys." In the Original Edition there is a long and learned note at this point, the only part of which really pertinent is the citation of Father le Gobien's "History of the Ladrone Islands," where he describes a similar society under the substantially identical designation of "Urritoes." His words are: "Les Urritoes sont parmi eux les jeunes gens qui vivent avec des maîtresses, sans vouloir s'engager dans les liens du mariage."

commonly spend their youthful days, habituated to the practice of enormities which would disgrace the most savage tribes, but are peculiarly shocking amongst a people whose general character, in other respects, has evident traces of the prevalence of humane and tender feelings. When an "Erreoe" woman is delivered of a child, a piece of cloth dipped in water is applied to the mouth and nose, which suffocates it. As in such a life their women must contribute a very large share of its happiness, it is rather surprising, besides the humiliating restraints they are laid under with regard to food, to find them often treated with a degree of harshness, or rather brutality, which one would scarcely suppose a man would bestow on an object for whom he had the least affection. Nothing, however, is more common than to see the men beat them without mercy; and unless this treatment is the effect of jealousy, which both sexes at least pretend to be sometimes infected with, it will be difficult to admit this as the motive, as I have seen several instances where the women have preferred personal beauty to interest. Though I must own, that even in these cases they seem scarcely susceptible of those delicate sentiments that are the result of mutual affection; and I believe that there is less Platonic love in Otaheite than in any other country.

Their religious system is extensive, and in many instances singular; but few of the common people have a perfect knowledge of it, that being confined chiefly to their priests, who are pretty numerous. They do not seem to pay any respect to one god as possessing pre-eminence, but believe in a plurality of divinities who are all very powerful; and in this case, as different parts of the island, and the other islands in the neighbourhood, have different ones, the inhabitants of each no doubt think that they have chosen the most eminent, or at least one who is invested with power sufficient to protect them and to supply all their wants. If he should not answer their expectations, they think it no impiety to change; as very lately happened in Tiaraboo, where in the room of the two divinities formerly honoured there, Oraa,[1] god of Bolabola, has been adopted, I should suppose because he is the protector of a people who have been victorious in war; and as, since they have made this change, they have been very successful themselves against the inhabitants of "Otaheite-nooe," they impute it entirely to "Oraa," who, as they literally say, fights their battles.

Their assiduity in serving their gods is remarkably conspicuous. Not only the "whattas," or offering places of the "morais," are commonly loaded with fruit and animals; but there are few houses where you do not meet with a small place of the same sort near them. Many of them are so rigidly scrupulous, that they will not begin a meal without first laying aside a morsel for the "Eatooa;" and we had an opportunity during this voyage of seeing their superstitious zeal carried to a most pernicious height, in the instance of human sacrifices, the occasions of offering which I doubt are too frequent. Perhaps they have recourse to them when misfortunes occur; for they asked if one of our men who happened to be confined when we were detained by a contrary wind was "taboo."[2] Their prayers are also very frequent, which they chant much after the manner of the songs in their festive entertainments. And the women, as in other cases, are also obliged to show their inferiority in religious observances; for it is required of them that they should partly uncover themselves as they pass the "morais," or take a considerable circuit to avoid them. Though they have no notion that their god must always be conferring benefits, without sometimes forgetting them, or suffer-

[1] We have here an instance of the same word being differently pronounced by the people. Captain Cook speaks of Olla as the Bolabola god.

[2] That is, if he had been killed for a sacrifice.

ing evil to befall them, they seem to regard this less than the attempts of some more inauspicious being to hurt them. They tell us that "Etee" is an evil spirit, who sometimes does them mischief, and to whom, as well as to their god, they make offerings. But the mischiefs they apprehend from any superior invincible beings are confined to things merely temporal.

They believe the soul to be both immaterial and immortal. They say that it keeps fluttering about the lips during the pangs of death; and that then it ascends and mixes with, or as they express it, is eaten by the deity. In this state it remains for some time, after which it departs to a certain place destined for the reception of the souls of men, where it exists in eternal night, or, as they sometimes say, in twilight or dawn. They have no idea of any permanent punishment after death for crimes that they have committed on earth; for the souls of good and bad men are eaten indiscriminately by God. But they certainly consider this coalition with the Deity as a kind of purification necessary to be undergone before they enter a state of bliss. For, according to their doctrine, if a man refrain from all connection with women some months before death, he passes immediately into his eternal mansion without such a previous union, as if already, by this abstinence, he were pure enough to be exempted from the general lot. They are, however, far from entertaining those sublime conceptions of happiness which our religion and, indeed, reason give us room to expect hereafter. The only great privilege they seem to think they shall acquire by death is immortality; for they speak of spirits being in some measure not totally divested of those passions which actuated them when combined with material vehicles. Thus if souls who were formerly enemies should meet, they have many conflicts, though, it should seem, to no purpose, as they are accounted invulnerable in this invisible state. There is a similar reasoning with regard to the meeting of man and wife. If the husband dies first the soul of his wife is known to him on its arrival in the land of spirits. They resume their former acquaintance in a spacious house called "tourooa," where the souls of the deceased assemble to re-create themselves with the gods. She then retires with him to his separate habitation, where they remain for ever, and have an offspring, which, however, is entirely spiritual, as they are neither married, nor are their embraces supposed to be the same as with corporeal beings.

Some of their notions about the Deity are extravagantly absurd. They believe that he is subject to the power of those very spirits to whom he has given existence; and that, in their turn, they frequently eat or devour him, though he possess the power of re-creating himself. They, doubtless, use this mode of expression, as they seem incapable of conversing about immaterial things without constantly referring to material objects to convey their meaning. And in this manner they continue the account, by saying that in the "tourooa" the deity inquires if they intend or not to destroy him; and that he is not able to alter their determination. This is known to the inhabitants on earth, as well as to the spirits; for when the moon is in its wane it is said that they are then devouring their "Eatooa;" and that, as it increases, he is renewing himself. And to this accident not only the inferior but the most eminent gods are liable. They also believe that there are other places for the reception of souls at death. Thus those who are drowned in the sea remain there, where they think that there is a fine country, houses, and everything that can make them happy. But what is more singular, they maintain that not only all other animals, but trees, fruit, and even stones, have souls, which at death, or upon being consumed or broken, ascend to the divinity, with whom they first mix, and afterward pass into the mansion allotted to each.

They imagine that their punctual performance of religious offices pro-

cures for them every temporal blessing. And as they believe that the animating and powerful influence of the divine spirit is everywhere diffused, it is no wonder that they join to this many superstitious opinions about its operations. Accordingly, they believe that sudden deaths and all other accidents are affected by the immediate action of some divinity. If a man only stumble against a stone and hurt his toe, they impute it to an "Eatooa;" so that they may be literally said, agreeably to their system, to tread enchanted ground. They are startled in the night on approaching a "toopapaoo," where the dead are exposed, in the same manner that many of our ignorant and superstitious people are with the apprehensions of ghosts and at the sight of a churchyard; and they have an equal confidence in dreams, which they suppose to be communications either from their god or from the spirits of their departed friends, enabling those favoured with them to foretell future events; but this kind of knowledge is confined to particular people. Omai pretended to have this gift. He told us that the soul of his father had intimated to him in a dream, on the 26th of July 1776, that he should go on shore at some place within three days; but he was unfortunate in this first attempt to persuade us that he was a prophet, for it was the 1st of August before we got into Teneriffe. Amongst them, however, the dreamers possess a reputation little inferior to that of their inspired priests and priestesses, whose predictions they implicitly believe, and are determined by them in all undertakings of consequence. They also in some degree maintain our old doctrine of planetary influence; at least they are sometimes regulated in their public counsels by certain appearances of the moon; particularly when lying horizontally, or much inclined on the convex part, on its first appearance after the change, they are encouraged to engage in war with confidence of success.

They have traditions concerning the creation, which, as might be expected, are complex and clouded with obscurity. They say that a goddess having a lump or mass of earth suspended in a cord gave it a swing, and scattered about pieces of land, thus constituting Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, which were all peopled by a man and woman originally fixed at Otaheite. This, however, only respects their own immediate creation, for they have notions of a universal one before this, and of lands of which they have now no other knowledge than what is mentioned in the tradition. Their most remote account reaches to Tatooma and Tapuppa, male and female stones or rocks, who support the congeries of land and water, or our globe, underneath. These produced Totorro, who was killed and divided into land; and after him Otaia and Oroo were begotten, who were afterward married, and produced first land and then a race of gods. Otaia is killed, and Oroo marries a god, her son, called Teorraha, whom she orders to create more land, the animals, and all sorts of food upon the earth; as also the sky, which is supported by men called Teeferei. The spots observed in the moon are supposed to be groves of a sort of trees which once grew in Otaheite, and, being destroyed by some accident, their seeds were carried up thither by doves, where they now flourish.

They have also many legends both religious and historical, one of which latter, relative to the practice of eating human flesh, I shall give the substance of as a specimen of their method. A long time since there lived in Otaheite two men called "Taheeai," the only name they yet have for cannibals. None knew whence they came, or in what manner they arrived at the island. Their habitation was in the mountains, whence they used to issue and kill many of the natives, whom they afterward devoured, and by that means prevented the progress of population. Two brothers, determined to rid their country of such a formidable enemy, used a stratagem for their destruction with success. These still lived farther

upward than the "Taheeai," and in such a situation that they could speak with them without greatly hazarding their own safety. They invited them to accept of an entertainment that should be provided for them, to which these readily consented. The brothers then taking some stones, heated them in a fire, and thrusting them into pieces of "mahee," desired one of the "Taheeai" to open his mouth. On which one of these pieces was dropped in, and some water poured down, which made a boiling or hissing noise in quenching the stone, and killed him. They entreated the other to do the same, but he declined it, representing the consequences of his companion's eating. However, they assured him that the food was excellent, and its effects only temporary, for that the other would soon recover. His credulity was such that he swallowed the bait, and shared the fate of the first. The natives then cut them in pieces, which they buried; and conferred the government of the island on the brothers as a reward for delivering them from such monsters. Their residence was in the district called Whapaeenoo, and to this day there remains a bread-fruit tree once the property of the "Taheeai." They had also a woman who lived with them, and had two teeth of a prodigious size. After they were killed, she lived at the Island Otaha, and when dead was ranked amongst their deities. She did not eat human flesh as the men, but, from the size of her teeth, the natives still call any animal that has a fierce appearance, or is represented with large tusks, "Taheeai."

From some circumstances, I have been led to think that the natives of these isles were formerly cannibals. Upon asking Omai he denied it stoutly, yet mentioned a fact within his own knowledge which almost confirms such an opinion. When the people of Bolabola one time defeated those of Huaheine, a great number of his kinsmen were slain. But one of his relations had afterwards an opportunity of revenging himself, when the Bolabola men were worsted in their turn; and, cutting a piece out of the thigh of one of his enemies, he broiled and ate it. I have also frequently considered the offering of the person's eye who is sacrificed, to the chief, as a vestige of a custom which once really existed to a greater extent, and is still commemorated by this emblematical ceremony. . . .

Besides the cluster of high islands from Mataia to Mouroa inclusive, the people of Otaheite are acquainted with a low uninhabited island, which they name Mopeeha, and seems to be Howe's Island, laid down to the westward of Mouroa in our late charts of this ocean. To this the inhabitants of the most leeward islands sometimes go. There are also several low islands to the north-eastward of Otaheite, which they have sometimes visited, but not constantly, and are said to be only at the distance of two days' sail with a fair wind. They were thus named to me: Mataeeva, Oanaa, Taboohoe, Awehee, Kaoora, Orootooa, Otavaoo (where are large pearls). The inhabitants of these isles come more frequently to Otaheite and the other neighbouring high islands, from whose natives they differ in being of a darker colour, with a fiercer aspect, and differently punctured. I was informed that at Mataeeva, and others of them, it is a custom for the men to give their daughters to strangers who arrive amongst them; but the pairs must be five nights lying near each other without presuming to proceed further. On the sixth evening the father of the young woman treats his guest with food, and informs his daughter that she must that night receive him as her husband. The stranger, however, must not offer to express the least dislike, though the bed-fellow allotted to him should be ever so disagreeable; for this is considered as an unpardonable affront, and is punished with death. Forty men of Bolabola who, incited by curiosity, had roamed as far as Mataeeva in a canoe, were treated in this manner, one of them having incautiously mentioned his dislike of the woman who fell to his lot in the hearing of a

boy, who informed her father. In consequence of this, the Mataeevans fell upon them; but these warlike people killed three times their own number, though with the loss of all their party, except five. These hid themselves in the woods and took an opportunity, when the others were burying their dead, to enter some houses, where, having provided themselves with victuals and water, they carried them on board a canoe, in which they made their escape; and after passing Matáia, at which they would not touch, at last arrived safe at Eimeo. The Bolabolans, however, were sensible enough that their travellers had been to blame; for a canoe from Mataeeva arriving sometime after at Bolabola, so far were they from retaliating upon them for the death of their countrymen that they acknowledged that they had deserved their fate, and treated their visitors kindly.

These low isles are, doubtless, the farthest navigation which those of Otaheite and the Society Islands perform at present. It seems to be a groundless supposition made by M. de Bougainville that they made voyages of the prodigious extent[1] he mentions, for I found that it is reckoned a sort of prodigy that a canoe once driven by a storm from Otaheite should have fallen in with Mopeeha, or Howe's Island, though so near and directly to leeward. The knowledge they have of other distant islands is no doubt traditional, and has been communicated to them by the natives of those islands driven accidentally upon their coasts, who, besides giving them the names, could easily inform them of the direction in which the places lie from whence they came, and of the number of days they had been upon the sea. In this manner it may be supposed that the natives of Wateeoo have increased their catalogue by the addition of Otaheite and its neighbouring isles from the people we met with there, and also of the other islands these had heard of.

[1] In Bougainville's "Voyage autour du Monde" we are told that these people sometimes navigate to the distance of more than 300 leagues.

CHAPTER X.

AFTER leaving Bolabola I steered to the northward, close hauled, with the wind between NE. and E. Though seventeen months had now elapsed since our departure from England, during which we had not upon the whole been unprofitably employed, I was sensible that, with regard to the principal object of my instructions, our voyage was at this time only beginning, and therefore my attention to every circumstance that might contribute toward our safety and our ultimate success was now to be called forth anew. With this view I had examined into the state of our provisions at the last islands; and as soon as I had left them and got beyond the extent of my former discoveries, I ordered a survey to be taken of all the boatswain's and carpenter's stores that were in the ships, that I might be fully informed of the quantity, state, and condition of every article, and by that means know how to use them to the greatest advantage.

Before I sailed from the Society Islands, I lost no opportunity of inquiring of the inhabitants if there were any islands in a north or northwest direction from them, but I did not find that they knew of any. Nor did we meet with anything that indicated the vicinity of land till we came to about the Latitude of 8° S., where we began to see birds, such as boobies, tropic and man-of-war birds, tern, and some other sorts. At this time our longitude was 205° E. Mendana, in his first voyage in 1568, discovered an island which he named Isla de Jesus in Latitude 6° 45′ S., and 1450 leagues from Callao, which is 200° E. Longitude from Greenwich. We crossed this latitude near 100 leagues to the eastward of this longitude, and saw there many of the

above-mentioned birds, which are seldom known to go very far from land. In the night between the 22d and 23d we crossed the Line, in the Longitude of 203° 15′ E.

On the 24th, about half-an-hour after daybreak, land was discovered, bearing NE. by E. half E. Upon a nearer approach it was found to be one of those low islands so common in this ocean, that is, a narrow bank of land enclosing the sea within. A few cocoa-nut trees were seen in two or three places, but in general the land had a very barren appearance. At noon it extended from NE. by E. to S. by E. half E., about four miles distant. The wind was at ESE., so that we were under a necessity of making a few boards to get up to the lee or W. side, where we found from forty to twenty and fourteen fathoms water, over a bottom of fine sand—the least depth about half-a-mile from the breakers, and the greatest about one mile. The meeting with soundings determined me to anchor, with a view to try to get some turtle; for the island seemed to be a likely place to meet with them, and to be without inhabitants. Accordingly we dropped anchor in thirty fathoms, and then a boat was despatched to examine whether it was practicable to land, of which I had some doubt, as the sea broke in a dreadful surf all along the shore. When the boat returned, the officer whom I had entrusted with this examination reported to me that he could see no place where a boat could land, but that there was great abundance of fish in the shoal water without the breakers.

In the morning of the 27th the pinnace and cutter, under the command of Mr King, were sent to the south-east part of the island, within the lagoon, and the small cutter to the northward, where I had been the day before—both parties being ordered upon the same service, to catch turtle. Captain Clerke having had some of his people on shore all night, they had been so fortunate as to turn between forty and fifty on the sand, which were brought on board with all expedition this day; and in the afternoon the party I had sent northward returned with six. They were sent back again, and remained there till we left the island, having in general pretty good success. On the 28th I landed, in company with Mr Bayly, on the island which lies between the two channels into the lagoon, to prepare the telescopes for observing the approaching eclipse of the sun, which was one great inducement to my anchoring here. About noon Mr King returned with one boat and eight turtles, leaving seven behind to be brought by the other boat, whose people were employed in catching more; and in the evening the same boat was sent with water and provisions for them. Mr Williamson now went to superintend this duty in the room of Mr King, who remained on board to attend the observation of the eclipse. The next day Mr Williamson despatched the two boats back to the ship laden with turtle. At the same time he sent me a message desiring that the boats might be ordered round by sea, as he had found a landing-place on the south-east side of the island, where most of the turtle were caught; so that by sending the boats thither the trouble would be saved of carrying them over the land to the inside of the lagoon, as had been hitherto done. The boats were accordingly despatched to the place which he pointed out.

On the morning of the 30th, the day when the eclipse was to happen, Mr King, Mr Bayly, and myself went ashore on the small island above mentioned, to attend the observation. The sky was overcast till past 9 o'clock, when the clouds about the sun dispersed long enough to take its altitude, to rectify the time by the watch we made use of. After this it was again obscured till about thirty minutes past nine, and then we found that the eclipse was begun. We now fixed the micrometers to the telescopes, and observed or measured the uneclipsed part of the sun's disc. At these observations I continued about three-quarters of an hour before the

end, when I left off, being in fact unable to continue them longer on account of the great heat of the sun, increased by the reflection from the sand. The sun was clouded at times; but it was clear when the eclipse ended, the time of which was observed as follows:

	Ho.	Min.	Sec.
By Mr Bayly, at .	0	26	3
Mr King, .	0	26	1
Myself, .	0	25	37

Apparent time P.M.

Mr Bayly and I observed with the large achromatic telescopes, and Mr King with a reflector. As Mr Bayly's telescope and mine were of the same magnifying power, I ought not to have differed so much from him as I did. Perhaps it was in part, if not wholly, owing to a protuberance in the moon which escaped my notice, but was seen by both the other gentlemen. . . .

Having some cocoa-nuts and yams on board in a state of vegetation, I ordered them to be planted on the little island where we had observed the eclipse, and some melon-seeds were sown in another place. I also left on the little island a bottle containing this inscription:

"*Georgius Tertius Rex*, 31 *Decembris* 1777.

Naves { *Resolution, Jac. Cook, Pr.*
Discovery, Car. Clerke, Pr."

On the 1st of January 1778, I sent boats to bring on board all our parties from the land, and the turtle they had caught. Before this was completed it was late in the afternoon, so that I did not think proper to sail till next morning. We got at this island, to both ships, about 300 turtle, weighing one with another about 90 or 100 pounds. They were all of the green kind, and perhaps as good as any in the world. We also caught with hook and line as much fish as we could consume during our stay. They consisted principally of cavallies of different sizes, large and small snappers, and a few of two sorts of rock-fish, one with numerous spots of blue, and the other with whitish streaks scattered about. . . .

As we kept our Christmas here, I called this discovery Christmas Island. I judge it to be about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference.[1] It seemed to be of a semicircular form, or like the moon in the last quarter, the two horns being the north and south points.

Christmas Island, like most others in this ocean, is bounded by a reef of coral rocks, which extends but a little way from the shore. Farther out than this reef, on the west side, is a bank of sand extending a mile into the sea. On this bank is good anchorage in any depth between eighteen and thirty fathoms. In less than the first-mentioned depth the reef would be too near; and in more than the last the edge of the bank would not be at a sufficient distance. During the time we lay here, the wind blew constantly a fresh gale at E. or E. by S., except one or two days. We had always a great swell from the northward, which broke upon the reef, in a prodigious surf. We had found this swell before we came to the island; and it continued for some days after we left it.

CHAPTER XI.

ON the 2d of January at daybreak we weighed anchor and resumed our course to the N., having fine weather. We continued to see birds every day, of the sorts last mentioned, sometimes in greater numbers than others, and between the latitude of 10° and 11° we saw several turtle. All these are looked upon as signs of the vicinity of land. However, we discovered none till daybreak in the morning of the 18th, when an island made its appearance bearing NE. by E., and soon after we saw more land bearing N. and entirely detached

[1] It lies, according to Cook's observations, in 1° 59′ N. Latitude, and 202° 30′ E. Longitude.

from the former. Both had the appearance of being high land. We had now light airs and calms by turns; so that at sunset we were not less than nine or ten leagues from the nearest land.

On the 19th at sunrise the island first seen bore E. several leagues distant. This being directly to windward, which prevented our getting near it, I stood for the other, which we could reach; and not long after discovered a third island in the direction of WNW., as far distant as land could be seen. We had now a fine breeze at E. by N.; and I steered for the east end of the second island. At this time we were in some doubt whether or no the land before us was inhabited; but this doubt was soon cleared up by seeing some canoes coming off from the shore toward the ships. I immediately brought to, to give them time to join us. They had from three to six men each, and on their approach we were agreeably surprised to find that they spoke the language of Otaheite and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required but very little address to get them to come alongside; but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope and gave them to those in one of the canoes, who in return tied some small mackerel to the rope as an equivalent. This was repeated, and some small nails or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish, and a sweet potato; a sure sign that they had some notion of bartering, or at least of returning one present for another. They had nothing else in their canoes except some large gourd shells, and a kind of fishing-net; but one of them offered for sale the piece of stuff that he wore round his waist after the manner of the other islands. These people were of a brown colour, and though of the common size, were stoutly made. There was little difference in the cast of their colour, but a considerable variation in their features; some of their visages not being very unlike those of Europeans. The hair of most of them was cropped pretty short; others had it flowing loose; and with a few it was tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In all it seemed to be naturally black; but most of them had stained it, as is the practice of the Friendly Islanders, with some stuff which gave it a brown or burnt colour. In general they wore their beards. They had no ornaments about their persons, nor did we observe that their ears were perforated; but some were punctured on the hands, or near the groin, though in a small degree; and the bits of cloth which they wore were curiously stained with red, black, and white colours. They seemed very mild, and had no arms of any kind, if we except some small stones which they had evidently brought for their own defence; and these they threw overboard when they found that they were not wanted. [Finding no proper anchoring-place at the eastern extreme of the island, they bore away to the middle of the NW. side, where they stood off in five fathoms, over a sandy bottom. The natives who afterwards came on board showed great ignorance of everything European, and proved themselves to be great thieves.]

While the boats were occupied in examining the coast, we stood on and off with the ships, waiting for their return. About noon Mr Williamson came back and reported that he had seen a large pond behind a beach near one of the villages, which the natives told him contained fresh water, and that there was anchoring-ground before it. He also reported that he had attempted to land in another place, but was prevented by the natives, who, coming down to the boats in great numbers, attempted to take away the oars, muskets, and in short everything that they could lay hold of, and pressed so thick upon him that he was obliged to fire, by which one man was killed. But this unhappy circumstance I did not know till after we had left the island, so that all my measures were directed as

if nothing of the kind had happened. Mr Williamson told me that after the man fell, his countrymen took him up, carried him off, and then retired from the boat; but still they made signals for our people to land, which he declined. It did not appear to Mr Williamson that the natives had any design to kill or even to hurt any of his party; but they seemed excited by mere curiosity, to get from them what they had, being at the same time ready to give in return anything of their own. After the boats were on board, I despatched one of them to lie in the best anchoring-ground; and as soon as she had got to this station, I bore down with the ships, and anchored in twenty-five fathoms water. The Discovery anchored to the eastward of us, farther from the land. The ships being thus stationed between 3 and 4 o'clock, I went ashore with three armed boats and twelve marines, to examine the water, and to try the disposition of the inhabitants, several hundreds of whom were assembled on a sandy beach before the village; behind it was a narrow valley, the bottom of which was occupied by the piece of water.

The very instant I leaped on shore, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture till by expressive signs I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain-trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised on such occasions at the Society and other islands, and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined. I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them in return such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose. When this introductory business was finished, I stationed a guard upon the beach, and got some of the natives to conduct me to the water; which proved to be very good, and in a proper situation for our purpose. It was so considerable that it may be called a lake, and it extended farther up the country than we could see. Having satisfied myself about this very essential point, and about the peaceable disposition of the natives, I returned on board, and then gave orders that everything should be in readiness for landing and filling our water-casks in the morning; when I went ashore with the people employed in that service, having a party of marines with us for a guard, who were stationed on the beach.

As soon as we landed, a trade was set on foot for hogs and potatoes, which the people of the island gave us in exchange for nails and pieces of iron formed into something like chisels. We met with no obstruction in watering; on the contrary, the natives assisted our men in rolling the casks to and from the pool, and readily performed whatever we required. Everything thus going on to my satisfaction, and considering my presence on the spot unnecessary, I left the command to Mr Williamson, who had landed with me, and made an excursion into the country up the valley, accompanied by Mr Anderson and Mr Webber; the former of whom was as well qualified to describe with the pen as the latter was to represent with his pencil everything we might meet with worthy of observation. A numerous train of natives followed us; and one of them, whom I had distinguished for his activity in keeping the rest in order, I made choice of as our guide. This man from time to time proclaimed our approach; and every one whom we met fell prostrate upon the ground and remained in that position till we had passed. This, as I afterward understood, is the mode of paying their respect to their own great chiefs. As we ranged down the coast from the east in the ships, we had observed at every village one or more elevated white objects, like pyramids or rather obelisks; and one of these, which I guessed to be at least fifty feet high, was very conspicuous from the ship's anchoring station, and seemed to be at no great distance up this valley. To have a nearer inspec-

tion of it was the principal object of my walk. Our guide perfectly understood that we wished to be conducted to it; but it happened to be so placed that we could not get at it, being separated from us by the pool of water. However, there being another of the same kind within our reach, about half-a-mile off upon our side of the valley, we set out to visit that. The moment we got to it we saw that it stood in a burying-ground, or "morai," the resemblance of which in many respects to those we were so well acquainted with at other islands in this ocean, and particularly Otaheite, could not but strike us; and we also soon found that the several parts that compose it were called by the same names. It was an oblong space, of considerable extent, surrounded by a wall of stone about four feet high. The space enclosed was loosely paved with smaller stones; and at one end of it stood what I call the pyramid, but in the language of the island is named "henananoo;" which appeared evidently to be an exact model of the larger one observed by us from the ships. It was about four feet square at the base, and about twenty feet high. The four sides were composed of small poles interwoven with twigs and branches, thus forming an indifferent wicker-work, hollow or open within from bottom to top. It seemed to be rather in a ruinous state; but there were sufficient remaining marks to show that it had originally been covered with a thin, light, grey cloth, which these people, it should seem, consecrate to religious purposes; as we could see a good deal of it hanging in different parts of the "morai," and some of it had been forced upon me when I first landed. On each side of the pyramid were long pieces of wicker-work called "hereanee," in the same ruinous condition; with two slender poles, inclining to each other, at one corner, where some plantains were laid upon a board fixed at the height of five or six feet. This they called "herairemy," and informed us that the fruit was an offering to their god, which makes it agree exactly with the "whatta" of Otaheite. Before the "henananoo" were a few pieces of wood carved into something like human figures, which, with a stone near two feet high, covered with pieces of cloth called "hoho," and consecrated to "Tongarooa," who is the god of these people, still more and more reminded us of what we used to meet with in the "morais" of the islands we had lately left. Adjoining to these, on the outside of the "morai," was a small shed no bigger than a dog-kennel, which they called "hareepahoo;" and before it was a grave, where, as we were told, the remains of a woman lay.

On the farther side of the area of the "morai" stood a house or shed about forty feet long, ten broad in the middle, each end being narrower, and about ten feet high. This, which though much longer was lower than their common dwelling-places, we were informed was called "hemanaa." The entrance into it was at the middle of the side which was in the "morai." On the farther side of this house, opposite the entrance, stood two wooden images, cut out of one piece, with pedestals, in all about three feet high; neither very indifferently designed nor executed. These were said to be "Eatooa no Veheina," or representations of goddesses. On the head of one of them was a carved helmet not unlike those worn by the ancient warriors, and on that of the other a cylindrical cap, resembling the head-dress at Otaheite, called "tomou;" and both of them had pieces of cloth tied about the loins, and hanging a considerable way down. At the side of each was also a piece of carved wood, with bits of the cloth hung on them in the same manner; and between or before the pedestals lay a quantity of fern in a heap. It was obvious that this had been deposited there piece by piece and at different times; for there was of it in all states, from what was quite decayed to what was still fresh and green.

In the middle of the house, and before the two images, was an oblong space enclosed by a low edging of stone,

and covered with shreds of the cloth so often mentioned. This on inquiry we found was the grave of seven chiefs, whose names were enumerated, and the place was called Heneene. We had met already with so many striking instances of resemblance between the burying-place we were now visiting and those of islands we had lately come from in the South Pacific, that we had little doubt in our minds that the resemblance existed also in the ceremonies practised here, and particularly in the horrid one of offering human sacrifices. Our suspicions were too soon confirmed by direct evidence. For on coming out of the house, just on one side of the entrance, we saw a small square place, and another still less near it; and on asking what these were, our guide immediately informed us that in the one was buried a man who had been sacrificed; a "Taata ("Tanata" or "Tangata," in this country) taboo" ("tafoo," as here pronounced); and in the other a hog which had also been made an offering to the divinity. At a little distance from these, near the middle of the "morai," were three more of these square enclosed places, with two pieces of carved wood at each, and upon them a heap of fern. These we were told were the graves of three chiefs; and before them was an oblong enclosed space to which our conductor also gave the name of "Tangata-taboo;" telling us, so explicitly that we could not mistake his meaning, that three human sacrifices had been buried there, that is, one at the funeral of each chief. It was with most sincere concern that I could trace on such undoubted evidence the prevalence of these bloody rites throughout this immense ocean, amongst people disjoined by such a distance, and even ignorant of each other's existence, though so strongly marked as originally of the same nation. It was no small addition to this concern to reflect that every appearance led us to believe the barbarous practice was very general here. The island seemed to abound with such places of sacrifice as this which we were now visiting, and which appeared to be one of the most inconsiderable of them; being far less conspicuous than several others which we had seen as we sailed along the coast, and particularly than that on the opposite side of the water in this valley; the white "henananso," or pyramid, of which, we were now almost sure, derived its colour only from pieces of the consecrated cloth laid over it. In several parts within the enclosure of this burying-ground were planted trees of the *Cordia sebestina*, some of the *Morinda citrifolia*, and several plants of the "etee," or "jejee," or Tonga-taboo, with the leaves of which the "hemanaa was thatched;" and as I observed that this plant was not made use of in thatching their dwelling-houses, probably it is reserved entirely for religious purposes.

Our road to and from the "morai" which I have described lay through the plantations. The greatest part of the ground was quite flat, with ditches full of water intersecting different parts, and roads that seemed artificially raised to some height. The interspaces were in general planted with "taro," which grows here with great strength, as the fields are sunk below the common level so as to contain the water necessary to nourish the roots. This water probably comes from the same source which supplies the large pool from which we filled our casks. On the drier spaces were several spots where the cloth-mulberry was planted in regular rows, also growing vigorously, and kept very clean. The cocoa-trees were not in so thriving a state, and were all low; but the plantain-trees made a better appearance, though they were not large. In general, the trees round this village, and which were seen at many of those which we passed before we anchored, are the *Cordia sebestina*, but of a more diminutive size than the product of the southern isles. The greatest part of the village stands near the beach, and consists of above sixty houses there; but perhaps about forty more stand scattered about farther up the country towards the burying-place. . . .

At 7 o'clock on the 23d, a breeze of wind springing up at NE., I took

up the anchors with a view of removing the ship farther out. The moment that the last anchor was up, the wind veered to the E., which made it necessary to set all the sail we could in order to clear the shore; so that before we had tolerable sea-room we were driven some distance to leeward. We made a stretch off with a view to regain the road; but having very little wind, and a strong current against us, I found that this was not to be effected. I therefore despatched Messrs King and Williamson ashore with three boats for water, and to trade for refreshments. At the same time I sent an order to Captain Clerke to put to sea after me, if he should see that I could not recover the road. Being in hopes of finding one, or perhaps a harbour, at the west end of the island, I was the less anxious about getting back to my former station. But as I had sent the boats thither, we kept to windward as much as possible; notwithstanding which, at noon we were three leagues to leeward. As we drew near the west end of the island, we found the coast to round gradually to the north-east, without forming a creek or cove to shelter a vessel from the force of the swell which rolled in from the north, and broke upon the shore in a prodigious surf; so that all hopes of finding a harbour here vanished.

Several canoes came off in the morning, and followed us as we stood out to sea, bartering their roots and other articles. Being very averse to believe these people to be cannibals, notwithstanding the suspicious circumstance which had happened the day before, we took occasion now to make some more inquiries about this. A small wooden instrument, beset with sharks' teeth, had been purchased; and from its resemblance to the saw or knife used by the New Zealanders to disect the bodies of their enemies, it was suspected to have the same use here. One of the natives being asked about this, immediately gave the name of the instrument, and told us that it was used to cut out the fleshy part of the belly when any person was killed. This explained and confirmed the circumstance above mentioned of the person pointing to his belly. The man, however, from whom we had this information, being asked if his countrymen eat the part thus cut out, denied it strongly; but, upon the question being repeated, showed some degree of fear and swam to his canoe. Just before he reached it, he made signs as he had done before, expressive of the use of the instrument. And an old man, who sat foremost in the canoe, being then asked whether they ate the flesh, answered in the affirmative, and laughed, seemingly at the simplicity of such a question. He affirmed the fact on being asked again; and also said it was excellent food, or, as he expressed it, "savoury eating." At 7 o'clock in the evening the boats returned, with two tons of water, a few hogs, a quantity of plantains, and some roots. Mr King informed me that a great number of the inhabitants were at the watering or landing-place. He supposed that they had come from all parts of the island. They had brought with them a great many fine fat hogs to barter; but my people had not commodities with them equal to the purchase. This, however, was no great loss, for we had already got as many on board as we could well manage for immediate use; and wanting the materials we could not have salted them. Mr King also told me that a great deal of rain had fallen ashore, whereas out at sea we had only a few showers; and that the surf had run so high that it was with great difficulty our men landed and got back into the boats.

We had light airs and calms by turns, with showers of rain, all night; and at daybreak in the morning of the 24th we found that the currents had carried the ship to the NW. and N.; so that the west end of the island, upon which we had been, called Atooi by the natives, bore E. one league distant; another island, called Oreehoua, W. by S.; and the high land of a third island, called Oneeheow, from SW. by W. to WSW. Soon after, a breeze sprang up at N.; and as I

expected that this would bring the Discovery to sea, I steered for Oneeheow, in order to take a nearer view of it, and to anchor there if I should find a convenient place. I continued to steer for it till past 11 o'clock, at which time we were about two leagues from it. But not seeing the Discovery, and being doubtful whether they could see us, I was fearful lest some ill consequence might attend our separating so far. I therefore gave up the design of visiting Oneeheow for the present, and stood back to Atooi, with an intent to anchor again in the road to complete our water. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the northerly wind died away, and was succeeded by variable light airs and calms that continued till eleven at night, with which we stretched to the SE. till daybreak in the morning of the 25th, when we tacked and stood in for Atooi road, which bore about N. from us; and soon after we were joined by the Discovery. We fetched in with the land about two leagues to leeward of the road, which, though so near, we never could recover; for what we gained at one time we lost at another, so that by the morning of the 29th the currents had carried us westward within three leagues of Oneeheow. Being tired with plying so unsuccessfully, I gave up all thoughts of getting back to Atooi, and came to the resolution of trying whether we could not procure what we wanted at the other island, which was within our reach. With this view I sent the master in a boat to sound the coast, to look out for a landing-place, and, if he should find one, to examine if fresh water could be conveniently got in its neighbourhood. To give him time to execute his commission, we followed under an easy sail with the ships. At 10 o'clock the master returned, and reported that he had landed in one place but could find no fresh water; and that there was anchorage all along the coast. Seeing a village a little farther to leeward, and some of the islanders who had come off to the ships informing us that fresh water might be got there, I ran down and came to an anchor before it, in twenty-six fathoms water, about three-quarters of a mile from the shore.

Six or seven canoes had come off to us before we anchored, bringing some small pigs and potatoes, and a good many yams and mats. The people in them resembled those of Atooi, and seemed to be equally well acquainted with the use of iron, which they asked for also by the names of "hamaite" and "toe;" parting readily with all their commodities for pieces of this precious metal. Several more canoes soon reached the ships after they had anchored, but the natives in these seemed to have no other object than to pay us a formal visit. Many of them came readily on board, crouching down upon the deck, and not quitting that humble posture till they were desired to get up. They had brought several females with them, who remained alongside in the canoes, behaving with far less modesty than their countrywomen of Atooi; and at times all joining in a song not remarkable for its melody, though performed in very exact concert by beating time upon their breasts with their hands. The men who had come on board did not stay long; and before they departed some of them requested our permission to lay down on the deck locks of their hair. These visitors furnished us with an opportunity of agitating again this day the curious inquiry whether they were cannibals, and the subject did not take its rise from any questions of ours, but from a circumstance that seemed to remove all ambiguity. One of the islanders who wanted to get in at the gun-room port was refused, and at the same time asked whether, if he should come in, we would kill and eat him, accompanying this question with signs so expressive that there could be no doubt about his meaning. This gave a proper opening to retort the question as to this practice; and a person behind the other in the canoe, who paid great attention to what was passing, immediately answered that if we were killed on shore they would certainly eat us. He spoke with so

little emotion that it appeared plainly to be his meaning that they would not destroy us for that purpose, but that their eating us would be the consequence of our being at enmity with them. I have availed myself of Mr Anderson's collections for the decision of this matter, and I am sorry to say that I cannot see the least reason to hesitate in pronouncing it to be certain that the horrid banquet of human flesh is as much relished here amidst plenty as it is in New Zealand.

In the afternoon I sent Lieutenant Gore with three armed boats to look for the most convenient landing-place, and when on shore to search for fresh water. In the evening he returned, having landed at the village above mentioned, and acquainted me that he had been conducted to a well half-a-mile up the country; but by his account, the quantity of water it contained was too inconsiderable for our purpose, and the road leading to it exceedingly bad. On the 30th I sent Mr Gore ashore again, with a guard of marines and a party, to trade with the natives for refreshments. I intended to have followed soon after, and went from the ship with that design. But the surf had increased so much by this time that I was fearful, if I got ashore, I should not be able to get off again. This really happened to our people who had landed with Mr Gore, the communication between them and the ships by our own boats being soon stopped. In the evening they made a signal for the boats, which were sent accordingly; and not long after they returned with a few yams and some salt. A tolerable quantity of both had been procured in the course of the day, but the surf was so great that the greatest part of both these articles had been lost in conveying them to the boats. The officer and twenty men, deterred by the danger of coming off, were left ashore all night; and by this unfortunate circumstance the very thing happened which, as I have already mentioned, I wished so heartily to prevent, and vainly imagined I had effectually guarded against. The violence of the surf, which our own boats could not act against, did not hinder the natives from coming off to the ships in their canoes. They brought refreshments with them, which were purchased in exchange for nails and pieces of iron hoops; and I distributed a good many pieces of ribbon and some buttons as bracelets amongst the women in the canoes. One of the men had the figure of a lizard punctured upon his breast, and upon those of others were the figures of men badly imitated. These visitors informed us that there was no chief, or "Hairee," of this island, but that it was subject to Teneoooneoo, a chief of Atooi; which island, they said, was not governed by a single chief, but that there were many to whom they paid the honour of "moe," or prostration; and among others they named Otaeaio and Terarotoa. Amongst other things which these people now brought off was a small drum, almost like those of Otaheite.

About 10 or 11 o'clock at night the wind veered to the south, and the sky seemed to forebode a storm. With such appearances, thinking that we were rather too near the shore, I ordered the anchors to be taken up; and having carried the ships into forty-two fathoms, came to again in that safer station. The precaution, however, proved to be unnecessary, for the wind soon after veered to NNE., from which quarter it blew a fresh gale, with squalls, attended with very heavy showers of rain. This weather continued all the next day, and the sea ran so high that we had no manner of communication with our party on shore; and even the natives themselves durst not venture out to the ships in their canoes. In the evening I sent the master in a boat up to the south-east head or point of the island to try if he could land under it. He returned with a favourable report; but it was too late now to send for our party till the next morning, and thus they had another night to improve their intercourse with the natives. Encouraged by the master's report, I sent a boat to the south-east point as soon as daylight returned

with an order to Mr Gore if he could not embark his people from the spot where they now were to march them up to the point. As the boat could not get to the beach, one of the crew swam ashore and carried the order. On the return of the boat, I went myself with the pinnace and launch up to the point to bring the party on board, taking with me a ram-goat and two ewes, a boar and sow pig of the English breed, and the seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions, being very desirous of benefiting these poor people by furnishing them with some additional articles of food. I landed with the greatest ease under the west side of the point, and found my party already there, with some of the natives in company. To one of them whom Mr Gore had observed assuming some command over the rest, I gave the goats, pigs, and seeds. I should have left these well-intended presents at Atooi had we not been so unexpectedly driven from it.

The habitations of the natives were thinly scattered about, and it was supposed that there could not be more than 500 people upon the island, as the greatest part were seen at the marketing-place of our party, and few found about the houses by those who walked up the country. They had an opportunity of observing the method of living amongst the natives, and it appeared to be decent and cleanly. They did not, however, see any instance of the men and women eating together; and the latter seemed generally associated in companies by themselves. It was found that they burned here the oily nuts of the "dooe dooe" for lights in the night, as at Otaheite; and that they baked their hogs in ovens, but, contrary to the practice of the Society and Friendly Islands, split their carcases through their whole length. They met with a positive proof of the existence of the "taboo" (or, as they pronounce it, the "tafoo"), for one woman fed another who was under that interdiction. They also observed some other mysterious ceremonies, one of which was performed by a woman, who took a small pig and threw it into the surf, till it was drowned, and then tied up a bundle of wood, which she also disposed of in the same manner. The same woman at another time beat with a stick upon a man's shoulders, who sat down for that purpose. A particular veneration seemed to be paid here to owls, which they have very tame; and it was observed to be a pretty general practice amongst them to pull out one of their teeth,[1] for which odd custom, when asked the reason, the only answer that could be got was, that it was "teeha," which was also the reason assigned for another of their practices, the giving a lock of their hair.

After the water-casks had been filled and conveyed into the boat, and we had purchased from the natives a few roots, a little salt, and some salted fish, I returned on board with all the people, intending to visit the island the next day. But about 7 o'clock in the evening the anchor of the Resolution started, and she drove off the bank. As we had a whole cable out, it was some time before the anchor was at the bows, and then we had the launch to hoist up alongside before we could make sail. By this unlucky accident we found ourselves at daybreak next morning three leagues to the leeward of our last station; and foreseeing that it would require more time to recover it than I chose to spend, I made the signal for the Discovery to weigh and join us. This was done

[1] It is very remarkable that in this custom, which one would think is so unnatural as not to be adopted by two different tribes originally unconnected, the people of this island, and Dampier's natives on the west side of New Holland, at such an immense distance should be found to agree.—*Note in Original Edition.* Dampier, in his Sixteenth Chapter (*ante*, p. 282), says of the New Hollanders: "The two fore teeth of their upper jaw are wanting in all of them, men and women, old and young; whether they draw them out, I know not."

about noon, and we immediately stood away to the northward in prosecution of our voyage. Thus after spending more time about these islands than was necessary to have answered all our purposes, we were obliged to leave them before we had completed our water and got from them such a quantity of refreshments as their inhabitants were both able and willing to have supplied us with. But as it was, our ship procured from them provisions sufficient for three weeks at least; and Captain Clerke, more fortunate than us, got of their vegetable productions a supply that lasted his people upward of two months. The observations I was enabled to make, combined with those of Mr Anderson, who was a very useful assistant on all such occasions, will furnish materials for the next Chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

It is worthy of observation that the islands in the Pacific Ocean which our late voyages have added to the geography of the globe have been generally found lying in groups or clusters, the single intermediate islands as yet discovered being few in proportion to the others, though probably there are many more of them still unknown, which serve as steps between the several clusters. Of what number this newly discovered archipelago consists must be left for future investigation. We saw five of them, whose names, as given to us by the natives, are Woahoo, Atooi, Oneeheow, Oreehoua, and Tahoora. The last is a small elevated island, lying four or five leagues from the south-east point of Oneeheow, in the direction of S. 69° W. We were told that it abounds with birds, which are its only inhabitants. We also got some information of the existence of a low uninhabited island in the neighbourhood, whose name is Tammata-papa. Besides these six, which we can distinguish by their names, it appeared that the inhabitants of those with whom we had intercourse were acquainted with some other islands both to the eastward and westward. I named the whole group the Sandwich Islands, in honour of the Earl of Sandwich. Those that I saw are situated between the Latitude of 21° 30′ and 22° 15′ N., and between the Longitude of 199° 20′ and 201° 30′ E.

Of Woahoo, the most easterly of these islands seen by us, which lies in the Latitude of 21° 36′, we could get no other intelligence but that it is high land and is inhabited.

We had opportunities of knowing some particulars about Oneeheow, which have been mentioned already. It lies several leagues to the westward of our anchoring-place at Atooi, and is not above fifteen leagues in circuit. Its chief vegetable produce is yams, if we may judge from what was brought to us by the natives. They have salt, which they call "patai," and is produced in salt-ponds. With it they cure both fish and pork, and some salt fish which we got from them kept very well and were found to be very good. This island is mostly low land, except the part facing Atooi, which rises directly from the sea to a good height, as does also the south-east point of it, which terminates in a round hill. It was on the west side of this point where our ships anchored.

Of Oreehoua we know nothing more than that it is a small elevated island lying close to the north side of Oneeheow.

Atooi, which is the largest, being the principal scene of our operations, I shall now proceed to lay before my readers what information I was able to collect about it, either from actual observation while on shore, or from conversation with its inhabitants, who were perpetually on board the ships while we lay at anchor, and who in general could be tolerably well understood by those of us who had acquired an acquaintance with the dialects of the South Pacific islands. It is, however, to be regretted that we should have been obliged so soon to leave a place which, as far as our opportuni-

ties of knowing reached, seemed to be highly worthy of a more accurate examination.

Atooi, from what we saw of it, is at least ten leagues in length from east to west, from whence its circuit may nearly be guessed, though it appears to be much broader at the east than at the west point, if we may judge from the double range of hills which appeared there. The road or anchoring-place which we occupied is on the south-west side of the island, about six miles from the west end, before a village which has the name of Wymoa.

The land, as to its general appearance, does not in the least resemble any of the islands we have hitherto visited within the tropic, on the south side of the Equator, if we except its hills near the centre, which are high, but slope gently to the sea or lower lands. Though it be destitute of the delightful borders of Otaheite, and of the luxuriant plains of Tongataboo, covered with trees, which at once afford a friendly shelter from the scorching sun, and an enchanting prospect to the eye, and food for the natives, which may be truly said to drop from the trees into their mouths, without the laborious task of rearing; though I say Atooi be destitute of these advantages, its possessing a greater quantity of gently-rising land renders it in some measure superior to the above favourite islands, as being more capable of improvement. The height of the land within, the quantity of clouds which we saw, during the whole time we stayed, hanging over it, and frequently on the other parts, seems to put it beyond all doubt that there is a sufficient supply of water, and that there are some running streams which we did not see, especially in the deep valleys, at the entrance of which the villages commonly stand. From the wooded part to the sea, the ground is covered with an excellent sort of grass, about two feet high, which grows sometimes in tufts, and, though not very thick at the place where we were, seemed capable of being converted into plentiful crops of fine hay. But not even a shrub grows naturally on this extensive space.

In the break, or narrow valley, through which we had our road to the "morai," the soil is of a brownish black colour, somewhat loose; but as we advanced upon the high ground it changed to a reddish brown, more stiff and clayey, though at this time brittle from its dryness. It is most probably the same all over the cultivated parts; for what adhered to most of the potatoes bought by us, which no doubt came from very different spots, was of this sort. Its quality, however, may be better understood from its products than from its appearance. For the vale, or moist ground, produces "taro" of a much larger size than any we had ever seen; and the higher ground furnishes sweet potatoes, that often weigh ten, and sometimes twelve or fourteen pounds, very few being under two or three.

The temperature of the climate may be easily guessed from the situation of the island. Were we to judge of it from our experience, it might be said to be very variable; for, according to the generally received opinion, it was now the season of the year when the weather is supposed to be most settled, the sun being at his greatest annual distance. The heat was at this time very moderate; and few of those inconveniences which many tropical countries are subject to, either from heat or moisture, seem to be experienced here, as the habitations of the natives are quite close; and they salt both fish and pork, which keep well, contrary to what has usually been observed to be the case when this operation is attempted in hot countries. Neither did we find any dews of consequence, which may in some measure be accounted for by the lower part of the country being destitute of trees. . . .

The inhabitants are of a middling stature, firmly made, with some exceptions neither remarkable for a beautiful shape, nor for striking features, which rather express an openness and good-nature, than a

keen, intelligent disposition. Their visage, especially amongst the women, is sometimes round, but others have it long; nor can we say that they are distinguished as a nation by any general cast of countenance. Their colour is nearly of a nut brown; and it may be difficult to make a nearer comparison, if we take in all the different hues of that colour; but some individuals are darker. The women have been already mentioned as being little more delicate than the men in their formation; and I may say that, with a very few exceptions, they have little claim to those peculiarities that distinguish the sex in other countries. There is, indeed, a more remarkable equality in the size, colour, and figure of both sexes than in most places I have visited. However, upon the whole, they are far from being ugly, and appear to have few natural deformities of any kind. Their skin is not very soft nor shining, perhaps for want of oiling, which is practised at the Southern Islands; but their eyes and teeth are in general very tolerable. The hair, for the greatest part, is straight, though in some frizzling; and though its natural colour be commonly black, it is stained as at the Friendly and other islands. We saw but few instances of corpulence, and these oftener among the women than the men; but it was chiefly amongst the latter that personal defects were observed, though, if any of them can claim a share of beauty, it was most conspicuous amongst the young men. They are vigorous, active, and most expert swimmers, leaving their canoes upon the most trifling occasion, diving under them, and swimming to others, though at a great distance. It was very common to see women, with infants at the breast, when the surf was so high that they could not land in the canoes, leap overboard, and, without endangering their little ones, swim to the shore through a sea that looked dreadful.

They seem to be blest with a frank, cheerful disposition; and were I to draw any comparisons, I should say that they are equally free from the fickle levity which distinguishes the natives of Otaheite, and the sedate cast observable amongst many of those of Tongataboo. They seem to live very sociably in their intercourse with one another; and except the propensity to thieving, which seems innate in most of the people we have visited in this ocean, they were exceedingly friendly to us. And it does their sensibility no little credit, without flattering ourselves, that when they saw the various articles of our European manufacture, they could not help expressing their surprise, by a mixture of joy and concern that seemed to apply the case as a lesson of humility to themselves; and on all occasions they appeared deeply impressed with a consciousness of their own inferiority, a behaviour which equally exempts their national character from the preposterous pride of the more polished Japanese, and of the ruder Greenlander. It was a pleasure to observe with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office, thus sufficiently distinguishing themselves from those savages, who esteem a wife and child as things rather necessary than desirable or worthy of their notice.

From the numbers which we saw collected at every village as we sailed past, it may be supposed that the inhabitants of this island are pretty numerous. Any computation that we make can be only conjectural. But, that some notion may be formed which shall not greatly err on either side, I should suppose that, including the straggling houses there might be upon the whole island, sixty such villages as that before which we anchored; and that, allowing five persons to each house, there would be in every village 500, or 30,000 upon the island. This number is certainly not exaggerated, for we had sometimes 3000 persons at least upon the beach, when it could not be supposed that above a tenth part of the inhabitants were present.

The common dress both of the

women and of the men has been already described. The first have often much larger pieces of cloth wrapped round them, reaching from just below the breasts to the hams, or lower; and several were seen with pieces thrown loosely about the shoulders, which covered the greatest part of the body; but the children, when very young, are quite naked. They wear nothing upon the head, but the hair in both sexes is cut in different forms; and the general fashion, especially among the women, is to have it long before, and short behind. The men often had it cut or shaved on each side, in such a manner that the remaining part in some measure resembles the crest of their caps or helmets formerly described. Both sexes, however, seem very careless about their hair, and have nothing like combs to dress it with. Instances of wearing it in a singular manner were sometimes met with among the men, who twist it into a number of separate parcels, like the tails of a wig, each about the thickness of a finger, though the greatest part of these, which are so long that they reach far down the back, we observed were artificially fixed upon the head over their own hair.

It is remarkable that, contrary to the general practice of the islands we had hitherto discovered in the Pacific Ocean, the people of the Sandwich Islands have not their ears perforated, nor have they the least idea of wearing ornaments in them. Both sexes, nevertheless, adorn themselves with necklaces made of bunches of small black cord, like our hat-string, often above a hundred-fold, exactly like those of Wateeoo, only that instead of the two little balls, on the middle before, they fix a small bit of wood, stone, or shell, about two inches long, with a broad hook, turning forward at its lower part, well polished. They have likewise necklaces of many strings of very small shells, or of the dried flowers of the Indian mallow; and sometimes a small human image of bone, about three inches long, neatly polished, is hung round the neck. The women also wear bracelets of a single shell, pieces of black wood with bits of ivory interspersed, and well polished, fixed by a string drawn very close through them; or others of hogs' teeth, laid parallel to each other, with the concave part outward, and the points cut off, fastened together as the former; some of which, made only of large boars' tusks, are very elegant. The men sometimes wear plumes of the tropic birds' feathers stuck in their heads, or those of cocks fastened round neat polished sticks two feet long, commonly decorated at the lower part with "oora;" and, for the same purpose, the skin of a white dog's tail is sewed over a stick, with its tuft at the end. They also frequently wear on the head a kind of ornament of a finger's thickness or more, covered with red and yellow feathers, curiously varied, and tied behind; and on the arm, above the elbow, a kind of broad shell-work grounded upon net-work. The men are frequently punctured, though not in any particular part, as the Otaheiteans and those of Tongataboo. Sometimes there are a few marks upon their hands or arms, and near the groin; but frequently we could observe none at all, though a few individuals had more of this sort of ornament than we had usually seen at other places, and ingeniously executed in a great variety of lines and figures on the arms and forepart of the body, on which latter some of them had the figure of the "taame," or breastplate of Otaheite, though we did not meet with the thing itself amongst them.

Though they seem to have adopted the mode of living in villages, there is no appearance of defence or fortification near any of them; and the houses are scattered about without any order either with respect to their distances from each other, or their position in any particular direction. Neither is there any proportion as to their size; some being large and commodious, from forty to fifty feet long and twenty or thirty broad, while others of them are mere hovels. Their

figure is not unlike oblong corn or hay stacks; or perhaps a better idea may be conceived of them if we suppose the roof of a barn placed on the ground in such a manner as to form a high, acute ridge, with two very low sides hardly discernible at a distance. The gable at each end, corresponding to the sides, makes these habitations perfectly close all round; and they are well thatched with long grass, which is laid on slender poles, disposed with some regularity. The entrance is made indifferently in the end or side, and is an oblong hole so low that one must rather creep than walk in, and is often shut up by a board of planks fastened together, which serves as a door, but having no hinges, must be removed occasionally. No light enters the house but by this opening; and though such close habitations may afford a comfortable retreat in bad weather, they seem but ill-adapted to the warmth of the climate. They are, however, kept remarkably clean, and their floors are covered with a large quantity of dried grass, over which they spread mats to sit and sleep upon. At one end stands a kind of bench about three feet high, on which their household utensils are placed. The catalogue is not long. It consists of gourd-shells, which they convert into vessels that serve as bottles to hold water, and as baskets to contain their victuals and other things, with covers of the same; and of a few wooden bowls and trenchers of different sizes. Judging from what we saw growing, and from what was brought to market, there can be no doubt that the greatest part of their vegetable food consists of sweet potatoes, "taro," and plantains, and that bread-fruit and yams are rather to be esteemed rarities. Of animal food they can be in no want, as they have abundance of hogs, which run without restraint about the houses; and if they eat dogs, which is not improbable, their stock of these seemed to be very considerable. The great number of fishing-hooks found among them showed that they derive no inconsiderable supply of animal food from the sea. But it should seem, from their practice of salting fish, that the openness of their coast often interrupts the business of catching them; as it may be naturally supposed that no set of people would ever think of preserving quantities of food artificially if they could depend upon a daily regular supply of it in its fresh state. This sort of reasoning, however, will not account for their custom of salting their pork as well as their fish, which are preserved in gourd-shells. The salt, of which they use a great quantity for this purpose, is of a red colour, not very coarse, and seems to be much the same with what our stragglers found at Christmas Island. It has its colour, doubtless, from a mixture of the mud at the bottom of the part where it is formed; for some of it that had adhered in lumps was of a sufficient whiteness and purity.

They bake their vegetable food with heated stones as at the Southern Islands; and from the vast quantity which we saw dressed at one time, we suspected that the whole village, or at least a considerable number of people, joined in the use of a common oven. We did not see them dress any animal food at this island, but Mr Gore's party, as already mentioned, had an opportunity of satisfying themselves that it was dressed in Oneeheow in the same sort of ovens, which leaves no doubt of this being also the practice in Atooi, especially as we met with no utensil there that could be applied to the purpose of stewing or boiling. The only artificial dish we met with was a "taro" pudding, which, though a disagreeable mess from its sourness, was greedily devoured by the natives. They eat off a kind of wooden plates or trenchers; and the women, as far as we could judge from one instance, if restrained from feeding at the same dish with the men, as at Otaheite, are at least permitted to eat in the same place near them.

Their amusements seem pretty various, for during our stay several were

discovered. The dances at which they use the feathered cloaks and caps were not seen; but from the motions which they made with their hands on other occasions when they sang, we could form some judgment that they are in some degree at least similar to those we had met with at the Southern Islands, though not executed so skilfully. Neither had they amongst them either flutes or reeds; and the only two musical instruments which we observed were of an exceedingly rude kind. One of them does not produce a melody exceeding that of a child's rattle. It consists of what may be called a conic cap inverted, but scarcely hollowed at the base above a foot high, made of a coarse sedge-like plant; the upper part of which and the edges are ornamented with beautiful red feathers, and to the point or lower part is fixed a gourd-shell larger than the fist. Into this is put something to rattle, which is done by holding the instrument by the small part, and shaking or rather moving it from place to place briskly, either to different sides, or backward and forward just before the face, striking the breast with the other hand at the same time. The other musical instrument (if either of them deserve that name) was a hollow vessel of wood like a platter, combined with the use of two sticks, on which one of our gentlemen saw a man performing. He held one of the sticks, about two feet long, as we do a fiddle, with one hand, and struck it with the other, which was smaller and resembled a drumstick, in a quicker or slower measure; at the same time beating with his foot upon the hollow vessel that lay inverted upon the ground, and thus producing a tune that was by no means disagreeable. This music was accompanied by the vocal performance of some women, whose song had a pleasing and tender effect. We observed great numbers of small polished rods about four or five feet long, somewhat thicker than the rammer of a musket, with a tuft of long white dogs' hair fixed on the small end. These are probably used in their diversions. We saw a person take one of them in his hand, and, holding it up, give a smart stroke till he brought it into a horizontal position, striking with the foot on the same side upon the ground, and with his other hand beating his breast at the same time. They play at bowls with pieces of whetstone of about a pound weight, shaped somewhat like a small cheese, but rounded at the sides and edges, which are very nicely polished; and they have other bowls of the same sort, made of a heavy reddish brown clay, neatly glazed over with a composition of the same colour, or of a coarse, dark grey slate. They also use, in the manner that we throw quoits, small, flat, rounded pieces of the writing slate, of the diameter of the bowls, but scarcely a quarter of an inch thick, also well polished. From these circumstances one would be induced to think that their games are rather trials of skill than of strength.

In everything manufactured by these people there appears to be an uncommon degree of neatness and ingenuity. Their cloth, which is the principal manufacture, is made from the *Morus papyrifera*, and doubtless in the same manner as at Otaheite and Tongataboo; for we bought some of the grooved sticks with which it is beaten. Its texture, however, though thicker, is rather inferior to that of the cloth of either of the other places; but in colouring or staining it the people of Atooi display a superiority of taste, by the endless variation of figures which they execute. One would suppose, on seeing a number of their pieces, that they had borrowed their patterns from some mercer's shop in which the most elegant productions of China and Europe are collected; besides some original patterns of their own. Their colours, indeed, except the red, are not very bright; but the regularity of the figures and stripes is truly surprising, for, as far as we knew, they have nothing like stamps or prints to make the impressions. In what manner they produce their colours we had not opportunities

of learning; but besides the party-coloured sorts they have some pieces of plain white cloth, and others of a single colour, particularly dark brown and light blue. In general, the pieces which they brought to us were about two feet broad, and four or five feet long, being the form and quantity that they use for their common dress or "maro;" and even these we sometimes found were composed of pieces sewed together, an art which we did not find to the southward, but is strongly though not very neatly performed here. There is also a particular sort that is thin, much resembling oil-cloth; and which is actually either oiled or soaked in some kind of varnish, and seems to resist the action of water pretty well. They fabricate a great many white mats, which are strong, with many red stripes, rhombuses, and other figures interwoven on one side, and often pretty large. These, probably, make a part of their dress occasionally; for they put them on their backs when they offered them for sale. But they make others coarser, plain and strong, which they spread over their floors to sleep upon.

They stain their gourd-shells prettily with undulated lines, triangles, and other figures of a black colour, instances of which we saw practised at New Zealand. And they seem to possess the art of varnishing; for some of these stained gourd-shells are covered with a kind of lacquer; and on other occasions they use a strong size, or gluey substance, to fasten their things together. Their wooden dishes and bowls, out of which they drink their "ava," are of the "etooa" tree, or *cordia*, as neat as if made in our turning-lathe, and perhaps better polished. And amongst their articles of handicraft may be reckoned small square fans of mat or wicker-work, with handles tapering from them of the same, or of wood, which are neatly wrought with small cords of hair and fibres of the cocoa-nut coir intermixed. The great variety of fishing-hooks are ingeniously made; some of bone, others of wood pointed with bone, and many of pearl shell. Of the last, some are like a sort that we saw at Tongataboo; and others simply curved, as the common sort at Otaheite, as well as the wooden ones. The bones are mostly small, and composed of two pieces; and all the different sorts have a barb, either on the inside like ours, or on the outside opposite the same part; but others have both, the outer one being farthest from the point. Of this last sort one was procured, nine inches long, of a single piece of bone, which doubtless belonged to some large fish. The elegant form and polish of this could not certainly be outdone by any European artist, even if he should add all his knowledge in design to the number and convenience of his tools. They polish their stones by constant friction with pumice-stone in water; and such of their working instruments or tools as I saw resembled those of the Southern Islands. Their hatchets, or rather adzes, were exactly of the same pattern, and either made of the same sort of blackish stone or of a clay-coloured one. They have also little instruments made of a single shark's tooth, some of which are fixed to the fore-part of a dog's jaw-bone, and others to a thin wooden handle of the same shape; and at the other end there is a bit of string fastened through a small perforation. These serve as knives occasionally, and are perhaps used in carving.

The only iron tools, or rather bits of iron, seen amongst them, and which they had before our arrival, were a piece of iron hoop about two inches long, fitted into a wooden handle;[1] and another edge-tool which our people guessed to be made of the point of a broad-sword. Their having the actual possession of these, and their so generally knowing the use of this metal, inclined some on board to think that we had not been the first European visitors of these islands. But it seems to me that the very great surprise expressed by them on seeing our ships, and their total ignorance of the use of

[1] Captain King purchased this, and brought it to England.

fire-arms, cannot be reconciled with such a notion. There are many ways by which such people may get pieces of iron, or acquire the knowledge of the existence of such a metal, without ever having had an immediate connection with nations that use it. It can hardly be doubted that it was unknown to all the inhabitants of this sea before Magellan led the way into it; for no discoverer, immediately after his voyage, ever found any of this metal in their possession, though in the course of our late voyages it has been observed that the use of it was known at several islands to which no former European ships had ever, as far as we know, found their way. At all the places where Mendana[1] touched in his two voyages, it must have been seen and left; and this would extend the knowledge of it, no doubt, to all the various islands with which those whom he had visited had any immediate intercourse. It might even be carried farther; and where specimens of this article could not be procured, descriptions might in some measure serve to make it known when afterward seen. The next voyage to the southward of the Line in which any intercourse was had with the natives of this ocean was that of Quiros, who landed at Sagittaria, the Island of Handsome People, and Tierra del Espiritu Santo,[2] at all which places, and at those with whom they had any communication, it must of consequence have been made known. To him succeeded in this navigation Le Maire and Schouten,[3] whose connections with the natives commenced much farther to the eastward, and ended at Cocos and Horn Islands. It was not surprising that when I visited Tongataboo in 1773 I should find a bit of iron there, as we knew that Tasman had visited it before me;[4] but let us suppose that he had never discovered the Friendly Islands, our finding iron amongst them would have occasioned much speculation, though we have mentioned before[5] the method by which they had gained a renewal of their knowledge of this metal, which confirms my hypothesis. For Neeootabootaboo, or Boscawen's Island, where Captain Wallis's ships left it, and from whence Poulaho received it, lies some degrees to the north-west of Tongataboo. It is well known that Roggewein lost one of his ships on the Pernicious Islands,[6] which from their situation are probably not unknown to, though not frequently visited by, the inhabitants of Otaheite and the Society Islands. It is equally certain that these last people had a knowledge of iron, and purchased it with the greatest avidity, when Captain Wallis discovered Otaheite; and this knowledge could only have been acquired through the mediation of those neighbouring islands where it had been originally left. Indeed they acknowledge that this was actually the case; and they have told us since that they held it in such estimation before Captain Wallis's arrival, that a chief of Otaheite, who had got two nails into his possession, received no small emolument by letting out the use of these to his neighbours for the purpose of boring holes when their own methods failed or were thought too tedious. The men of the Society

[1] An enterprising Spanish navigator, who in the latter half of the sixteenth century undertook two voyages, in the first of which he discovered the Salomon Islands, and in the second the Marquesas and Queen Charlotte's Islands, &c.

[2] Quiros sailed from Callao at the end of 1605, in command of four ships, to plant a Spanish colony in Santa Cruz, discovered by Mendana. Sagittaria is supposed to be Otaheite; Tierra del Espiritu Santo, which Quiros sanguinely mistook for part of the long-sought Southern Continent, is the group now better known by the name Cook gave it, that of New Hebrides.

[3] 1615-1617.

[4] In 1643.

[5] *Ante*, Book II., Chapter X., p. 623.

[6] Believed to be the Palliser's Isles of English maps. The wreck happened in 1722.

Islands, whom we found at Wateeoo, had been driven thither long after the knowledge and use of iron had been introduced amongst their countrymen; and though probably they had no specimen of it with them, they would naturally and with ease communicate at that island their knowledge of this valuable material by description. From the people of Wateeoo, again, those of Hervey's Island might derive that desire to possess some of it, of which we had proofs during our short intercourse with them. . . .

The very short and imperfect intercourse which we had with the natives put it out of our power to form any accurate judgment of the mode of government established amongst them, but from the general resemblance of customs, and particularly from what we observed of the honours paid to their chiefs, it seems reasonable to believe that it is of the same nature with that which prevails throughout all the islands we had hitherto visited, and probably their wars amongst themselves are equally frequent. This indeed, might be inferred from the number of weapons which we found them possessed of, and from the excellent order these were kept in. But we had direct proof of the fact from their own confession, and as we understood these wars are between the different districts of their own island, as well as between it and their neighbours at Oneeheow and Orrehoua. We need scarcely assign any other cause besides this to account for the appearance, already mentioned, of their population bearing no proportion to the extent of their ground capable of cultivation.

Besides their spears or lances, made of a fine chesnut-coloured wood beautifully polished, some of which are barbed at one end and flattened to a point at the other, they have a sort of weapon which we had never seen before, and not mentioned by any navigator as used by the natives of the South Sea. It is somewhat like a dagger, in general about a foot and a half long, sharpened at one or both ends, and secured to the hand by a string. Its use is to stab at close fight, and it seems well adapted to the purpose. Some of these may be called double daggers, having a handle in the middle, with which they are better enabled to strike different ways. They have also bows and arrows; but both from their apparent scarcity and their slender make it may almost be presumed that they never use them in battle. The knife or saw formerly mentioned, with which they dissect the dead bodies, may also be ranked amongst their weapons, as they both strike and cut with it when closely engaged. It is a small flat wooden instrument of an oblong shape, about a foot long, rounded at the corners, with a handle almost like one sort of the "patoos" of New Zealand; but its edges are entirely surrounded with sharks' teeth strongly fixed to it, and pointing outward, having commonly a hole in the handle through which passes a long string which is wrapped several times round the wrist. We also suspected that they use slings on some occasions; for we got some pieces of the *hæmatites* or blood-stone, artificially made of an oval shape, divided longitudinally, with a narrow groove in the middle of the convex part. To this the person who had one of them applied a cord of no great thickness, but would not part with it, though he had no objection to part with the stone; which must prove fatal when thrown with any force as it weighed a pound. We likewise saw some oval pieces of whetstone well polished, but somewhat pointed toward each end, nearly resembling in shape some stones which we had seen at New Caledonia in 1774, and used there in their slings.

What we could learn of their religious institutions, and the manner of disposing of their dead, which may properly be considered as closely connected, has been already mentioned. And as nothing more strongly points out the affinity between the manners of these people and of the Friendly and Society Islands, I must just mention some other circumstances to

place this in a strong point of view; and at the same time to show how a few of the infinite modifications of which a few leading principles are capable, may distinguish any particular nation. The people of Tongataboo inter their dead in a very decent manner, and they also inter their human sacrifices; but they do not offer or expose any other animal or even vegetable to their gods, as far as we know. Those of Otaheite do not inter their dead, but expose them to waste by time and putrefaction though the bones are afterward buried; and as this is the case, it is very remarkable that they should inter the entire bodies of their human sacrifices. They also offer other animals and vegetables to their gods, but are by no means attentive to the state of the sacred places where those solemn rites are performed; most of their "morais" being in a ruinous condition and bearing evident marks of neglect. The people of Atooi, again, inter both their common dead and human sacrifices as at Tongataboo; but they resemble those of Otaheite in the slovenly state of their religious places, and in offering vegetables and animals to their gods. The "taboo" also prevails in Atooi in its full extent, and seemingly with much more rigour than even at Tongataboo. For the people here always asked, with great eagerness and signs of fear to offend, whether any particular thing which they desired to see, or we were unwilling to show, was "taboo," or, as they pronounced the word, "tafoo." The "maia raa," or forbidden articles, at the Society Islands, though doubtless the same thing, did not seem to be so strictly observed by them, except with respect to the dead, about whom we thought them more superstitious than any of the others were. But these are circumstances with which we are not as yet sufficiently acquainted to be decisive about; and I shall only just observe, to show the similitude in other matters connected with religion, that the priests or "tahounas" here, are as numerous as at the other islands, if we may judge from our being able, during our stay, to distinguish several saying their "poore" or prayer.

But whatever resemblance we might discover, in the general manners of the people of Atooi, to those of Otaheite, these of course were less striking than the coincidence of language. Indeed, the languages of both places may be said to be almost word for word the same. It is true that we sometimes remarked particular words to be pronounced exactly as we had found at New Zealand and the Friendly Islands; but though all the four dialects are indisputably the same, these people in general have neither the strong guttural pronunciation of the former, nor a less degree of it which also distinguishes the latter; and they have not only adopted the soft mode of the Otaheiteans in avoiding harsh sounds, but the whole idiom of their language, using not only the same affixes and suffixes to their words, but the same measure and cadence in their songs, though in a manner somewhat less agreeable. There seems indeed, at first hearing, some disagreement to the ear of a stranger; but it ought to be considered that the people of Otaheite, from their frequent connections with the English, had learned in some measure to adapt themselves to our scanty knowledge of their language, by using not only the most common but even corrupted expressions in conversation with us; whereas when they conversed among themselves, and used the several parts necessary to propriety of speech, they were scarcely at all understood by those amongst us who had made the greatest proficiency in their vocabulary.

How shall we account for this nation's having spread itself in so many detached islands so widely disjoined from each other in every quarter of the Pacific Ocean? We find it from New Zealand in the south as far as the Sandwich Islands to the north; and, in another direction, from Easter Island to the Hebrides, that is, over an extent of sixty degrees of

latitude or 1200 leagues north and south, and eighty-three degrees of longitude or 1660 leagues east and west. How much farther in either direction its colonies reach, is not known; but what we know already, in consequence of this and our former voyage, warrants our pronouncing it to be, though perhaps not the most numerous, certainly by far the most extensive nation upon earth.

Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi or some other of the islands as a refreshing-place for the ships that sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. They lie almost midway between the first place and Guam, one of the Ladrones, which is at present their only port in traversing this vast ocean; and it would not have been a week's sail out of their common route to have touched at them, which could have been done without running the least hazard of losing the passage, as they are sufficiently within the verge of the easterly trade-wind. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrones with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life.[1] Here they might always have found plenty, and have been within a month's sure sail of the very part of California which the Manilla ship is obliged to make,[2] or else have returned to the coast of America, thoroughly refitted, after an absence of two months. How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would he have avoided, if he had known that there was a group of islands half way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied, and in describing which the elegant historian of that voyage would have presented his reader with a more agreeable picture than I have been able to draw in this Chapter![3]

[1] Witness Dampier's description of the weary and perilous passage, *ante*, p. 223.

[2] Cape San Lucas, the southernmost point.

CHAPTER XIII.

After the Discovery had joined us, we stood away to the northward, close hauled, with a gentle gale from the east. On the 7th, being in the Latitude of 29° N., and in the Longitude of 200° E., the wind veered to SE. This enabled us to steer NE. and E., which course we continued till the 12th, when the wind had veered round by the S. and W. to NE. and ENE. I then tacked and stood to the northward, our Latitude being 30° N., and our Longitude 206° 15′ E. Notwithstanding our advanced latitude, and its being the winter season, we had only begun for a few days past to feel a sensation of cold in the mornings and evenings. This is a sign of the equal and lasting influence of the sun's heat at all seasons to 30° on each side the Line. The disproportion is known to become very great after that. This must be attributed almost entirely to the direction of the rays of the sun, independent of the bare distance, which is by no means equal to the effect.

On the 19th, being now in the Latitude of 37° N., and in the Longitude of 206° E., the wind veered to SE.; and I was enabled again to steer to the E., inclining to the N.

[3] With all deference to Mr Walter, the Narrator of Anson's voyage—or to Captain Cook's self-humbling estimate of his own performance, we think most will prefer the plain unvarnished tale, full of new and interesting facts, told by the unlettered sailor to the eloquent flourishes of the Centurion's Chaplain, whose glowing descriptions of Tinian were sadly discredited by the subsequent experience and report of practical, prosaic men.

We had on the 25th reached the Latitude of 42° 30′ and the Longitude of 219°, and then we began to meet with the rock-weed mentioned by the writer of Lord Anson's voyage, under the name of sea-leek, which the Manilla ships generally fall in with.[1] Now and then a piece of wood also appeared; but if we had not known that the Continent of North America was not far distant, we might, from the few signs of the vicinity of land hitherto met with, have concluded that there was none within some thousand leagues of us. We had hardly seen a bird or any other oceanic animal since we left the Sandwich Islands.

On the 1st of March, our Latitude being now 44° 49′ N., and our Longitude 228° E., we had one calm day. This was succeeded by a wind from the north, with which I stood to the east, close hauled, in order to make the land. According to the charts, it ought not to have been far from us. It was remarkable that we should still be attended with such moderate and mild weather so far to the northward, and so near the coast of an extensive continent, at this time of the year. The present season either must be uncommon for its mildness, or we can assign no reason why Sir Francis Drake should have met with such severe cold about this latitude in the month of June.[2] Viscaino, indeed, who was near the same place in the depth of winter,[3] says little of the cold, and speaks of a ridge of snowy mountains somewhere on the coast as a thing rather remarkable. Our seeing so few birds in comparison of what we met with in the same latitudes to the south of the Line, is another singular circumstance, which must either proceed from a scarcity of the different sorts or from a deficiency of places to rest upon. From henco we may conclude that beyond 40° in the southern hemisphere the species are much more numerous, and the isles where they inhabit also more plentifully scattered about than anywhere between the coast of California and Japan in or near that latitude.

During a calm on the morning of the 2d, some parts of the sea seemed covered with a kind of slime, and some small sea animals were swimming about, the most conspicuous of which were of the gelatinous or *Medusa* kind, almost globular; and another sort smaller, that had a white or shining appearance, and were very numerous. Some of these last were taken up and put into a glass cup with some salt water, in which they appeared like small scales or bits of silver when at rest in a prone situation. When they began to swim about, which they did with equal ease upon their back, sides, or belly, they emitted the brightest colours of the most precious gems, according to their position with respect to the light. Sometimes they appeared quite pellucid, at other times assuming various tints of blue, from a pale sapphirine to a deep violet colour, which were frequently mixed with a ruby or opaline redness, and glowed with a strength sufficient to illuminate the vessel and water. These colours appeared most vivid when the glass was held to a strong light, and mostly vanished on the subsiding of the animals to the bottom, when they had a brownish cast. But with candle light the colour was chiefly a beautiful pale green, tinged with a burnished glass; and in the dark it had a faint

[1] See *ante*, p. 416.

[2] Cook even understates the case against his own experience, for it was only in the Latitude of 38° 30′ N. that Drake found the "convenient and fit harbour," where he continued from the 17th of June till the 23d day of July 1579, "during all which time we were constantly visited with like nipping colds as we had never felt before" —more intense than some of his people had felt at Wardhys, in 72°, not at the height of summer, but at the end of it. See *ante*, pp. 73, 75.

[3] Sent from Acapulco in May 1602 to search the Californian coast for a secure harbour in which the galleons might find refuge. The settlement and fortification of Monterey was the result.

appearance of glowing fire. They proved to be a new species of *Oniscus*, and from their properties were by Mr Anderson (to whom we owe this account of them) called *Oniscus fulgens*, being probably an animal which has a share in producing some sorts of that lucid appearance often observed near ships at sea in the night. On the same day two large birds settled on the water near the ship. One of these was the *Procellaria maxima* (the "quebrantahuesos"[1]), and the other, which was little more than half the size, seemed to be of the albatross kind. The upper part of the wings and tip of the tail were black, with the rest white; the bill yellowish; upon the whole not unlike the seagull, though larger.

On the 6th at noon, being in the Latitude of 44° 10′ N. and the Longitude of 234½° E., we saw two sails and several whales; and at daybreak the next morning the long-looked-for coast of New Albion[2] was seen, extending from NE. to SE., distant ten or twelve leagues. At noon our Latitude was 44° 33′ N. and our Longitude 235° 20′ E.; and the land extended from NE. half N. to SE. by S., about eight leagues distant. In this situation we had seventy-three fathoms water over a muddy bottom, and about a league farther off found ninety fathoms. The land appeared to be of a moderate height, diversified with hills and valleys, and almost everywhere covered with wood. There was, however, no very striking object on any part of it except one hill, whose elevated summit was flat. This bore east from us at noon. At the northern extreme the land formed a point, which I called Cape Foulweather, from the very bad weather that we soon after met with. I judge it to lie in the Latitude of 44° 55′ N. and in the Longitude of 235° 54′ E.

We had variable light airs and calms till 8 o'clock in the evening, when a breeze sprung up at SW. With it I stood to the NW. under an easy sail, waiting for daylight to range along the coast. But at four next morning the wind shifted to NW., and blew in squalls, with rain. Our course was NE. till near 10 o'clock, when, finding that I could make no progress on this tack, and seeing nothing like a harbour, I tacked and stood off SW. At this time Cape Foulweather bore NE. by N., about eight leagues distant. Towards noon the wind veered more to the W., and the weather became fair and clear, so that we were enabled to make lunar observations. Having reduced all those that we had made since the 19th of last month to the present ones, by the time-keeper, amounting in the whole to seventy-two sets, their mean result determined the Longitude to be 235° 15′ 26″ E., which was 14′ 11″ less than what the time-keeper gave. This longitude is made use of for settling that of the coast, and I have not a doubt of its being within a very few miles of the truth.

Our difficulties now began to increase. In the evening the wind came to the NW., blowing in squalls, with hail and sleet; and the weather being thick and hazy, I stood out to sea till near noon the next day, when I tacked and stood in again for the land, which made its appearance at two in the afternoon, bearing ENE. The wind and weather continued the same, but in the evening the former veered more to the W., and the latter grew worse, which made it necessary to tack and stand off till four the next morning, when I ventured to stand in again. At four in the afternoon we saw the land, which at six extended from NE. half E. to SE. by S., about eight leagues distant. In this situation we tacked and sounded, but a line of 160 fathoms did not reach the ground. I stood off till midnight, then stood in again; and at half-past six we were within three

[1] The Spanish name for the sea-eagle, or osprey; literally, "the bone-breaker;" Latin, "ossifrago," so called from the great strength of its beak.

[2] This part of the west side of North America was so named by Sir Francis Drake in 1579.

leagues of the land, which extended from N. by E. half E. to S. half E., each extreme about seven leagues distant. Seeing no signs of a harbour, and the weather being still unsettled, I tacked and stretched off SW., having then fifty-five fathoms of water over a muddy bottom.

That part of the land which we were so near when we tacked is of a moderate height, though in some places it rises higher within. It was diversified with a great many rising grounds and small hills, many of which were entirely covered with tall straight trees, and others, which were lower, and grew in spots like coppices; but the interspaces and sides of many of the rising grounds were clear. The whole, though it might make an agreeable summer prospect, had now an uncomfortable appearance, as the bare grounds toward the coast were all covered with snow, which seemed to be of a considerable depth between the little hills and rising grounds, and in several places towards the sea might easily have been mistaken at a distance for white cliffs. The snow on the rising grounds was thinner spread, and farther inland there was no appearance of any; from whence we might perhaps conclude that what we saw towards the sea had fallen during the night, which was colder than any we had experienced since our arrival on the coast, and we had sometimes a kind of sleet. The coast seemed everywhere almost straight, without any opening or inlet; and it appeared to terminate in a kind of white sandy beach, though some on board thought that appearance was owing to the snow. Each extreme of the land that was now before us seemed to shoot out into a point. The northern one was the same which we had first seen on the 7th, and on that account I called it Cape Perpetua. It lies in the Latitude of 44° 6′ N. and in the Longitude of 235° 52′ E. The southern extreme before us I named Cape Gregory.[1] Its Latitude is 43° 30′ N. and its Longitude 235° 57′ E., It is a remarkable point, the land of it rising almost directly from the sea to a tolerable height, while that on each side of it is low.

I continued standing off till one in the afternoon. Then I tacked and stood in, hoping to have the wind off from the land in the night. But in this I was mistaken; for at 5 o'clock it began to veer to the W. and SW., which obliged me, once more, to stand out to sea. At this time Cape Perpetua bore NE. by N.; and the farthest land we could see to the south of Cape Gregory bore S. by E., perhaps ten or twelve leagues distant. If I am right in this estimation, its Latitude will be 43° 10′ N. and its Longitude 235° 55′ E., which is nearly the situation of Cape Blanco discovered or seen by Martin d'Aguilar on the 19th of January 1603. It is worth observing that in the very latitude where we now were geographers have been pleased to place a large entrance or strait, the discovery of which they take upon them to ascribe to the same navigator; whereas nothing more is mentioned in the account of his voyage than his having seen, in this situation, a large river which he would have entered, but was prevented by the currents.

The wind, as I have observed, had veered to the SW. in the evening; but it was very unsettled, and blew in squalls, with snow showers. In one of these, at midnight, it shifted at once to WNW., and soon increased to a very hard gale, with heavy squalls, attended with sleet or snow. There was no choice now; and we were obliged to stretch to the southward in order to get clear of the coast. This was done under courses and two close-reefed topsails, being rather more sail than the ships could safely bear; but it was necessary to carry it to avoid the more pressing danger of being forced on shore. This gale continued till 8 o'clock in the morning of the 13th; when it abated, and I stood in again

[1] In the English calendar the 7th of March is distinguished by the name of Perpetua M., and the 12th by that of Gregory B.

for the land. We had been forced a considerable way backward; for at the time of our tacking we were in the Latitude of 42° 45′ and in the Longitude of 233° 30′. The wind continued at W. and NW., storms, moderate weather, and calms, succeeding each other by turns till the morning of the 21st; when, after a few hours' calm, a breeze sprung up at SW. This bringing with it fair weather, I steered NE. in order to fall in with the land beyond that part of it where we had already so unprofitably been tossed about for the last fortnight. In the evening the wind veered to the westward; and at 8 o'clock the next morning we saw the land, extending from NE. to E. nine leagues distant. At this time we were in the Latitude of 47° 5′ N. and in the Longitude of 235° 10′ E.

I continued to stand to the north with a fine breeze at W. and WNW., till near 7 o'clock in the evening, when I tacked to wait for daylight. At this time we were in forty-eight fathoms water, and about four leagues from the land, which extended from N. to SE. half E., and a small round hill, which had the appearance of being an island, bore N. three-quarters E., distant six or seven leagues, as I guessed; it appears to be of a tolerable height, and was but just to be seen from the deck. Between this island or rock, and the northern extreme of the land, there appeared to be a small opening, which flattered us with the hopes of finding a harbour. These hopes lessened as we drew nearer, and at last we had some reason to think that the opening was closed by low land. On this account I called the point of land to the north of it Cape Flattery. It lies in the Latitude of 48° 15′ N., and in the Longitude of 235° 3′ E. There is a round hill of a moderate height over it, and all the land upon this part of the coast is of a moderate and pretty equal height, well covered with wood, and had a very pleasant and fertile appearance. It is in this very latitude where we now were, that geographers have placed the pretended Strait of Juan de Fuca. We saw nothing like it, nor is there the least probability that ever any such thing existed.[1] I stood off to the southward till night, when I tacked and steered to the NW. with a gentle breeze at SW., intending to stand in for the land as soon as daylight should appear. But by that time we were reduced to two courses and close-reefed topsails, having a very hard gale, with rain, right on shore; so that, instead of running in for the land, I was glad to get an offing, or to keep that which we had already got. The SW. wind was, however, but of short continuance, for in the evening it veered again to the W. Thus we had perpetually strong W. and NW. winds to encounter. Sometimes in an evening the wind would become moderate and veer to the southward; but this was always a sure prelude to a storm, which blew the hardest at SSE., and was attended with rain and sleet. It seldom lasted above four or six hours before it was succeeded by another gale from the NW., which generally brought with it fair weather. It was by the means of these southerly blasts that we were enabled to get to the NW. at all.

At length, at 9 o'clock in the morning of the 29th, as we were

[1] Cook here lent himself too readily to the undiscriminating condemnation of the romancing Cephalonian's marvellous tales about a strait or channel which he entered in this latitude, emerging after a prolonged navigation, into the Atlantic. There is now little doubt that Juan de Fuca really discovered, and partly explored the Strait that bears his name, and that Cook credulously, and with quite unusual lack of enterprise passed lightly by. At all events, the channel bears at this day the name of the Greco-Spanish navigator; and the recent arbitration (1872) by the German Emperor on the San Juan dispute with America has rendered its name not quite pleasantly familiar to many English folk who never heard of it before.

standing to the NE., we again saw the land, which, at noon, extended from NW. by W. to ESE., the nearest part about six leagues distant. Our Latitude was now 49° 29′ N., and our Longitude 232° 29′ E. The appearance of the country differed much from that of the parts which we had before seen, being full of high mountains, whose summits were covered with snow. But the valleys between them, and the grounds on the sea coast, high as well as low, were covered to a considerable breadth with high, straight trees, that formed a beautiful prospect as of one vast forest. The SE. extreme of the land formed a low point, off which are many breakers, occasioned by sunken rocks. On this account it was called Point Breakers. It lies in the Latitude of 49° 15′ N., and in the Longitude of 233° 20′ E., and the other extreme in about the Latitude of 50° and the Longitude of 232°. I named this last Woody Point. It projects pretty much out to the SW., and is high land. Between these two points the shore forms a large bay, which I called Hope Bay, hoping from the appearance of the land to find in it a good harbour. The event proved that we were not mistaken.

As we drew nearer the coast, we perceived the appearance of two inlets; one in the NW., and the other in the NE. corner of the bay. As I could not fetch the former, I bore up to the latter, and passed some breakers or sunken rocks that lay a league or more from the shore. We had nineteen and twenty fathoms water half-a-league without them; but as soon as we had passed them, the depth increased to thirty, forty, and fifty fathoms, with a sandy bottom; and farther in we found no bottom with the greatest length of line. Notwithstanding appearances, we were not yet sure that there were any inlets; but, as we were in a deep bay, I resolved to anchor, with a view to endeavour to get some water, of which by this time we were in great want. At length, as we advanced, the existence of the inlet was no longer doubtful. At 5 o'clock we reached the west point of it, where we were becalmed for some time. While in this situation I ordered all the boats to be hoisted out to tow the ships in. But this was hardly done before a fresh breeze sprung up again at NW., with which we were enabled to stretch up into an arm of the inlet that was observed by us to run in to the north-east. There we were again becalmed, and obliged to anchor in eighty-five fathoms water, and so near the shore as to reach it with a hawser. The wind failed the Discovery before she got within the arm, where she anchored, and found only seventy fathoms.

We no sooner drew near the inlet than we found the coast to be inhabited; and at the place where we were first becalmed three canoes came off to the ship. In one of these were two men, in another six, and in the third ten. Having come pretty near us, a person in one of the two last stood up and made a long harangue, inviting us to land, as we guessed by his gestures. At the same time he kept strewing handfuls of feathers towards us;[1] and some of his companions threw handfuls of red dust or powder in the same manner. The person who played the orator wore the skin of some animal, and held in each hand something which rattled as he kept shaking it. After tiring himself with his repeated exhortations, of which we did not understand a word, he was quiet; and then others took it by turns to say something, though they acted their part neither so long nor with so much vehemence as the other. We observed that two or three had their hair quite strewed over with small white feathers, and others had large ones stuck into different parts of the head. After the tumultuous noise had ceased, they lay at a little distance from the ship, and conversed with each other in a very easy manner; nor did they seem

[1] The natives of this coast twelve degrees farther south, also brought feathers as presents to Sir Francis Drake on his arrival.

to show the least surprise or distrust. Some of them now and then got up and said something after the manner of their first harangues; and one sung a very agreeable air, with a degree of softness and melody which we could not have expected, the word "haela" being often repeated as the burden of the song. The breeze which soon after sprung up bringing us nearer to the shore, the canoes began to come off in greater numbers; and we had at one time thirty-two of them near the ship, carrying from three to seven or eight persons each, both men and women. Several of these stood up in their canoes haranguing and making gestures after the manner of our first visitors. One canoe was remarkable for a singular head, which had a bird's eye and bill of an enormous size painted on it; and a person who was in it, who seemed to be a chief, was no less remarkable for his uncommon appearance, having many feathers hanging from his head, and being painted in an extraordinary manner.[1] He held in his hand a carved bird of wood, as large as a pigeon, with which he rattled as the person first mentioned had done; and was no less vociferous in his harangue, which was attended with some expressive gestures.

Though our visitors behaved very peaceably, and could not be suspected of any hostile intention, we could not prevail upon any of them to come on board. They showed great readiness, however, to part with anything they had, and took from us whatever we offered them in exchange; but were more desirous of iron than of any other of our articles of commerce, appearing to be perfectly acquainted with the use of that metal. Many of the canoes followed us to our anchoring-place; and a group of about ten or a dozen of them remained alongside the Resolution most part of the night.

These circumstances gave us a reasonable ground of hope that we should find this a comfortable station to supply all our wants, and to make us forget the hardships and delays experienced during a constant succession of adverse winds and boisterous weather almost ever since our arrival upon the coast of America.

BOOK IV.

TRANSACTIONS AMONGST THE NATIVES OF NORTH AMERICA; DISCOVERIES ALONG THAT COAST, AND THE EASTERN EXTREMITY OF ASIA, NORTHWARD TO ICY CAPE; AND RETURN SOUTHWARD TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

The ships having happily found so excellent shelter in an inlet, the coasts of which appeared to be inhabited by a race of people whose inoffensive behaviour promised a friendly intercourse, the next morning, after coming to anchor, I lost no time in endeavouring to find a commodious harbour where we might station ourselves during our continuance in the sound. Accordingly I sent three armed boats under the command of Mr King upon this service; and soon after, I went myself in a small boat on the same search. I had very little trouble in finding what we wanted. On the north-west of the arm we were

[1] Viscaino met with natives on the coast of California, while he was in the harbour of San Diego, who were painted or besmeared with black and white, and had their heads loaded with feathers.

now in, and not far from the ships, I met with a convenient snug cove well suited to our purpose. Mr King was equally successful; for he returned about noon with an account of a still better harbour which he had seen and examined, lying on the north-west side of the land. But as it would have required more time to carry the ships thither than to the cove where I had been, which was immediately within our reach, this reason operated to determine my choice in favour of the latter situation. But being apprehensive that we should not be able to transport our ships to it, and to moor them properly, before night came on, I thought it best to remain where we were till next morning; and that no time might be lost, I employed the remainder of the day to some useful purposes, ordering the sails to be unbent, the top-masts to be struck, and the fore-mast of the Resolution to be unrigged, in order to fix a new bib, one of the old ones being decayed.

A great many canoes filled with the natives were about the ships all day, and a trade commenced betwixt us and them which was carried on with the strictest honesty on both sides. The articles which they offered to sale were skins of various animals, such as bears, wolves, foxes, deer, racoons, polecats, martens, and in particular of the sea otters, which are found at the islands east of Kamtschatka. Besides the skins in their native shape, they also brought garments made of them, and another sort of clothing made of the bark of a tree, or some plant like hemp; weapons, such as bows, arrows, and spears; fish-hooks, and instruments of various kinds; wooden visors of many different monstrous figures; a sort of woollen stuff, or blanketing; bags filled with red ochre, pieces of carved work, beads, and several other little ornaments of thin brass and iron, shaped like a horse-shoe, which they hang at their noses, and several chisels or pieces of iron fixed to handles; from their possessing which metals, we could infer that they had either been visited before by some civilised nation, or had connection with tribes on their continent who had communication with them. But the most extraordinary of all the articles which they brought to the ships for sale were human skulls and hands, not yet quite stripped of the flesh, which they made our people plainly understand they had eaten; and indeed some of them had evident marks that they had been upon the fire. We had but too much reason to suspect from this circumstance that the horrid practice of feeding on their enemies is as prevalent here as we had found it to be at New Zealand and other South Sea Islands. For the various articles which they brought they took in exchange knives, chisels, pieces of iron and tin, nails, looking-glasses, buttons, or any kind of metal. Glass beads they were not fond of, and cloth of every sort they rejected.

We employed the next day in hauling our ships into the cove, where they were moored head and stern, fastening our hawsers to the trees on shore. On heaving up the anchor of the Resolution we found, notwithstanding the great depth of water in which it was let go, that there were rocks at the bottom. These had done some considerable damage to the cable, and the hawsers that were carried out to warp the ship into the cove also got foul of rocks, from which it appeared that the whole bottom was strewn with them. The ship being again very leaky in her upper works, I ordered the carpenters to go to work to calk her, and to repair such other defects as on examination we might discover.

The fame of our arrival brought a great concourse of the natives to our ships in the course of this day. We counted above 100 canoes at one time, which might be supposed to contain at an average five persons each, for few of them had less than three on board, great numbers had seven, eight, or nine, and one was manned with no less than seventeen. Amongst these visitors many now favoured us with their company for the first time, which we could guess from their approach-

ing the ships with their orations and other ceremonies. If they had any distrust or fear of us at first, they now appeared to have laid it aside, for they came on board the ships and mixed with our people with the greatest freedom. We soon discovered by this nearer intercourse that they were as light-fingered as any of our friends in the islands we had visited in the course of the voyage. And they were far more dangerous thieves, for possessing sharp iron instruments, they could cut a hook from a tackle, or any other piece of iron from a rope, the instant that our backs were turned. A large hook weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, several smaller ones, and other articles of iron, were lost in this manner; and as to our boats, they stripped them of every bit of iron that was worth carrying away, though we had always men left in them as a guard. They were dextrous enough in effecting their purposes, for one fellow would contrive to amuse the boat-keeper at one end of a boat, while another was pulling out the iron-work at the other. If we missed a thing immediately after it had been stolen we found little difficulty in detecting the thief, as they were ready enough to impeach one another. But the guilty person generally relinquished his prize with reluctance, and sometimes we found it necessary to have recourse to force.

The ships being securely moored, we began our other necessary business the next day. The observatories were carried ashore and placed upon an elevated rock on one side of the cove close to the Resolution. A party of men, with an officer, was sent to cut wood and to clear a place for the conveniency of watering. Others were employed to brew spruce-beer, as pine-trees abounded here. The forge was also set up to make the iron-work wanting for the repairs of the fore-mast. But, besides one of the bibs being defective, the larboard trestle-tree and one of the cross-trees were sprung. . . .

After a fortnight's bad weather, the 19th proving a fair day, we availed ourselves of it to get up the top-masts and yards, and to get up the rigging. And having now finished most of our heavy work, I set out the next morning to take a view of the sound. I first went to the west point, where I found a large village, and before it a very snug harbour, in which was from nine to four fathoms water over a bottom of fine sand. The people of this village, who were numerous, and to most of whom I was well known, received me very courteously; every one pressing me to go into his house, or, rather, his apartment, for several families live under the same roof. I did not decline the invitations, and my hospitable friends whom I visited spread a mat for me to sit upon, and showed me every other mark of civility. In most of the houses were women at work making dresses of the plant or bark before mentioned, which they executed exactly in the same manner that the New Zealanders manufacture their cloth. Others were occupied in opening sardines. I had seen a large quantity of them brought on shore from canoes, and divided by measure amongst several people, who carried them up to their houses, where the operation of curing them by smoke-drying is performed. They hang them on small rods at first about a foot from the fire, afterward they remove them higher and higher to make room for others, till the rods on which the fish hang reach the top of the house. When they are completely dried, they are taken down and packed close in bales, which they cover with mats. Thus they are kept till wanted, and they are not a disagreeable article of food. Cod and other large fish are also cured in the same manner by them, though they sometimes dry these in the open air without fire.

From this village I proceeded up the west side of the sound. For about three miles I found the shore covered with small islands, which are so situated as to form several convenient harbours, having various depths of water from thirty to seven fathoms, with a good bottom. Two leagues within the sound on this west side

there runs in an arm in the direction of NNW.; and two miles farther is another nearly in the same direction, with a pretty large island before it. I had no time to examine either of these arms, but have reason to believe that they do not extend far inland, as the water was no more than brackish at their entrances. A mile above the second arm I found the remains of a village. The logs or framings of the houses were standing, but the boards that had composed their sides and roofs did not exist. Before this village were some large fishing weirs, but I saw nobody attending them. These weirs were composed of pieces of wicker-work made of small rods, some closer than others, according to the size of the fish intended to be caught in them. These pieces of wicker-work (some of whose superficies are at least twenty feet by twelve) are fixed up edgewise in shallow water by strong poles or pickets that stand firm in the ground. Behind this ruined village is a plain of a few miles' extent, covered with the largest pine-trees that I ever saw. This was the more remarkable as the elevated ground on most other parts of this west side of the sound was rather naked.

From this place I crossed over to the other, or east side of the sound, passing an arm of it that runs in NNE., to appearance not far. I now found, what I had before conjectured, that the land under which the ships lay was an island, and that there were many smaller ones lying scattered in the sound on the west side of it. Opposite the north end of our large island, upon the mainland, I observed a village, and there I landed. The inhabitants of it were not so polite as those of the other I had just visited. But this cold reception seemed in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to one surly chief, who would not let me enter their houses, following me wherever I went; and several times by expressive signs marking his impatience that I should be gone. I attempted in vain to soothe him by presents, but though he did not refuse them, they did not alter his behaviour. Some of the young women, better pleased with us than was their inhospitable chief, dressed themselves expeditiously in their best apparel; and, assembling in a body, welcomed us to their village by joining in a song which was far from harsh or disagreeable. The day being now far spent, I proceeded for the ships round the north end of the large island, meeting in my way with several canoes laden with sardines which had been just caught somewhere in the east corner of the sound. When I got on board, I was informed that while I was absent the ships had been visited by some strangers in two or three large canoes, who by signs made our people understand that they had come from the south-east beyond the bay. They brought several skins, garments, and other articles, which they bartered. But, what was most singular, two silver table-spoons were purchased from them, which, from their peculiar shape, we supposed to be of Spanish manufacture. One of these strangers wore them round his neck by way of ornament. These visitors also appeared to be more plentifully supplied with iron than the inhabitants of the sound.

The mizzen-mast being finished, it was got in and rigged on the 21st; and the carpenters were set to work to make a new fore-topmast to replace the one that had been carried away some time before. Next morning, about 8 o'clock, we were visited by a number of strangers in twelve or fourteen canoes. They came into the cove from the southward, and as soon as they had turned the point of it, they stopped and lay drawn up in a body above half-an-hour about 200 or 300 yards from the ships. At first we thought that they were afraid to come nearer, but we were mistaken in this, and they were only preparing an introductory ceremony. On advancing toward the ships, they all stood up in their canoes and began to sing. Some of their songs, in which the whole body joined, were in a slow and others in quicker time; and they accom-

panied their notes with the most regular motions of their hands, or beating in concert with their paddles on the sides of the canoes, and making other very expressive gestures. At the end of each song they remained silent a few seconds, and then began again, sometimes pronouncing the word "hooee!" forcibly, as a chorus. After entertaining us with this specimen of their music, which we listened to with admiration for above half-an-hour, they came alongside the ships and bartered what they had to dispose of. Some of our old friends of the sound were now found to be amongst them, and they took the whole management of the traffic between us and the strangers, much to the advantage of the latter.

Our attendance on these visitors being finished, Captain Clerke and I went in the forenoon with two boats to the village at the west point of the sound. When I was there the day before, I had observed that plenty of grass grew near it; and it was necessary to lay in a quantity of this as food for the few goats and sheep which were still left on board. The inhabitants received us with the same demonstrations of friendship which I had experienced before; and the moment we landed I ordered some of my people to begin their operation of cutting. I had not the least imagination that the natives could make any objection to our furnishing ourselves with what seemed to be of no use to them, but was necessary for us. However, I was mistaken; for, the moment that our men began to cut, some of the inhabitants interposed, and would not permit them to proceed, saying they must "makook," that is, must first buy it. I was now in one of the houses, but as soon as I heard of this I went to the field, where I found about a dozen of the natives, each of whom laid claim to some part of the grass that grew in this place. I bargained with them for it, and having completed the purchase, thought we were now at liberty to cut wherever we pleased. But here again it appeared that I was under a mistake, for the liberal manner in which I had paid the first pretended proprietors brought fresh demands upon me from others; so that there did not seem to be a single blade of grass, that had not a separate owner, and so many of them were to be satisfied that I very soon emptied my pockets. When they found that I really had nothing more to give, their importunities ceased, and we were permitted to cut wherever we pleased, and as much as we choose to carry away.

Here I must observe that I have nowhere in my several voyages met with any uncivilised nation or tribe who had such strict notions of their having a right to the exclusive property of everything that their country produces, as the inhabitants of this sound. At first they wanted our people to pay for the wood and water that they carried on board; and had I been upon the spot when these demands were made, I should certainly have complied with them. Our workmen in my absence thought differently, for they took but little notice of such claims; and the natives, when they found that we were determined to pay nothing, at last ceased to apply. But they made a merit of necessity; and frequently afterwards took occasion to remind us that they had given us wood and water out of friendship.[1]

When we had completed all our operations at this village, the natives and we parted very good friends, and we got back to the ships in the afternoon.

The three following days were employed in getting ready to put to sea; the sails were bent; the observatories and instruments, brewing vessels, and other things were moved from the shore; some small spars for different

[1] Similar to the behaviour of the natives of Nootka on this occasion was that of another tribe of Indians farther north, in Latitude 57° 18′, to the Spaniards who had preceded Captain Cook only three years, in a voyage to explore the coast of America northward of California.

uses, and pieces of timber which might be occasionally sawn into boards were prepared and put on board; and both ships were cleared and put into a sailing condition. Everything being now ready, in the morning of the 26th I intended to have put to sea; but both wind and tide being against us, was obliged to wait till noon, when the south-west wind was succeeded by a calm, and, the tide turning in our favour, we cast off the moorings, and with our boats towed the ships out of the cove. After this we had variable light airs and calms till four in the afternoon, when a breeze sprung up northerly, with very thick hazy weather. The mercury in the barometer fell unusually low; and we had every other forerunner of an approaching storm, which we had reason to expect would be from the southward. This made me hesitate a little, as night was at hand, whether I should venture to sail, or wait till the next morning. But my anxious impatience to proceed upon the voyage, and the fear of losing this opportunity of getting out of the sound, making a greater impression on my mind than any apprehension of immediate danger, I determined to put to sea at all events.

Our friends the natives attended us till we were almost out of the sound; some on board the ships and others in their canoes. One of their chiefs, who had some time before attached himself to me, was amongst the last who left us. Having before he went bestowed upon him a small present, I received in return a beaver-skin of much greater value. This called upon me to make some addition to my present, which pleased him so much that he insisted upon my acceptance of the beaver-skin cloak which he then wore, and of which I knew he was particularly fond. Struck with this instance of generosity, and desirous that he should be no sufferer by his friendship to me, I presented to him a new broadsword with a brass hilt; the possession of which made him completely happy. He, and also many others of his countrymen, importuned us much to pay them another visit; and by way of encouragement promised to lay in a good stock of skins. I make no doubt that whoever comes after me to this place will find the natives prepared accordingly, with no inconsiderable supply of an article of trade which, they could observe, we were eager to possess, and which we found could be purchased to great advantage.

Such particulars about the country and its inhabitants as came to our knowledge during our short stay, and have not been mentioned in the course of the narrative, will furnish materials for the two following Chapters.

CHAPTER II.

ON my arrival in this inlet I had honoured it with the name of King George's Sound, but I afterwards found that it is called Nootka by the natives. The entrance is situated in the east corner of Hope Bay, in the Latitude of 49° 33′ N. and in the Longitude of 233° 12′ E. The east coast of that bay, all the way from Breakers Point to the entrance of the sound, is covered by a chain of sunken rocks that seemed to extend some distance from the shore; and near the sound are some islands and rocks above water. We enter this sound between two rocky points that lie ESE. and WNW. from each other, distant between three and four miles. Within these points the sound widens considerably, and extends in to the northward four leagues at least, exclusive of the several branches towards its bottom, the termination of which we had not an opportunity to ascertain. But from the circumstance of finding that the water freshened where our boats crossed their entrance, it is probable that they had almost reached its utmost limits. And this probability is increased by the hills that bounded it toward the land, being covered with thick snow, when those toward the sea, or where we lay, had

not a speck remaining on them, though in general they were much higher. In the middle of the sound are a number of islands of various sizes. The depth of water in the middle of the sound, and even close home to some parts of its shore, is from forty-seven to ninety fathoms, and perhaps more. The harbours and anchoring-places within its circuit are numerous, but we had no time to survey them. The cove in which our ships lay is on the east side of the sound and on the east side of the largest of the islands. It is covered from the sea, but has little else to recommend it, being exposed to the south-east winds, which we found to blow with great violence; and the devastation they make sometimes was apparent in many places.

The land bordering upon the sea-coast is of a middling height and level, but within the sound it rises almost everywhere into steep hills, which agree in their general formation, ending in round or blunted tops, with some sharp though not very prominent ridges on their sides. Some of these hills may be reckoned high, while others of them are of a very moderate height; but even the highest are entirely covered to their tops with the thickest woods, as well as every flat part toward the sea. There are sometimes spots upon the sides of some of the hills which are bare, but they are few in comparison of the whole, though they sufficiently point out the general rocky disposition of these hills. Properly speaking, they have no soil upon them except a kind of compost produced from rotten mosses and trees of the depth of two feet or more. Their foundations are therefore to be considered as nothing more than stupendous rocks of a whitish or grey cast where they have been exposed to the weather; but when broken they appeared to be of a bluish-grey colour, like that universal sort which were found at Kerguelen's Land. The rocky shores are a continued mass of this, and the little coves in the sound have beaches composed of fragments of it, with a few other pebbles. All these coves are furnished with a great quantity of fallen wood lying in them, which is carried in by the tide, and with rills of fresh water sufficient for the use of a ship, which seem to be supplied entirely from the rains and fogs that hover about the tops of the hills. For few springs can be expected in so rocky a country, and the fresh water found farther up the sound most probably arose from the melting of the snow, there being no room to suspect that any large river falls into the sound, either from strangers coming down it or from any other circumstance. The water of these rills is perfectly clear, and dissolves soap easily.

The weather during our stay corresponded pretty nearly with that which we had experienced off the coast. That is, when the wind was anywhere between N. and W. the weather was fine and clear; but if to the S. of W. hazy, with rain. The climate, as far as we had any experience of it, is infinitely milder than that on the east coast of America under the same parallel of latitude. The mercury in the thermometer never even in the night fell lower than 42°, and very often in the day it rose to 60°. No such thing as frost was perceived in any of the low ground, on the contrary, vegetation had made a considerable progress, for I met with grass that was already above a foot long.

The trees which chiefly compose the woods are the Canadian pine, white cypress, *Cypressus thyoides*, the wild pine, with two or three other sorts of pine less common. The first two make up almost two-thirds of the whole, and at a distance might be mistaken for the same tree, as they both run up into pointed spire-like tops; but they are easily distinguished on coming nearer from their colour, the cypress being of a much paler green, or shade, than the other. The trees in general grow with great vigour, and are all of a large size. There is but little variety of other vegetable productions, though doubtless several had not yet sprung up at the early season when we visited the place; and many more might be hid from the

narrow sphere of our researches. About the rocks and verge of the woods we found strawberry plants, some raspberry, currant, and gooseberry bushes, which were all in a most flourishing state, with a few small black alder-trees. There are likewise a species of sow-thistle, goose-grass, some crow's-foot, which has a very fine crimson flower; and two sorts of *Anthericum*, one with a large orange flower, and the other with a blue one. We also found in these situations some wild rose-bushes which were just budding; a great quantity of young leeks with triangular leaves; a small sort of grass; and some water-cresses, which grow about the sides of the rills; besides great abundance of *Andromeda*. Within the woods, besides two sorts of underwood shrubs unknown to us, are mosses and ferns. Of the first of which are seven or eight different sorts, of the last not above three or four; and the species of both are mostly such as are common to Europe and America.

The account that we can give of the quadrupeds is taken from the skins which the natives brought to sell, and these were often so mutilated with respect to the distinguishing parts, such as the paws, tails, and heads, that it was impossible even to guess at the animals to which they belonged, though others were so perfect, or at least so well known, that they left no room to doubt about them.

Of these the most common were bears, deer, foxes, and wolves. The bear-skins were in great numbers, few of them very large, but in general of a shining black colour. The deer-skins were scarcer, and they seem to belong to that sort called the fallow-deer by the historians of Carolina, though Mr Pennant[1] thinks it quite a different species from ours, and distinguishes it by the name of Virginian deer. The foxes are in great plenty, and of several varieties; some of their skins being quite yellow, with a black tip to the tail; others of a deep or reddish yellow intermixed with black; and a third sort of a whitish grey or ash-colour, also intermixed with black. Our people used to apply the name of fox or wolf indiscriminately when the skins were so mutilated as to leave room for a doubt; but we got at last an entire wolf-skin with the head on, and it was grey. Besides the common sort of marten, the pine-marten is also here, and another, whose skin is of a lighter brown colour than either, with coarser hair; but is not so common, and is perhaps only a mere variety arising from age or some other accidental circumstance. The ermine is also found at this place, but is rare and small; nor is the hair remarkably fine, though the animal appeared to be perfectly white; and squirrels are of the common sort, but the latter is rather smaller than ours, and has a deeper rusty colour running along the back.

We were clear as to the existence of all the animals already mentioned, but there are two others besides which we could not distinguish with sufficient certainty. Of the first of these we saw none of the skins but what were dressed or tanned like leather. The natives wear them on some occasions, and from the size as well as thickness they were generally concluded to belong to the elk or moose-deer, though some of them perhaps might belong to the buffalo. The other animal, which seems by no means rare, was guessed to be a species of the wild cat or lynx. The length of the skins without the head, which none of them had, was about two feet two inches. They are covered with a very fine wool or fur of a very light brown or whitish yellow colour, intermixed with long hairs, which on the back, where they are shortest, are blackish; on the sides, where they are longer, of a silver white; and on the belly, where they are longest, of the colour of the wool; but the whitish or

[1] The celebrated naturalist and antiquary, whose "British Zoology," "History of Quadrupeds," "Arctic Zoology," &c., are less remembered and relished at this day than his Tours in Scotland and in Wales, and his "Account of London."

silver hairs are often so predominant that the whole animal acquires a cast of that kind. The tail is only three inches long, and has a black tip. The whole skin being by the natives called "wanshee," that most probably is their name for this animal. Hogs, dogs, and goats have not as yet found their way to this place. Nor do the natives seem to have any knowledge of our brown rats, to which, when they saw one on board the ships, they applied the name they give to squirrels. And though they called our goats "eineetla," this most probably is their name for a young deer or fawn.

The sea-animals seen off the coast were whales, porpoises, and seals. The last of these seem only of the common sort, judging from the skins which we saw here; their colour being either silvery, yellowish, plain, or spotted with black. The porpoise is the *Phocena*. I have chosen to refer to this class the sea-otter, as living mostly in the water. It might have been sufficient to have mentioned that this animal abounds here, as it is fully described in different books taken from the accounts of the Russian adventurers in their expeditions eastward from Kamtschatka, if there had not been a small difference in one that we saw. We for some time entertained doubts whether the many skins which the natives brought really belonged to this animal, as our only reason for being of that opinion was founded on the size, colour, and fineness of the fur; till a short while before our departure, when a whole one that had been just killed was purchased from some strangers who came to barter. It was rather young, weighing only twenty-five pounds; of a shining or glossy black colour; but many of the hairs being tipt with white, gave it a greyish cast at first sight. The face, throat, and breast were of a yellowish white or very light brown colour, which in many of the skins extended the whole length of the belly. It had six cutting-teeth in each jaw; two of those of the lower jaw being very minute, and placed without at the base of the two middle ones. In these circumstances it seems to disagree with those found by the Russians, and also in not having the outer toes of the hind feet skirted with a membrane. There seemed also a greater variety in the colour of the skins than is mentioned by the describers of the Russian sea-otters. These changes of colour certainly take place at the different gradations of life. The very young ones had brown hair, which was coarse, with very little fur underneath, but those of the size of the entire animal which came into our possession had a considerable quantity of that substance; and both in that colour and state the sea-otters seem to remain till they have attained their full growth. After that they lose their black colour, and assume a deep brown or sooty colour; but have then a greater quantity of very fine fur and scarcely any long hairs. Others, which we suspected to be still older, were of a chestnut brown; and a few skins were seen that had even acquired a perfectly yellow colour. The fur of these animals, as mentioned in the Russian accounts, is certainly softer and finer than that of any others we know of, and therefore the discovery of this part of the continent of North America, where so valuable an article of commerce may be met with, cannot be a matter of indifference.

Birds in general are not only rare as to the different species, but very scarce as to numbers, and these few are so shy, that in all probability they are continually harassed by the natives, perhaps to eat them as food, certainly to get possession of their feathers, which they use as ornaments. Those which frequent the woods are crows and ravens, not at all different from our English ones; a bluish jay or magpie; common wrens, which are the only singing bird that we hear; the Canadian or migrating thrush; and a considerable number of brown eagles with white heads and tails, which, though they seem principally to frequent the coast, come into the sound in bad weather and sometimes

perch upon the trees. Amongst some other birds of which the natives either brought fragments or dried skins, we could distinguish a small species of hawk, a heron, and the *Alcyon* or large-crested American kingfisher. There are also some which, I believe, are not mentioned, or at least vary very considerably from the accounts given of them by any writers who have treated professedly on this part of natural history. The first two of these are species of woodpeckers; one less than a thrush, of a black colour above, with white spots on the wings, a crimson head, neck, and breast, and a yellowish, olive-coloured belly, from which last circumstance it might perhaps not improperly be called the yellow-bellied woodpecker. The other is a larger and much more elegant bird, of a dusky brown colour on the upper part, richly waved with black, except about the head, the belly of a reddish cast, with round black spots, a black spot on the breast, and the under side of the wings and tail of a plain scarlet colour, though blackish above; with a crimson streak running from the angle of the mouth a little down the neck on each side. The third and fourth are a small bird of the finch kind, about the size of a linnet, of a dark dusky colour, whitish below, with a black head and neck and white bill, and a sand-piper of the size of a small pigeon, of a dusky brown colour, and white below except the throat and breast, with a broad white band across the wings. There are also humming-birds; which yet seem to differ from the numerous sorts of this delicate animal already known, unless they be a mere variety of the *Trochilus colubris* of Linnæus. These perhaps inhabit more to the southward, and spread northward as the season advances, because we saw none at first, though near the time of our departure the natives brought them to the ships in great numbers. The birds which frequent the waters and the shores, are not more numerous than the others. The "quebrantahuesos" [or ospreys], gulls, and shags, were seen off the coast; and the last two also frequent the sound. They are of the common sorts, the shags being our cormorant or water-crow. We saw two sorts of wild ducks; one black, with a white head, which were in considerable flocks; the other white, with a red bill, but of a larger size; and the greater "lumme," or diver, found in our northern countries. There were also seen, once or twice, some swans flying across the sound to the northward, but we knew nothing of their haunts. On the shores, besides the sand-piper described above, we found another about the size of a lark, which bears a great affinity to the "burre;" and a plover differing very little from our common sea-lark.

Fish are more plentiful in quantity than birds, though the variety is not very great; and yet from several circumstances it is probable that even the variety is considerably increased at certain seasons. The principal sorts, which we found in great numbers, are the common herring, but scarcely exceeding seven inches in length; a smaller sort, which is the same with the anchovy or sardine, though rather larger; a white or silver-coloured bream, and another of a gold-brown colour, with many narrow longitudinal blue stripes. The herrings and sardines, doubtless, come in large shoals, and only at stated seasons, as is common with that sort of fish. The bream of both sorts may be reckoned the next to these in quantity; and the full-grown ones weighed at least a pound. The other fish, which are all scarce, are a small brown kind of "sculpin," such as is found on the coast of Norway; another of a brownish red cast; frost fish; a large one somewhat resembling the bullhead, with a tough skin destitute of scales; and now and then, towards the time of our leaving the sound, the natives brought a small brownish cod spotted with white, and a red fish of the same size, which some of our people said they had seen in the Straits of Magellan; besides another differing little from the hake. There are also con-

siderable numbers of those fish called the *Chimœræ*, or little sea-wolves, by some, which is akin to and about the size of the "pezegallo" or elephant-fish. Sharks likewise sometimes frequent the sound, for the natives have some of their teeth in their possession; and we saw some pieces of ray or skate which seemed to have been pretty large. The other marine animals that ought to be mentioned here are a small cruciated *Medusa* or blubber; star-fish which differ somewhat from the common ones; two small sorts of crabs, and two others which the natives brought, one of them of a thick, tough, gelatinous consistence, and the other a sort of membranaceous tube or pipe; both which are probably taken from the rocks. And we also purchased from them once a very large cuttle-fish. There is abundance of large mussels about the rocks; many sea-ears; and we often saw shells of pretty large plain *Chamæ*. The smaller sorts are some *Trochi* of two species; a curious *Murex*, rugged wilks, and a snail, all which are probably peculiar to this place; at least I do not recollect to have seen them in any country near the same latitude in either hemisphere. There are besides these some small plain cockles, limpets; and some strangers who came into the sound, wore necklaces of a small bluish volute, or *Panamæ*. Many of the mussels are a span in length, and some having pretty large pearls, which, however, are both badly shaped and coloured. We may conclude that there is red coral in the sound or somewhere upon the coast; some thick pieces or branches having been seen in the canoes of the natives.

The only animals of the reptile kind observed here, and found in the woods, were brown snakes two feet long, with whitish stripes on the back and sides, which are harmless, as we often saw the natives carry them alive in their hands; and brownish water-lizards, with a tail exactly like that of an eel, which frequented the small standing pools about the rocks. The insect tribe seem to be more numerous. For though the season which is peculiarly fitted to their appearing abroad was only beginning, we saw four or five different sorts of butterflies, none of which were uncommon; a good many humble bees; some of our common gooseberry moths; two or three sorts of flies; a few beetles; and some mosquitoes, which probably may be more numerous and troublesome, in a country so full of wood, during the summer, though at this time they did little mischief.

As to the mineral substances in this country, though we found both iron and copper here, there is little reason to believe that either of them belong to the place. Neither were the ores of any metal seen, if we except a coarse, red, earthy or ochry substance used by the natives in painting themselves, which probably may contain a little iron, with a white and black pigment used for the same purpose. But we did not procure specimens of them, and therefore cannot positively determine what are their component parts. Besides the stone or rock that constitutes the mountains and shores, which sometimes contains pieces of very coarse quartz, we found amongst the natives things made of a hard black granite, though not remarkably compact or fine grained; a greyish whetstone; the common oil-stone of our carpenters, in coarser and finer pieces; and some black bits which are little inferior to the hone-stone. The natives also use the transparent leafy "glimmer," or muscovy glass; a brown leafy or martial sort; and they sometimes brought to us pieces of rock crystal, tolerably transparent. The first two are probably found near the spot, as they seemed to be in considerable quantities; but the latter seems to be brought from a greater distance, or is very scarce, for our visitors always parted with it reluctantly. Some of the pieces were octangular, and had the appearance of being formed into that shape by art.

The persons of the natives are in general under the common stature, but not slender in proportion, being commonly pretty full or plump, though not muscular. Neither doth the soft

fleshiness seem ever to swell into corpulence; and many of the older people are rather spare or lean. The visage of most of them is round and full, and sometimes also broad, with large prominent cheeks; and above these the face is frequently much depressed, or seems fallen in quite across between the temples; the nose also flattening at its base, with pretty wide nostrils and a rounded point. The forehead rather low; the eyes small, black, and rather languishing than sparkling; the mouth round, with large round thickish lips; the teeth tolerably equal and well set, but not remarkably white. They have either no beards at all, which was most commonly the case, or a small thin one upon the point of the chin, which does not arise from any natural defect of hair on that part, but from plucking it out more or less; for some of them, and particularly the old men, have not only considerable beards all over the chin, but whiskers or moustaches both on the upper lip and running from thence towards the lower jaw obliquely downward. Their eyebrows are also scanty, and always narrow; but the hair of the head is in great abundance, very coarse and strong, and without a single exception black, straight, and lank, or hanging down over the shoulders. The neck is short; the arms and body have no particular mark of beauty or elegance in their formation, but are rather clumsy; and the limbs in all are very small in proportion to the other parts, and crooked or ill made, with large feet badly shaped, and projecting ankles. This last defect seems in a great measure to arise from their sitting so much on their hams or knees, both in their canoes and houses.

Their colour we could never positively determine, as their bodies were incrusted with paint and dirt, though in particular cases, when these were well rubbed off, the whiteness of the skin appeared almost to equal that of Europeans, though rather of that pale effete cast which distinguishes those of our southern nations. Their children, whose skins had never been stained with paint, also equalled ours in whiteness. During their youth some of them have no disagreeable look, if compared to the generality of the people; but this seems to be entirely owing to the particular animation attending that period of life, for after attaining a certain age there is hardly any distinction. Upon the whole, a very remarkable sameness seems to characterise the countenances of the whole nation; a dull phlegmatic want of expression, with very little variation, being strongly marked in all of them. The women are nearly of the same size, colour, and form with the men, from whom it is not easy to distinguish them, as they possess no natural delicacies sufficient to render their persons agreeable; and hardly any one was seen, even amongst those who were in the prime of life, who had the least pretensions to be called handsome.

Their common dress is a flaxen garment, or mantle, ornamented on the upper edge by a narrow strip of fur, and at the lower edge by fringes or tassels. It passes under the left arm, and is tied over the right shoulder by a string before and one behind, near its middle, by which means both arms are free; and it hangs evenly, covering the left side, but leaving the right open, except from the loose part of the edges falling upon it, unless when the mantle is fastened by a girdle (of coarse matting or woollen) round the waist, which is often done. Over this, which reaches below the knees, is worn a small cloak of the same substance, likewise fringed at the lower part. In shape this resembles a round dish-cover, being quite close except in the middle, where there is a hole just large enough to admit the head; and then, resting upon the shoulders, it covers the arms to the elbows and the body as far as the waist. Their head is covered with a cap of the figure of a truncated cone, or like a flower-pot, made of fine matting, having the top frequently ornamented with a round or pointed knob or a bunch of leathern tassels; and there is a string that passes under

the chin to prevent its blowing off. Besides the above dress, which is common to both sexes, the men frequently throw over their other garments the skin of a bear, wolf, or sea-otter, with the hair outward, and tie it as a cloak near the upper part, wearing it sometimes before and sometimes behind. In rainy weather they throw a coarse mat about their shoulders. They have also woollen garments, which, however, are little in use. The hair is commonly worn hanging down loose; but some, when they have no cap, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head. Their dress upon the whole is convenient, and would by no means be inelegant were it kept clean. But as they rub their bodies constantly over with a red paint of a clayey or coarse ochry substance mixed with oil, their garments by this means contract a rancid offensive smell and a greasy nastiness. So that they make a very wretched dirty appearance; and what is still worse, their heads and their garments swarm with vermin, which, so depraved is their taste for cleanliness, we used to see them pick off with great composure and eat.

Though their bodies are always covered with red paint, their faces are often stained with a black, a bright red, or a white colour, by way of ornament. The last of these gives them a ghastly, disgusting aspect. They also strew the brown martial mica upon the paint, which makes it glitter. The ears of many of them are perforated in the lobe, where they make a pretty large hole, and two others higher up on the outer edge. In these holes they hang bits of bone, quills fixed upon a leathern thong, small shells, bunches of woollen tassels, or pieces of thin copper, which our beads could never supplant. The *septum* of the nose in many is also perforated, through which they draw a piece of soft cord; and others wear at the same place small thin pieces of iron, brass, or copper, shaped almost like a horseshoe, the narrow opening of which receives the *septum* so as that the two points may gently pinch it, and the ornament thus hangs over the upper lip. The rings of our brass buttons, which they eagerly purchased, were appropriated to this use. About their wrists they wear bracelets or bunches of white bugle beads, made of a conic shelly substance; bunches of thongs with tassels; or a broad, black, shining, horny substance, of one piece. And about their ankles they also frequently wear many folds of leathern thongs, or the sinews of animals twisted to a considerable thickness.

Thus far of their ordinary dress and ornaments; but they have some that seem to be used only on extraordinary occasions, either when they exhibit themselves as strangers, in visits of ceremony, or when they go to war. Amongst the first may be considered the skins of animals, such as wolves or bears, tied on in the usual manner, but ornamented at the edges with broad borders of fur, or of the woollen stuff manufactured by them, ingeniously wrought with various figures. These are worn either separately or over their other common garments. On such occasions the most common headdress is a quantity of withe, or half-beaten bark, wrapped about the head, which at the same time has various large feathers, particularly those of eagles, stuck in it, or is entirely covered, or we may say powdered, with small white feathers. The face, at the same time, is variously painted, having its upper and lower parts of different colours, the strokes appearing like fresh gashes; or it is besmeared with a kind of tallow, mixed with paint, which is afterward formed into a great variety of regular figures, and appears like carved work. Sometimes, again, the hair is separated into small parcels, which are tied at intervals of about two inches, to the end, with thread; and others tie it together behind, after our manner, and stick branches of the *Cypressus thyoides* in it. Thus dressed, they have a truly savage and incongruous appearance; but this is much heightened when they assume what may be called their monstrous decorations. These consist of an endless variety of carved wooden

masks or visors applied on the face, or to the upper part of the head or forehead. Some of these resemble human faces, furnished with hair, beards, and eye-brows; others, the heads of birds, particularly of eagles and "quebrantahuesos;" and many, the heads of land and sea animals, such as wolves, deer, porpoises, and others. But in general these representations much exceed the natural size; and they are painted, and often strewed with pieces of the foliaceous mica, which makes them glitter, and serves to augment their enormous deformity. They even exceed this sometimes, and fix on the same part of the head large pieces of carved work, resembling the prow of a canoe, painted in the same manner, and projecting to a considerable distance. So fond are they of these disguises, that I have seen one of them put his head into a tin kettle he had got from us, for want of another sort of mask. Whether they use these extravagant masquerade ornaments on any particular religious occasion or diversion; or whether they be put on to intimidate their enemies when they go to battle, by their monstrous appearance, or as decoys when they go to hunt animals, is uncertain. But it may be concluded that if travellers or voyagers in an ignorant and credulous age, when many unnatural or marvellous things were supposed to exist, had seen a number of people decorated in this manner, without being able to approach so near as to be undeceived, they would readily have believed, and in their relations, would have attempted to make others believe, that there existed a race of beings partaking of the nature of man and beast; more especially when, besides the heads of animals on the human shoulders, they might have seen the whole bodies of their men-monsters covered with quadrupeds' skins.

The only dress amongst the people of Nootka observed by us that seems peculiarly adapted to war, is a thick leathern mantle doubled, which from its size appears to be the skin of an elk or buffalo tanned. This they fasten on in the common manner; and it is so contrived that it may reach up and cover the breast quite to the throat, falling at the same time almost to the heels. It is sometimes ingeniously painted in different compartments, and is not only sufficiently strong to resist arrows, but, as they informed us by signs, even spears cannot pierce it, so that it may be considered as their coat of mail or most complete defensive armour. Upon the same occasion they sometimes wear a kind of leathern cloak, covered with rows of dried hoofs of deer disposed horizontally, appended by leathern thongs covered with quills; which when they move make a loud rattling noise, almost equal to that of many small bells. It seems doubtful, however, whether this part of their garb be intended to strike terror in war, or only is to be considered as belonging to their eccentric ornaments on ceremonious occasions, for we saw one of their musical entertainments conducted by a man dressed in this sort of cloak, with his mask on, and shaking his rattle.

Though these people cannot be viewed without a kind of horror when equipped in such extravagant dresses, yet when divested of them and beheld in their common habit and actions, they have not the least appearance of ferocity in their countenances; and seem on the contrary, as observed already, to be of a quiet, phlegmatic, and inactive disposition, destitute in some measure of that degree of animation and vivacity that would render them agreeable as social beings. If they are not reserved, they are far from being loquacious; but their gravity is perhaps rather a consequence of the disposition just mentioned than of any conviction of its propriety, or the effect of any particular mode of education. For even in the greatest paroxysms of their rage they seem unable to express it sufficiently, either with warmth of language or significancy of gestures. Their orations, which are made either when engaged in any altercation or dispute, or to explain their sentiments

publicly on other occasions, seem little more than short sentences, or rather single words, forcibly repeated and constantly in one tone and degree of strength, accompanied only with a single gesture, which they use at every sentence, jerking their whole body a little forward by bending the knees, their arms hanging down by their sides at the same time.

Though there be but too much reason, from their bringing to sale human skulls and bones, to infer that they treat their enemies with a degree of brutal cruelty, this circumstance rather marks a general agreement of character with that of almost every tribe of uncivilised man in every age and in every part of the globe, than that they are to be reproached with any charge of peculiar inhumanity. We had no reason to judge unfavourably of their disposition in this respect. They seem to be a docile, courteous, good-natured people; but, notwithstanding the predominant phlegm of their tempers, quick in resenting what they look upon as an injury, and, like most other passionate people, as soon forgetting it. I never found that these fits of passion went further than the parties immediately concerned; the spectators not troubling themselves about the quarrel, whether it was with any of us or amongst their own body, and preserving as much indifference as if they had not known anything about it. I have often seen one of them rave and scold, without any of his countrymen paying the least attention to his agitation, and when none of us could trace the cause or the object of his displeasure. In such cases they never discover the least symptom of timidity, but seem determined at all events to punish the insult. For even with respect to us they never appeared to be under the least apprehension of our superiority; but, when any difference happened, were just as ready to avenge the wrong as amongst themselves.

Their other passions, especially their curiosity, appear in some measure to lie dormant. For few expressed any desire to see or examine things wholly unknown to them, and which, to those truly possessed of that passion, would have appeared astonishing. They were always contented to procure the articles they knew and wanted, regarding everything else with great indifference; nor did our persons, apparel, and manners, so different from their own, or even the extraordinary size and construction of our ships, seem to excite admiration or even engage attention. One cause of this may be their indolence, which seems considerable. But on the other hand they are certainly not wholly unsusceptible of the tender passions, if we may judge from their being so fond of music, which is mostly of the grave or serious but truly pathetic sort. They keep the exactest concert in their songs, which are often sung by great numbers together, as those already mentioned with which they used to entertain us in their canoes. These are generally slow and solemn; but the music is not of that confined sort found amongst many rude nations, for the variations are very numerous and expressive, and the cadence or melody powerfully soothing. Besides their full concerts, sonnets of the same grave cast were frequently sung by single performers, who keep time by striking the hand against the thigh. However, the music was sometimes varied from its predominant solemnity of air, and there were instances of stanzas being sung in a more gay and lively strain, and even with a degree of humour.

The only instruments of music (if such they may be called) which I saw amongst them were a rattle, and a small whistle, about an inch long, incapable of any variation, from having but one hole. They use the rattle when they sing; but upon what occasions they use the whistle I know not, unless it be when they dress themselves like particular animals, and endeavour to imitate their howl or cry. I once saw one of them dressed in a wolf-skin, with the head over his own, and imitating that animal by making a squeaking noise

with one of these whistles, which he had in his mouth. The rattles are for the most part made in the shape of a bird, with a few pebbles in the belly; and the tail is the handle. They have others, however, that bear rather more resemblance to a child's rattle.

In trafficking with us, some of them would betray a knavish disposition, and carry off our goods without making any return. But in general it was otherwise; and we had abundant reason to commend the fairness of their conduct. However, their eagerness to possess iron and brass, and indeed any kind of metal, was so great, that few of them could resist the temptation to steal it whenever an opportunity offered. The inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, as appears from a variety of instances in the course of this voyage, rather than be idle, would steal anything that they could lay their hands upon, without ever considering whether it could be of use to them or no. The novelty of the object with them was a sufficient motive for endeavouring by any indirect means to get possession of it; which marked that in such cases they were rather actuated by a childish curiosity than by a dishonest disposition, regardless of the modes of supplying real wants. The inhabitants of Nootka, who invaded our property, cannot have such apology made for them. They were thieves in the strictest sense of the word; for they pilfered nothing from us but what they knew could be converted to the purposes of private utility, and had a real value according to their estimation of things. And it was lucky for us that nothing was thought valuable by them but the single articles of our metals. Linen and such like things were perfectly secure from their depredations; and we could safely leave them hanging out ashore all night without watching. The same principle which prompted our Nootka friends to pilfer from us, it was natural to suppose, would produce a similar conduct in their intercourse with each other. And accordingly we had abundant reason to believe, that stealing is much practised amongst them, and that it chiefly gives rise to their quarrels, of which we saw more than one instance.

CHAPTER III.

THE two towns or villages mentioned in the course of my Journal seem to be the only inhabited parts of the sound. The number of inhabitants in both might be pretty exactly computed from the canoes that were about the ships the second day after our arrival. They amounted to about a hundred, which, at a very moderate allowance, must upon an average have held five persons each. But as there were scarcely any women, very old men, children, or youths amongst them at that time, I think it will rather be rating the number of the inhabitants of the two towns too low if we suppose they could be less than four times the number of our visitors, that is, 2000 in the whole.

The village at the entrance of the sound stands on the side of a rising ground, which has a pretty steep ascent from the beach to the verge of the wood, in which space it is situated. The houses are disposed in three ranges or rows, rising gradually behind each other, the largest being that in front, and the others less; besides a few straggling or single ones at each end. These ranges are interrupted or disjoined at irregular distances by narrow paths or lanes that pass upward; but those which run in the direction of the houses between the rows are much broader. Though there be some appearance of regularity in this disposition, there is none in the single houses; for each of the divisions made by the paths may be considered either as one house or as many, there being no regular or complete separation either without or within to distinguish them by. They are built of very long and broad planks, resting upon the edges of each other, fastened or tied by withes

of pine-bark here and there, and have only slender posts, or rather poles, at considerable distances on the outside, to which they are also tied; but within are some larger poles placed aslant. The height of the sides and ends of these habitations is seven or eight feet; but the back part is a little higher, by which means the planks that compose the roof slant forward, and are laid on loose so as to be moved about, either to be put close to exclude the rain, or in fair weather to be separated to let in the light and carry out the smoke. They are, however, upon the whole, miserable dwellings, and constructed with little care or ingenuity. For though the side planks be made to fit pretty closely in some places, in others they are quite open; and there are no regular doors into them, the only way of entrance being either by a hole, where the unequal length of the planks has accidentally left an opening; or in some cases planks are made to pass a little beyond each other, or overlap, about two feet asunder, and the entrance is in this space. There are also holes or windows in the sides of the houses to look out at, but without any regularity of shape or disposition; and these have bits of mat hung before them to prevent the rain getting in.

On the inside one may frequently see from one end to the other of these ranges of building without interruption. For though in general there be the rudiments, or rather vestiges, of separations on each side for the accommodation of different families, they are such as do not intercept the sight; and often consist of no more than pieces of plank running from the side toward the middle of the house, so that, if they were complete, the whole might be compared to a long stable, with a double range of stalls, and a broad passage in the middle. Close to the sides, in each of these parts, is a little bench of boards, raised five or six inches higher than the rest of the floor, and covered with mats, on which the family sit and sleep. These benches are commonly seven or eight feet long, and four or five broad. In the middle of the floor, between them, is the fireplace, which has neither hearth nor chimney. In one house, which was in the end of a middle range, almost quite separated from the rest by a high close partition, and the most regular as to design of any that I saw, there were four of these benches, each of which held a single family at a corner, but without any separation by boards; and the middle part of the house appeared common to them all.

Their furniture consists chiefly of a great number of chests and boxes of all sizes, which are generally piled upon each other close to the sides or ends of the house, and contain their spare garments, skins, masks, and other things which they set a value upon. Some of these are double, or one covers the other as a lid; others have a lid fastened with thongs; and some of the very large ones have a square hole or scuttle cut in the upper part, by which the things are put in and taken out. They are often painted black, studded with the teeth of different animals, or carved with a kind of frieze-work, and figures of birds or animals, as decorations. Their other domestic utensils are mostly square and oblong pails or buckets to hold water and other things; round wooden cups and bowls, and small shallow wooden troughs about two feet long, out of which they eat their food; and baskets of twigs, bags of matting, &c. Their fishing implements and other things also lie or hang up in different parts of the house, but without the least order, so that the whole is a complete scene of confusion; and the only places that do not partake of this confusion are the sleeping-benches, that have nothing on them but the mats, which are also cleaner or of a finer sort than those they commonly have to sit on in their boats. The nastiness and stench of their houses are, however, at least equal to the confusion. For as they dry their fish within doors, they also gut them there; which, with their bones and fragments thrown down at meals, and the addi-

tion of other sorts of filth, lie everywhere in heaps, and are, I believe, never carried away till it becomes troublesome from their size to walk over them. In a word, their houses are as filthy as hog-sties; everything in and about them stinking of fish, train-oil, and smoke.

But amidst all the filth and confusion that are found in the houses, many of them are decorated with images. These are nothing more than the trunks of very large trees, four or five feet high, set up singly or by pairs at the upper end of the apartment, with the front carved into a human face, the arms and hands cut out upon the sides, and variously painted; so that the whole is a truly monstrous figure. The general name of these images is "klumma;" and the names of two particular ones, which stood abreast of each other, three or four feet asunder, in one of the houses, were "Natchkoa" and "Matseeta." A mat, by way of curtain, for the most part hung before them, which the natives were not willing at all times to remove; and when they did unveil them they seemed to speak of them in a very mysterious manner. It should seem that they are at times accustomed to make offerings to them; if we can draw this inference from their desiring us, as we interpreted their signs, to give something to these images when they drew aside the mats that covered them. It was natural from these circumstances for us to think that they were representatives of their gods, or symbols of some religious or superstitious object; and yet we had proofs of the little real estimation they were in, for with a small quantity of iron or brass I could have purchased all the gods (if their images were such) in the place. I did not see one that was not offered to me; and I actually got two or three of the very smallest sort.

The chief employment of the men seems to be that of fishing, and killing land or sea animals, for the sustenance of their families, for we saw few of them doing anything in the houses; whereas the women were occupied in manufacturing their flaxen or woollen garments, and in preparing the sardines for drying, which they also carry up from the beach in twig-baskets after the men have brought them in their canoes. The women are also sent in the small canoes to gather mussels and other shell-fish, and perhaps on some other occasions; for they manage these with as much dexterity as the men, who, when in the canoes with them, seem to pay little attention to their sex by offering to relieve them from the labour of the paddle, nor indeed do they treat them with any particular respect or tenderness in other situations. The young men appeared to be the most indolent or idle set in this community; for they were either sitting about in scattered companies to bask themselves in the sun, or lay wallowing in the sand upon the beach like a number of hogs, for the same purpose, without any covering. But this disregard of decency was confined to the men. The women were always properly clothed, and behaved with the utmost propriety, justly deserving all commendation for a bashfulness and modesty becoming their sex; but more meritorious in them as the men seem to have no sense of shame. It is impossible, however, that we should have been able to observe the exact mode of their domestic life and employments from a single visit (as the first was quite transitory) of a few hours. For it may be easily supposed that on such an occasion most of the labour of all the inhabitants of the village would cease upon our arrival, and an interruption be given even to the usual manner of appearing in their houses during their more remiss or sociable hours, when left to themselves. We were much better enabled to form some judgment of their disposition, and in some measure even of their method of living, from the frequent visits so many of them paid us at our ships in their canoes; in which, it should seem, they spend a great deal of time, at least in the summer season. For we observed

that they not only eat and sleep frequently in them, but strip off their clothes and lay themselves along to bask in the sun, in the same manner as we had seen practised at their village. Their canoes of the larger sort are, indeed, sufficiently spacious for that purpose, and perfectly dry; so that, under shelter of a skin, they are, except in rainy weather, much more comfortable habitations than their houses.

Though their food, strictly speaking, may be said to consist of everything animal or vegetable that they can procure, the quantity of the latter bears an exceedingly small proportion to that of the former. Their greatest reliance seems to be upon the sea as affording fish, mussels, and smaller shell-fish, and sea-animals. Of the first the principal are herrings and sardines, the two species of bream formerly mentioned, and small cod. But the herrings and sardines are not only eaten fresh in their season, but likewise serve as stores which, after being dried and smoked, are preserved by being sewed up in mats, so as to form large bales three or four feet square. It seems that the herrings also supply them with another grand resource for food, which is a vast quantity of roe, very curiously prepared. It is strewed upon, or, as it were, incrustated about small branches of the Canadian pine. They also prepare it upon a long narrow sea-grass which grows plentifully upon the rocks under water. This caviare, if it may be so called, is kept in baskets or bags of mat, and used occasionally, being first dipped in water. It may be considered as the winter bread of these people, and has no disagreeable taste. They also eat the roe of some other fish, which from the size of its grains must be very large, but it has a rancid taste and smell. It does not appear that they prepare any other fish in this manner to preserve them for any length of time. For though they split and dry a few of the bream and *Chimæræ*, which are pretty plentiful, they do not smoke them as the herrings and sardines.

The next article on which they seem to depend for a large proportion of their food is the large mussel, great abundance of which are found in the sound. These are roasted in their shells, then stuck upon long wooden skewers and taken off occasionally as wanted, being eaten without any other preparation, though they often dip them in oil as a sauce. The other marine productions, such as the smaller shell-fish, though they contribute to increase the general stock, are by no means to be looked upon as a standing or material article of their food when compared to those just mentioned. Of the sea-animals the most common that we saw in use amongst them as food is the porpoise, the fat or rind of which, as well as the flesh, they cut in large pieces, and having dried them as they do the herrings, eat them without any further preparation. They also prepare a sort of broth from this animal in its fresh state in a singular manner, putting pieces of it in a square wooden vessel or bucket with water, and then throwing heated stones into it. This operation they repeat till they think the contents are sufficiently stewed or seethed. They put in the fresh and take out the other stones with a cleft stick, which serves as tongs, the vessel being always placed near the fire for that purpose. This is a pretty common dish amongst them, and from its appearance seems to be strong nourishing food. The oil which they procure from these and other sea-animals is also used by them in great quantities, both supping it alone with a large scoop or spoon made of horn, or mixing it with other food as sauce. It may also be presumed that they feed upon other sea-animals, such as seals, sea-otters, and whales; not only from the skins of the two first being frequent amongst them, but from the great number of implements of all sorts intended to destroy these different animals, which clearly points out their dependence upon them. Though perhaps they do not catch them in great plenty at all seasons, which seemed to be the case while we lay there, as

no great number of fresh skins or pieces of the flesh were seen. The same might perhaps be said of the land-animals, which, though doubtless the natives sometimes kill them, appeared to be scarce at this time, as we did not see a single piece of the flesh belonging to any of them; and though their skins be in tolerable plenty, it is probable that many of these are procured by traffic from other tribes. Upon the whole, it seems plain from a variety of circumstances that these people procure almost all their animal food from the sea, if we except a few birds, of which the gulls or sea-fowl, which they shoot with their arrows, are the most material.

As the Canadian pine-branches and sea-grass on which the fish-roe is strewed may be considered as their only winter vegetables, so as the spring advances they make use of several others as they come in season. The most common of these which we observed were two sorts of liliaceous roots, one simply tunicated, the other granulated upon its surface, called "mahkatte" and "koohquoppa," which have a mild sweetish taste, and are mucilaginous and eaten raw. The next which they have in great quantities is a root called "aheita," resembling in taste our liquorice, and another fern root whose leaves were not yet disclosed. They also eat raw another small, sweetish, insipid root about the thickness of sarsaparilla, but we were ignorant of the plant to which it belongs; and also of another root, which is very large and palmated, which we saw them dig up near the village and afterward eat it. It is also probable that as the season advances they have many others which we did not see. For though there be no appearance of cultivation amongst them, there are great quantities of alder, gooseberry, and currant-bushes, whose fruit they may eat in their natural state, as we have seen them eat the leaves of the last, and of the lilies, just as they were plucked from the plant. It must, however, be observed that one of the conditions which they seem to require in all food is, that it should be of the bland or less acrid kind; for they would not eat the leek or garlic, though they brought vast quantities to sell when they understood we were fond of it. Indeed they seemed to have no relish for any of our food; and when offered spirituous liquors, they rejected them as something unnatural and disgusting to the palate.

Though they sometimes eat small marine-animals, in their fresh state, raw, it is their common practice to roast or broil their food; for they are quite ignorant of our method of boiling, unless we allow that of preparing their porpoise broth is such; and indeed their vessels, being all of wood, are quite insufficient for this purpose. Their manner of eating is exactly consonant to the nastiness of their houses and persons; for the troughs and platters in which they put their food appear never to have been washed from the time they were first made, and the dirty remains of a former meal are only swept away by the succeeding one. They also tear everything solid or tough to pieces with their hands and teeth; for though they make use of their knives to cut off the larger portions, they have not as yet thought of reducing these to smaller pieces and mouthfuls by the same means, though obviously more convenient and cleanly. But they seem to have no idea of cleanliness; for they eat the roots which they dig from the ground without so much as shaking off the soil that adheres to them. We are uncertain if they have any set time for meals; for we have seen them eat at all hours in their canoes. And yet, from seeing several messes of the porpoise broth preparing towards noon, when we visited the village, I should suspect that they make a principal meal about that time.

Their weapons are bows and arrows, slings, spears, short truncheons of bone somewhat like the "patoo patoo" of New Zealand, and a small pick-axe not unlike the common American tomahawk. The spear has generally a long point made of bone. Some of the arrows are pointed with iron; but

most commonly their points were of indented bone. The tomahawk is a stone, six or eight inches long, pointed at one end, and the other end fixed into a handle of wood. This handle resembles the head and neck of the human figure; and the stone is fixed in the mouth, so as to represent an enormously large tongue. To make the resemblance still stronger, human hair is also fixed to it. This weapon they call "taaweesh" or "tsuskeeah." They have another stone weapon called "seeaik," nine inches or a foot long, with a square point. From the number of stone weapons and others, we might almost conclude that it is their custom to engage in close fight; and we had too convincing proofs that their wars are both frequent and bloody, from the vast number of human skulls which they brought to sell.

Their manufactures and mechanic arts are far more extensive and ingenious, whether we regard the design or the execution, than could have been expected from the natural disposition of the people and the little progress that civilisation has made amongst them in other respects. The flaxen and woollen garments with which they cover themselves must necessarily engage their first care, and are the most material of those that can be ranked under the head of manufactures. The former of these are made of the bark of a pine-tree, beat into a hempen state. It is not spun, but after being properly prepared is spread upon a stick which is fastened across to two others that stand upright. It is disposed in such a manner that the manufacturer, who sits on her hams at this simple machine, knots it across with small plaited threads at the distance of half-an-inch from each other. Though by this method it be not so close or firm as cloth that is woven, the bunches between the knots make it sufficiently impervious to the air, by filling the interstices; and it has the additional advantage of being softer and more pliable. The woollen garments, though probably manufactured in the same manner, have the strongest resemblance to woven cloth. But the various figures which are very artificially inserted in them destroy the supposition of their being wrought in a loom; it being extremely unlikely that these people should be so dexterous as to be able to finish such a complex work unless immediately by their hands. They are of different degrees of fineness; some resembling our coarsest rugs or blankets, and others almost equal to our finest sorts, or even softer, and certainly warmer. The wool of which they are made seems to be taken from animals, as the fox and brown lynx, the last of which is by far the finest sort, and in its natural state differs little from the colour of our coarser wools; but the hair with which the animal is also covered being intermixed, its appearance when wrought is somewhat different. The ornamental parts or figures in these garments, which are disposed with great taste, are commonly of a different colour, being dyed chiefly either of a deep brown or of a yellow; the last of which, when it is new, equals the best in our carpets as to brightness.

To their taste or design in working figures upon their garments, corresponds their fondness for carving in everything they make of wood. Nothing is without a kind of frieze-work or the figure of some animal upon it; but the most general representation is that of the human face, which is often cut out upon birds, and the other monstrous figures mentioned before, and even upon their stone and their bone weapons. The general design of all these things is perfectly sufficient to convey a knowledge of the object they are intended to represent; but the carving is not executed with the nicety that a dexterous artist would bestow even upon an indifferent design. The same, however, cannot be said of many of the human masks and heads, where they show themselves to be ingenious sculptors. They not only preserve with exactness the general character of their own faces, but finish the more minute parts with a degree of accuracy in proportion and neatness in execu-

tion. The strong propensity of this people to works of this sort is remarkable, in a vast variety of particulars. Small whole human figures; representations of birds, fish, and land and sea animals; models of their household utensils, and of their canoes, were found amongst them in great abundance.

The imitative arts being nearly allied, no wonder that to their skill in working figures in their garments and carving them in wood, they should add that of drawing them in colours. We have sometimes seen the whole process of their whale-fishery painted on the caps they wear. This, though rudely executed, serves at least to show that though there be no appearance of the knowledge of letters amongst them, they have some notion of a method of commemorating and representing actions in a lasting way, independently of what may be recorded in their songs and traditions. They have also other figures painted on some of their things; but it is doubtful if they ought to be considered as symbols that have certain established significations, or only the mere creation of fancy and caprice.

Their canoes are of a simple structure, but, to appearance, well calculated for every useful purpose. Even the largest, which carry twenty people or more, are formed of one tree. Many of them are forty feet long, seven broad, and about three deep. From the middle towards each end they become gradually narrower, the after-part or stern ending abruptly or perpendicularly, with a small knob on the top; but the forepart is lengthened out, stretching forwards and upwards, ending in a notched point, or prow, considerably higher than the sides of the canoe, which run nearly in a straight line. For the most part they are without any ornament, but some have a little carving, and are decorated by setting seals' teeth on the surface, like studs; as is the practice on their masks and weapons. A few have likewise a kind of additional head or prow, like a large cutwater, which is painted with the figure of some animal. They have no seats, nor any other supporters on the inside than several round sticks, little thicker than a cane, placed across at mid depth. They are very light, and their breadth and flatness enable them to swim firmly without an outrigger, which none of them have; a remarkable distinction between the navigation of all the American nations, and that of the Southern parts of the East Indies and the islands in the Pacific Ocean. Their paddles are small and light; the shape in some measure resembling that of a large leaf pointed at the bottom, broadest in the middle, and gradually losing itself in the shaft, the whole being about five feet long. They have acquired great dexterity in managing these paddles by constant use; for sails are no part of their art of navigation.

Their implements for fishing and hunting, which are both ingeniously contrived and well made, are nets, hooks and lines, harpoons, gigs, and an instrument like an oar. This last is about twenty feet long, four or five inches broad, and about half-an-inch thick. Each edge, for about two-thirds of its length (the other third being its handle), is set with sharp bone teeth about two inches long. Herrings and sardines, and such other small fish as come in shoals, are attacked with this instrument, which is struck into the shoal, and the fish are caught either upon or between the teeth. Their hooks are made of bone and wood, and rather inartificially; but the harpoon with which they strike the whales and lesser sea animals shows a great reach of contrivance. It is composed of a piece of bone, cut into two barbs, in which is fixed the oval blade of a large mussel shell, in which is the point of the instrument. To this are fastened about two or three fathoms of rope; and to throw this harpoon they use a shaft of about twelve or fifteen feet long, to which the line or rope is made fast, and to one end of which the harpoon is fixed, so as to separate from the shaft, and leave it floating upon the water as a buoy when the animal darts away with the harpoon.

We can say nothing as to the man-

ner of their catching or killing land animals, unless we may suppose that they shoot the smaller sorts with their arrows, and engage bears or wolves and foxes with their spears. They have, indeed, several nets, which are probably applied to that purpose, as they frequently threw them over their heads, to show their use, when they brought them to us for sale. They also sometimes decoy animals by covering themselves with a skin, and running about upon all fours, which they do very nimbly, as appeared from the specimens of their skill which they exhibited to us, making a kind of noise or neighing at the same time; and on these occasions the masks, or carved heads, as well as the real dried heads, of the different animals are put on. As to the materials of which they make their various articles, it is to be observed that everything of the rope kind is formed either from thongs of skins and sinews of animals, or from the same flaxen substance of which their mantles are manufactured. The sinews often appeared to be of such a length, that it might be presumed they could be of no other animal than the whale. And the same may be said of the bones of which they make their weapons already mentioned; such as their bark-beating instruments, the points of their spears, and the barbs of their harpoons.

Their great dexterity in works of wood may in some measure be ascribed to the assistance they receive from iron tools. For as far as we know they use no other; at least we saw only one chisel of bone. And though originally their tools must have been of different materials, it is not improbable that many of their improvements have been made since they acquired a knowledge of that metal, which is now universally used in their various wooden works. The chisel and the knife are the only forms, as far as we saw, that iron assumes amongst them. The chisel is a long flat piece fitted into a handle of wood. A stone serves for a mallet, and a piece of fish skin for a polisher. I have seen some of these chisels that were eight or ten inches long, and three or four inches broad; but in general they were smaller. The knives are of various sizes; some very large; and their blades are crooked, somewhat like our pruning-knife, but the edge is on the back or convex part. Most of them that we saw were about the breadth and thickness of an iron hoop; and their singular form marks that they are not of European make. Probably they are imitations of their own original instruments used for the same purposes. They sharpen these iron tools upon a coarse slate whetstone, and likewise keep the whole instrument constantly bright.

Iron, which they call "seekemaile" (which name they also give to tin and all white metals), being familiar to these people, it was very natural for us to speculate about the mode of its being conveyed to them. Upon our arrival in the sound they immediately discovered a knowledge of traffic and an inclination for it, and we were convinced afterwards that they had not received this knowledge from a cursory interview with any strangers; but, from their method, it seemed to be an established practice of which they were fond, and in which they were also well skilled. With whom they carry on this traffic, may perhaps admit of some doubt. For though we found amongst them things doubtless of European manufacture, or at least derived from some civilised nation, such as iron and brass, it by no means appears that they receive them immediately from these nations. For we never observed the least sign of their having seen ships like ours before, nor of their having traded with such people. Many circumstances serve to prove this almost beyond a doubt. They were earnest in their inquiries, by signs, on our arrival, if we meant to settle amongst them, and if we came as friends; signifying, at the same time, that they gave the wood and water freely, from friendship. This not only proves that they considered the place as entirely their property, without fearing any superiority; but the inquiry would have been an unnatural

one, on a supposition that any ships had been here before, had trafficked and supplied themselves with wood and water, and had then departed; for in that case they might reasonably expect we would do the same. They indeed expressed no marks of surprise at seeing our ships. But this, as I observed before, may be imputed to their natural indolence of temper and want of curiosity. Nor were they even startled at the report of a musket; till one day, upon their endeavouring to make us sensible that their arrows and spears could not penetrate the hide dresses, one of our gentlemen shot a musket ball through one of them folded six times. At this they were so much staggered that they plainly discovered their ignorance of the effect of firearms. This was very often confirmed afterwards, when we used them at their village and other places to shoot birds, the manner of which plainly confounded them; and our explanations of the use of shot and ball were received with the most significant marks of their having no previous ideas on this matter.

Some accounts of a Spanish voyage to this coast in 1774 or 1775 had reached England before I sailed, but the foregoing circumstances sufficiently prove that these ships had not been at Nootka.[1] Besides this, it was evident that iron was too common here, was in too many hands, and the uses of it were too well known for them to have had the first knowledge of it so very lately, or indeed at any earlier period, by an accidental supply from a ship. Doubtless, from the general use they make of this metal, it may be supposed to come from some constant source by way of traffic, and that not of a very late date, for they are as dexterous in using their tools as the longest practice can make them. The most probable way, therefore, by which we can suppose that they get their iron, is by trading for it with other Indian tribes, who either have immediate communication with European settlements upon the continent, or receive it perhaps through several intermediate nations. The same might be said of the brass and copper found amongst them. Whether these things be introduced by way of Hudson's Bay and Canada from the Indians who deal with our traders, and so successively across from one tribe to the other, or whether they be brought from the north-western parts of Mexico in the same manner, perhaps cannot be easily determined. But it should seem that not only the rude materials, but some articles in their manufactured state, find their way hither. The brass ornaments for noses, in particular, are so neatly made that I am doubtful whether the Indians are capable of fabricating them. The materials certainly are European, as no American tribes have been found who knew the method of making brass; though copper has been commonly met with, and from its softness might be fashioned into any shape, and also polished. If our traders to Hudson's Bay and Canada do not use such articles in their traffic with the natives, they must have been introduced at Nootka from the quarter of Mexico, whence no doubt the two silver table-spoons met with here were originally derived. It is most probable, however, that the Spaniards are not such eager traders, nor have formed such extensive connections with the tribes north of Mexico as to supply them with quantities of iron, from which they can spare so much to the people here.[2]

[1] We now know that Captain Cook's conjecture was well founded. It appears from the Journal of this Voyage, already referred to, that the Spaniards had intercourse with the natives of this coast only in three places—in Latitude 41° 7′, in Latitude 47° 21′, and in Latitude 57° 18′. So that they were not within two degrees of Nootka; and it is most probable that the people there never heard of these Spanish ships.—*Note in Original Edition.*

[2] Though the two silver table-spoons found at Nootka Sound most probably came from the Spaniards in the south,

Of the political and religious institutions established amongst them, it cannot be supposed that we should learn much. This we could observe, that there are such men as chiefs who are distinguished by the name or title of "acweek," and to whom the others are in some measure subordinate. But I should guess the authority of each of these great men extends no further than the family to which he belongs, and who own him as their head. These "acweeks" were not always elderly men, from which I concluded that this title came to them by inheritance. I saw nothing that could give the least insight into their notions of religion besides the figures before mentioned, called by them "klumma." Most probably these were idols; but as they frequently mentioned the word "acweek" when they spoke of them, we may perhaps be authorised to suppose that they are the images of some of their ancestors, whom they venerate as divinities. But all this is mere conjecture, for we saw no act of religious homage paid to them, nor could we gain any information, as we had learned little more of the language than to ask the names of things, without being able to hold any conversation with the natives that might instruct us as to their institutions and traditions.

CHAPTER IV.

Having put to sea on the evening of the 26th, as before related, with strong signs of an approaching storm, these signs did not deceive us. We were hardly out of the sound before the wind in an instant shifted from NE. to SE. by E. and increased to a strong gale, with squalls and rain, and so dark a sky that we could not see the length of the ship. Being apprehensive, from the experience I had since our arrival on this coast, of the wind veering more to the S., which would put us in danger of a lee-shore, we got the tacks on board, and stretched off to the SW. under all the sail the ships could bear. Fortunately the wind veered no farther southerly than SE., so that at daylight the next morning we were quite clear of the coast.

The Discovery being at some distance astern, I brought to till she came up, and then bore away, steering NW., in which direction I supposed the coast to lie. The wind was at SE., blew very hard and in squalls, with thick hazy weather. At half-past one in the afternoon it blew a perfect hurricane, so that I judged it highly dangerous to run any longer before it, and therefore brought the ships to with their heads to the S. under the foresails and mizzen stay-sails. At this time the Resolution sprung a leak, which at first alarmed us not a little. It was found to be under the starboard buttock, where from the bread-room we could both hear and see the water rush in; and, as we then thought, two feet under water. But in this we were happily mistaken, for it was afterwards found to be even with the water-line, if not above it, when the ship was upright. It was no sooner discovered than the fish-room was found to be full of water, and the casks in it afloat; but this was in a great measure owing to the water not finding its way to the pumps through the coals that lay in the bottom of the room. For after the water was baled out, which employed us till midnight, and had found its way directly from the leak to the pumps, it appeared that one pump kept it under, which gave us no small satisfaction. In the evening the wind veered to the S., and its fury in some degree ceased. On this we set the mainsail and two topsails close-reefed, and stretched to the westward. But at 11 o'clock the gale again increased,

there seem to be sufficient grounds for believing that the regular supply of iron comes from a different quarter. It is remarkable that the Spaniards, in 1775, found at Puerto de la Trinidad, in Latitude 41° 7′, arrows pointed with copper or iron, which they understood were procured from the north. —*Note in Original Edition.*

and obliged us to take in the topsails, till 5 o'clock the next morning, when the storm began to abate, so that we could bear to set them again.

The weather now began to clear up, and being able to see several leagues round us, I steered more to the northward. At noon the Latitude, by observation, was 50° 1′, Longitude 229° 26′.[1] I now steered NW. by N. with a fresh gale at SSE. and fair weather. But at nine in the evening it began again to blow hard, and in squalls, with rain. With such weather, and the wind between SSE. and SW., I continued the same course till the 30th at four in the morning, when I steered N. by W. in order to make the land. I regretted very much indeed that I could not do it sooner, for this obvious reason, that we were now passing the place where geographers have placed the pretended strait of Admiral de Fonte.[2] For my own part I give no credit to such vague and improbable stories that carry their own confutation along with them. Nevertheless I was very desirous of keeping the American coast aboard in order to clear up this point beyond dispute. But it would have been highly imprudent in me to have engaged with the land in weather so exceedingly tempestuous, or to have lost the advantage of a fair wind by waiting for better weather. This same day at noon we were in the Latitude of 53° 22′, and in the Longitude of 225° 14′.

The next morning, being the 1st of May, seeing nothing of the land, I steered north-easterly, with a fresh breeze at SSE. and S., with squalls and showers of rain and hail. Our Latitude at noon was 54° 43′, and our Longitude 224° 44′. At seven in the evening, being in the Latitude of 55° 20′, we got sight of the land, extending from NNE. to E. or E. by S, about twelve or fourteen leagues distant. An hour after, I steered N. by W.; and at four the next morning the coast was seen from N. by W. to SE., the nearest part about six leagues distant. At this time the northern point of an inlet, or what appeared to be one, bore E. by S. It lies in the Latitude of 56°; and from it to the northward the coast seemed to be much broken, forming bays and harbours every two or three leagues, or else appearances much deceived us. At 6 o'clock, drawing nearer the land, I steered NW. by N., this being the direction of the coast, having a fresh gale at SE., with some showers of hail, snow, and sleet. Between 11 and 12 o'clock we passed a group of small islands lying under the mainland, in the Latitude of 56° 48′, and off, or rather to the northward of, the south point of a large bay. An arm of this bay, in the northern part of it, seemed to extend in towards the north, behind a round elevated mountain that lies between it and the sea. This mountain I called Mount Edgcumbe; and the point of land that shoots out from it Cape Edgcumbe. The latter lies in the Latitude of 57° 3′, and in the Longitude of 224° 7′; and at noon it bore N. 20°, W. six leagues distant. The land, except in some places close to the sea, is all of a considerable height, and hilly; but Mount Edgcumbe far out-tops all the other hills. It was wholly covered with snow, as were also all the other elevated hills; but the lower ones, and the flatter spots bordering upon the sea were free from it, and covered with wood.

As we advanced to the north, we

[1] As in the remaining part of this Book, the latitude and longitude are very frequently set down, the former being invariably north and the latter east, the constant repetition of the two words north and east has been omitted.

[2] Cook was in fact at this time passing the mouth of Dixon's Channel, between Queen Charlotte's Island and the Prince of Wales's Archipelago, a genuine examination of which, and of the numerous channels near, may have given the foundation for the ridiculous fables told in his name in 1708, nearly seventy years after the alleged date of his voyage, by a "sensational" literary hack in London.

found the coast from Cape Edgcumbe to trend to north and north-easterly for six or seven leagues, and there form a large bay. In the entrance of that bay are some islands, for which reason I named it the Bay of Islands. It lies in the Latitude of 57° 20′,[1] and seemed to branch into several arms, one of which turned to the south, and may probably communicate with the bay on the east side of Cape Edgcumbe, and make the land of that cape an island.

At half-an-hour past four in the morning on the 3d, Mount Edgcumbe bore S. 54° E.; a large inlet N. 50° E., distant six leagues; and the most advanced point of the land to the NW., lying under a very high peaked mountain, which obtained the name of Mount Fairweather, bore N. 32° W. The inlet was named Cross Sound, as being first seen on that day so marked in our Calendar. It appeared to branch in several arms, the largest of which turned to the northward. The south-east point of this sound is a high promontory, which obtained the name of Cross Cape. It lies in the Latitude of 57° 57′, and its Longitude is 223° 21′. At noon it bore SE.; and the point under the peaked mountain, which was called Cape Fairweather, N. by W. quarter W., distant thirteen leagues.

Here the NE. wind left us, and was succeeded by light breezes from the NW., which lasted for several days. I stood to the SW. and WSW. till 8 o'clock the next morning, when we tacked and stood towards the shore. At noon the Latitude was 58° 22′, and the Longitude 220° 45′. Mount Fairweather, the peaked mountain over the cape of the same name, bore N. 63° E.; the shore under it twelve leagues distant. This mountain, which lies in the Latitude of 58° 52′, and in the Longitude of 222°, and five leagues inland, is the highest of a chain, or rather a ridge, of mountains that rise at the NW. entrance of Cross Sound, and extend to the NW. in a parallel direction with the coast. These mountains were wholly covered with snow, from the highest summit down to the sea-coast, some few places excepted, where we could perceive trees rising, as it were, out of the sea; and which, therefore, we supposed grew on low land, or on islands bordering upon the shore of the continent. At five in the afternoon our Latitude being then 58° 53′, and our Longitude 220° 52′, the summit of an elevated mountain appeared above the horizon, bearing N. 26° W., and, as was afterward found, forty leagues distant. We supposed it to be Behring's Mount St Elias; and it stands by that name in our chart. This day we saw several whales, seals, and porpoises; many gulls, and several flocks of birds, which had a black ring about the head, the tip of the tail, and upper part of the wings, with a black band, and the rest bluish above and white below. We also saw a brownish duck, with a black or deep blue head and neck, sitting upon the water.

Having but light winds, with some calms, we advanced slowly; so that, on the 6th, at noon, we were only in the Latitude of 59° 8′, and in the Longitude of 220° 19′. Mount Fairweather bore S. 63° E., and Mount St Elias N. 30° W.; the nearest land about eight leagues distant. In the direction of N. 47° E. from this station, there was the appearance of a bay, and an island off the south point of it, that was covered with wood. It is here where I suppose Commodore Behring to have anchored. Behind the bay (which I shall distinguish by the name of Behring's Bay, in honour of its discoverer), or rather to the south of it, the chain of mountains before mentioned is interrupted by a plain of a few leagues' extent, beyond which the sight was unlimited; so that there is either a level country or water behind it. In the afternoon,

[1] It should seem that in this very bay the Spaniards in 1775 found their port which they call De los Remedios. The Latitude is exactly the same; and their Journal mentions its being protected by a long ridge of high islands.—*Note in Original Edition.*

having a few hours' calm, I took this opportunity to sound, and found twenty fathoms water over a muddy bottom. The calm was succeeded by a light breeze from the north, with which we stood to the westward; and at noon the next day we were in the Latitude of 59° 27′, and the Longitude of 219° 7′.

We now found the coast to trend very much to the west, inclining hardly anything to the north; and as we had the wind mostly from the westward, and but little of it, our progress was slow. On the 9th, at noon, the Latitude was 59° 30′, and the Longitude 217°. In this situation the nearest land was nine leagues distant, and Mount St Elias bore N. 30° E., nineteen leagues distant. This mountain lies twelve leagues inland, in the Latitude of 60° 27′, and in the Longitude of 219°. It belongs to a ridge of exceedingly high mountains, that may be reckoned a continuation of the former, as they are only divided from them by the plain above mentioned. They extend as far to the west as the Longitude of 217°, where, although they do not end, they lose much of their height, and become more broken and divided.

At noon on the 10th our Latitude was 59° 51′, and our Longitude 215° 56′, being no more than three leagues from the coast of the continent, which extended from E. half N. to NW. half W., as far as the eye could reach. To the westward of this last direction was an island that extended from N. 52° W. to S. 85° W., distant six leagues. A point shoots out from the main toward the NE. end of the island, bearing at this time N. 30° W., five or six leagues distant. This point I named Cape Suckling. The point of the cape is low; but within it is a tolerably high hill, which is disjoined from the mountains by low land, so that at a distance the cape looks like an island. On the north side of Cape Suckling is a bay that appeared to be of some extent, and to be covered from most winds. To this bay I had some thoughts of going to stop our leak, as all our endeavours to do it at sea had proved ineffectual. With this view I steered for the Cape; but as we had only variable light breezes we approached it slowly. However, before night we were near enough to see some low land spitting out from the cape to the NW., so as to cover the east part of the bay from the south wind. We also saw some small islands in the bay, and elevated rocks between the cape and the north-east end of the island. But still there appeared to be a passage on both sides of these rocks; and I continued steering for them all night, having from forty-three to twenty-seven fathoms water, over a muddy bottom.

At 4 o'clock next morning, the wind, which had been mostly at NE., shifted to N. This being against us, I gave up the design of going within the island or into the bay, as neither could be done without loss of time. I therefore bore up for the west end of the island. The wind blew faint, and at 10 o'clock it fell calm. Being not far from the island, I went in a boat, and landed upon it with a view of seeing what lay on the other side; but finding it farther to the hills than I expected, and the way being steep and woody, I was obliged to drop the design. At the foot of a tree, on a little eminence not far from the shore, I left a bottle with a paper in it on which were inscribed the names of the ships and the date of our discovery; and along with it I enclosed two silver twopenny pieces of his Majesty's coin, of the date 1772. These, with many others, were furnished me by the Rev. Dr Kaye;[1] and as a mark of my esteem and regard for that gentleman I named the island, after him, Kaye's Island. It is eleven or twelve leagues in length in the direction of NE. and SW., but its breadth is not above a league or a league and a half in any part of it. The SW. point, which lies in the Latitude of 59° 49′ and the Longitude of 216° 58′, is very remarkable, being

[1] Then Sub-almoner and Chaplain to his Majesty, afterwards Dean of Lincoln.

a naked rock elevated considerably above the land within it. There is also an elevated rock lying off it, which from some points of view appears like a ruined castle. Towards the sea the island terminates in a kind of bare sloping cliffs, with a beach, only a few paces across to their foot, of large pebble stones, intermixed in some places with a brownish clayey sand which the sea seems to deposit after rolling in, having been washed down from the higher parts by the rivulets or torrents. The cliffs are composed of a bluish stone or rock, in a soft or mouldering state, except in a few places. There are parts of the shore interrupted by small valleys and gullies. In each of these a rivulet or torrent rushes down with considerable impetuosity, though it may be supposed that they are only furnished from the snow, and last no longer than till it is all melted. These valleys are filled with pine-trees, which grow down close to the entrance, but only to about half-way up the higher or middle part of the island. The woody part also begins everywhere immediately above the cliffs, and is continued to the same height with the former, so that the island is covered as it were with a broad girdle of wood spread upon its side, included between the top of the cliffy shore and the higher parts in the centre. The trees, however, are far from being of an uncommon growth, few appearing to be larger than one might grasp round with his arms, and about forty or fifty feet high; so that the only purpose they could answer for shipping would be to make top-gallant-masts and other small things. How far we may judge of the size of the trees which grow on the neighbouring continent it may be difficult to determine. But it was observed that none larger than those we saw growing lay upon the beach amongst the drift-wood. The pine-trees seemed all of one sort, and there was neither the Canadian pine nor cypress to be seen. But there were a few which appeared to be the alder, that were but small, and had not yet shot forth their leaves. Upon the edges of the cliffs, and on some sloping ground, the surface was covered with a kind of turf about half-a-foot thick, which seemed composed of the common moss, and the top or upper part of the island had almost the same appearance as to colour, but whatever covered it seemed to be thicker. I found amongst the trees some currant and hawberry bushes, a small yellow-flowered violet, and the leaves of some other plants not yet in flower, particularly one which Mr Anderson supposed to be the *Heracleum* of Linnæus, the sweet herb which Steller, who attended Behring, imagined the Americans here dress for food in the same manner as the natives of Kamtschatka.

We saw flying about the wood a crow, two or three of the white-headed eagles mentioned at Nootka, and another sort full as large, which appeared also of the same colour, or blacker, and had only a white breast. In the passage from the ship to the shore we saw a great many fowls sitting upon the water, or flying about in flocks or pairs; the chief of which were a few "quebrantahuesos," divers, ducks or large petrels, gulls, shags, and burres. The divers were of two sorts: one very large, of a black colour, with a white breast and belly; the other smaller, and with a longer and more pointed bill, which seemed to be the common guillemot. The ducks were also of two sorts, one brownish, with a black or deep blue head and neck, and perhaps the stone duck described by Steller. The others fly in larger flocks, but are smaller than these, and are of a dirty black colour. The gulls were of the common sort, and those which fly in flocks. The shags were large and black with a white spot behind the wings as they flew, but probably only the larger water cormorant. There was also a single bird seen flying about, to appearance of the gull kind, of a snowy white colour with black along part of the upper side of its wings. I owe all these remarks to Mr Anderson. At the place where we landed, a fox came

from the verge of the wood, and eyed us with very little emotion, walking leisurely without any signs of fear. He was of a reddish-yellow colour, like some of the skins we bought at Nootka, but not of a large size. We also saw two or three little seals off shore, but no other animals or birds, nor the least signs of inhabitants having ever been upon the island. I returned on board at half-past two in the afternoon, and, with a light breeze easterly, steered for the SW. of the island, which we got round by 8 o'clock, and then stood for the westernmost land now in sight, which at this time bore NW. half N. On the NW. side of the NE. end of Kaye's Island lies another island, stretching SE. and NW. about three leagues, to within the same distance of the NW. boundary of the bay above mentioned, which is distinguished by the name of Comptroller's Bay.

Next morning at 4 o'clock Kaye's Island was still in sight, bearing E. quarter S. At this time we were about four or five leagues from the main; and the most western part in sight bore NW. half N. We had now a fresh gale at ESE; and as we advanced to the NW., we raised land more and more westerly, and at last to the southward of west; so that at noon, when the Latitude was 61° 11′ and the Longitude 213° 28′, the most advanced land bore from us SW. by W. half W. At the same time, the E. point of a large inlet bore WNW., three leagues distant. From Comptroller's Bay to this point, which I name Cape Hinchingbroke, the direction of the coast is nearly E. and W. Beyond this it seemed to incline to the southward; a direction so contrary to the modern charts founded upon the late Russian discoveries, that we had reason to expect that by the inlet before us we should find a passage to the N., and that the land to the W. and SW. was nothing but a group of islands. Add to this, that the wind was now at SE., and we were threatened with a fog and a storm; and I wanted to get into some place to stop the leak before we encountered another gale. These reasons induced me to steer for the inlet, which we had no sooner reached than the weather became so foggy that we could not see a mile before us, and it became necessary to secure the ships in some place to wait for a clearer sky. With this view I hauled close under Cape Hinchingbroke, and anchored before a small cove a little within the cape, in eight fathoms water, a clayey bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the shore.

The boats were then hoisted out, some to sound and others to fish. The seine was drawn in the cove, but without success, for it was torn. At some short intervals the fog cleared away and gave us a sight of the lands around us. The cape bore S. by W. half W., one league distant; the W. point of the inlet SW. by W., distant five leagues; and the land on that side extended as far as W. by N. Between this point and NW. by W. we could see no land; and what was in the last direction seemed to be at a great distance. The westernmost point we had in sight on the north shore bore NNW. half W., two leagues distant. Between this point and the shore under which we were at anchor, is a bay about three leagues deep; on the south-east side of which there are two or three coves such as that before which we had anchored, and in the middle some rocky islands. To these islands Mr Gore was sent in a boat, in hopes of shooting some eatable birds. But he had hardly got to them before about twenty natives made their appearance in two large canoes; on which he thought proper to return to the ships, and they followed him. They would not venture alongside, but kept at some distance, hallooing aloud, and alternately clasping and extending their arms; and in a short time began a kind of song, exactly after the manner of those at Nootka. Their heads were also powdered with feathers. One man held out a white garment, which we interpreted as a sign of friendship; and another stood up in the canoe, quite naked, for almost a quarter of an hour,

with his arms stretched out like a cross and motionless. The canoes were not constructed of wood as at King George's or Nootka Sound. The frame only, being slender laths, was of that substance; the outside consisting of the skins of seals or of such like animals.[1] Though we returned all their signs of friendship, and by every expressive gesture tried to encourage them to come alongside, we could not prevail. Some of our people repeated several of the common words of the Nootka language, such as "seekemaile" and "mahook;"[2] but they did not seem to understand them. After receiving some presents which were thrown to them, they retired toward that part of the shore whence they came; giving us to understand by signs that they would visit us again the next morning. Two of them, however, each in a small canoe, waited upon us in the night; probably with a design to pilfer something, thinking we should be all asleep, for they retired as soon as they found themselves discovered.

During the night the wind was at SSE., blowing hard and in squalls, with rain and very thick weather. At 10 o'clock next morning the wind became more moderate, and the weather being somewhat clearer we got under sail, in order to look out for some snug place where we might search for and stop the leak; our present station being too much exposed for this purpose. At first I proposed to have gone up the bay before which we had anchored; but the clearness of the weather tempted me to steer to the northward, farther up the great inlet, as being all in our way. As soon as we had passed the north-west point of the bay above mentioned, we found the coast on that side to turn short to the eastward. I did not follow it, but continued our course to the north, for a point of land which we saw in that direction. The natives who visited us the preceding evening came off again in the morning, in five or six canoes, but not till we were under sail; and although they followed us for some time they could not get up with us. Before two in the afternoon the bad weather returned again, with so thick a haze that we could see no other land besides the point just mentioned, which we reached at half-past four, and found it to be a small island, lying about two miles from the adjacent coast, being a point of land on the east side of which we discovered a fine bay or rather harbour. To this we plied up under reefed topsails and courses. The wind blew strong at SE., and in excessively hard squalls, with rain. At intervals we could see land in every direction; but in general the weather was so foggy that we could see none but the shores of the bay into which we were plying. In passing the island the depth of water was twenty-six fathoms, with a muddy bottom. Soon after the depth increased to sixty and seventy fathoms, a rocky bottom; but in the entrance of the bay the depth was from thirty to six fathoms, the last very near the shore. At length, at 8 o'clock, the violence of the squalls obliged us to anchor in thirteen fathoms, before we had got so far into the bay as I intended; but we thought ourselves fortunate that we had already sufficiently secured ourselves at this hour, for the night was exceedingly stormy.

The weather, bad as it was, did not hinder three of the natives from paying us a visit. They came off in two canoes; two men in one, and one in the other, being the number each could carry. For they were built and constructed in the same manner with those of the Esquimaux; only in the one were two holes for two men to sit in, and in the other but one. Each of these men had a stick about three feet long, with the large feathers or wing of birds tied to it. These they frequently held up to us, with a view,

[1] Like the "oomyaks," or women's canoes, of the Greenlanders; as to which Dr Rae, of Arctic renown, has given such a pleasant description of his experiences, in "The Land of Desolation."

[2] "Iron" or metal; and "barter."

as we guessed, to express their pacific disposition. The treatment these men met with induced many more to visit us, between one and two the next morning, in both great and small canoes. Some ventured on board the ship, but not till some of our people had stepped into their boats. Amongst those who came on board was a good-looking middle-aged man, whom we afterward found to be the chief. He was clothed in a dress made of the sea-otter's skin, and had on his head such a cap as is worn by the people of King George's Sound, ornamented with sky-blue glass beads about the size of a large pea. He seemed to set a much higher value upon these than upon our white glass beads. Any sort of beads, however, appeared to be in high estimation with these people; and they readily gave whatever they had in exchange for them, even their fine sea-otter skins. But here I must observe that they set no more value upon these than upon other skins, which was also the case at King George's Sound till our people set a higher price upon them; and even after that the natives of both places would sooner part with a dress made of these than with one made of the skins of wild-cats or of martins.

These people were also desirous of iron; but they wanted pieces eight or ten inches long at least, and of the breadth of three or four fingers; for they absolutely rejected small pieces. Consequently they got but little from us, iron having by this time become rather a scarce article. The points of some of their spears or lances were of that metal, others were of copper, and a few of bone, of which the points of their darts, arrows, &c., were composed. I could not prevail upon the chief to trust himself below the upper deck; nor did he and his companions remain long on board. But while we had their company it was necessary to watch them narrowly, as they soon betrayed a thievish disposition. At length, after being about three or four hours alongside the Resolution, they all left her and went to the Discovery; none having been there before except one man, who, at this time came from her, and immediately returned thither in company with the rest. When I observed this, I thought this man had met with something there which he knew would please his countrymen better than what they met with at our ship. But in this I was mistaken, as will soon appear.

As soon as they were gone I sent a boat to sound the head of the bay. For as the wind was moderate I had thoughts of laying the ship ashore, if a convenient place could be found where I might begin our operations to stop the leak. It was not long before all the Americans left the Discovery, and, instead of returning to us, made their way toward our boat employed as above. The officer in her, seeing this, returned to the ship, and was followed by all the canoes. The boat's crew had no sooner come on board, leaving in her two of their number by way of a guard, than some of the Americans stepped into her. Some presented their spears before the two men; others cast loose the rope which fastened her to the ship; and the rest attempted to tow her away. But the instant they saw us preparing to oppose them they let her go, stepped out of her into canoes, and made signs to us to lay down our arms, having the appearance of being as perfectly unconcerned as if they had done nothing amiss. This, though rather a more daring attempt, was hardly equal to what they had meditated on board the Discovery. The man who came and carried all his countrymen from the Resolution to the other ship had first been on board of her; where, after looking down all the hatchways, and seeing nobody but the officer of the watch and one or two more, he no doubt thought they might plunder her with ease; especially as she lay at some distance from us. It was unquestionably with this view that they all repaired to her. Several of them, without any ceremony, went on board, drew their knives, made signs to the officer and people on deck to keep off, and began to look about them for plunder. The first thing

they met with was the rudder of one of the boats, which they threw overboard to those of their party who had remained in the canoes. Before they had time to find another object that pleased their fancy, the crew were alarmed, and began to come upon deck armed with cutlasses. On seeing this, the whole company of plunderers sneaked off into their canoes with as much deliberation and indifference as they had given up the boat; and they were observed describing, to those who had not been on board, how much longer the knives of the ship's crew were than their own. It was at this time that my boat was on the sounding duty, which they must have seen, for they proceeded directly for her after their disappointment at the Discovery. I have not the least doubt that their visiting us so very early in the morning was with a view to plunder, on the supposition that they should find everybody asleep. May we not from these circumstances reasonably infer that these people are unacquainted with fire-arms? For certainly, if they had known anything of their effect, they never would have dared to attempt taking a boat from under a ship's guns in the face of above 100 men; for most of my people were looking at them at the very instant they made the attempt. However, after all these tricks, we had the good fortune to leave them as ignorant in this respect as we found them; for they neither heard nor saw a musket fired unless at birds.

Just as we were going to weigh the anchor to proceed farther up the bay, it began to blow and to rain as hard as before, so that we were obliged to veer away the cable again and lay fast. Towards the evening, finding that the gale did not moderate, and that it might be some time before an opportunity offered to get higher up, I came to a resolution to heel the ship where we were; and with this view moored her with a kedge-anchor and hawser. In heaving the anchor out of the boat, one of the seamen, either through ignorance or carelessness, or both, was carried overboard by the buoy-rope, and followed the anchor to the bottom. It is remarkable that in this very critical situation he had presence of mind to disengage himself, and come up to the surface of the water, where he was taken up with one of his legs fractured in a dangerous manner. Early the next morning we gave the ship a good heel to port, in order to come at and stop the leak. On ripping off the sheathing, it was found to be in the seams, which were very open both in and under the wale; and in several places not a bit of oakum in them. While the carpenters were making good these defects, we filled all our empty water-casks at a stream hard by the ship. The wind was now moderate, but the weather was thick and hazy, with rain. The natives, who left us the preceding day, when the bad weather came on, paid us another visit this morning. Those who came first were in small canoes; others afterwards arrived in large boats, in one of which were twenty women and one man, besides children.

In the evening of the 16th the weather cleared up, and we then found ourselves surrounded on every side by land. Our station was on the east side of the sound, in a place which in the chart is distinguished by the name of Snug Corner Bay. And a very snug place it is. I went, accompanied by some of the officers, to view the head of it; and we found that it was sheltered from all winds, with a depth of water from seven to three fathoms over a muddy bottom. The land near the shore is low, part clear and part wooded. The clear ground was covered two or three feet thick with snow, but very little lay in the woods. The very summits of the neighbouring hills were covered with wood, but those farther inland seemed to be naked rocks buried in snow.

The leak being stopped, and the sheathing made good over it, at 4 o'clock in the morning of the 17th we weighed and steered to the northwestward, with a light breeze at ENE., thinking if there should be any passage to the north through this inlet that it must be in that direction. At

length, about 1 o'clock, with the assistance of our boats, we got to an anchor under the eastern shore in thirteen fathoms water, and about four leagues to the north of our last station. In the morning the weather had been very hazy, but it afterwards cleared up so as to give us a distinct view of all the land round us, particularly to the northward, where it seemed to close. This left us but little hopes of finding a passage that way, or indeed in any other direction, without putting out again to sea.

To enable me to form a better judgment, I despatched Mr Gore with two armed boats to examine the northern arm, and the master with two other boats to examine another arm that seemed to take an easterly direction. Late in the evening they both returned. The master reported that the arm he had been sent to communicated with that from which he had last come, and that one side of it was only formed by a group of islands. Mr Gore informed me that he had seen the entrance of an arm which, he was of opinion, extended a long way to the north-east, and that probably by it a passage might be found. On the other hand, Mr Roberts, one of the mates whom I had sent with Mr Gore to sketch out the parts they had examined, was of opinion that they saw the head of this arm. The disagreement of these two opinions, and the circumstance already mentioned of the flood-tide entering the sound from the south, rendered the existence of a passage this way very doubtful. And as the wind in the morning had become favourable for getting out to sea, I resolved to spend no more time in searching for a passage in a place that promised so little success. Besides this, I considered that if the land on the west should prove to be islands, agreeably to the late Russian discoveries, we could not fail of getting far enough to the north, and that in good time, provided we did not lose the season in searching places where a passage was not only doubtful but improbable. We were now upwards of 520 leagues to the westward of any part of Baffin's or of Hudson's Bay; and whatever passage there may be, it must be, or at least part of it must lie, to the north of Latitude 72°. Who could expect to find a passage or strait of such extent?[1]

"[To this wide inlet which he had entered, Cook gave] the name of Prince William's Sound, and here was surprised to find that the natives, in dress, language, and physical peculiarities, were exactly like the Esquimaux of Hudson's Bay. Beautiful skins were obtained in plenty from these people for a very moderate price. On proceeding to the north-west, a wide inlet was discovered, which some conjectured might be a strait communicating with the Northern Ocean. It was deemed, therefore, advisable to explore it; but when the boats had proceeded as high as Lat. 61° 34', or about seventy leagues from the entrance, the inlet appeared to terminate in a small river. The ships now proceeded to the west, and doubled the great promontory of Alashka; and, on the 9th of August, they reached the most westerly point of the American continent, distant only thirteen leagues from the opposite shores of Asia. To this headland Cook gave the name Cape Prince of Wales. Crossing the strait to the western shores, he anchored near the coast of the Tshuktzki, which he found to extend many degrees farther to the east than the position assigned to them in the maps of that day. He thus ascertained distinctly the width of the strait that separates Asia from America; for though Behring had sailed through it before, he had not descried the shores of the latter continent, and, consequently, remained ignorant of the importance of his discoveries. Our navigators now pushed forward into the Northern Ocean, when they soon

[1] The synopsis of remainder of Chapter IV. to middle of Chapter IX., Book IV., in Original Edition, is given from "Maritime and Inland Discovery," in Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," vol. iii., pp. 80, 81.

fell in with ice, which gave them reason to suspect the impossibility of continuing their voyage much farther. At length, on the 18th of August, when after repeated struggles they had attained the Latitude of 70° 44′, they saw the ice before them, extending as far as the eye could reach, forming a compact wall about six feet high: it was covered with a multitude of walruses or sea-horses, which though coarse food, were preferred by the seamen to salt provisions."

We now stood to the southward, and after running six leagues shoaled the water to seven fathoms; but it soon deepened to nine fathoms. At this time the weather, which had been hazy, clearing up a little; we saw land extending from S. to SE. by E. about three or four miles distant. The eastern extreme forms a point which was much encumbered with ice; for which reason it obtained the name of Icy Cape. Its latitude is 70° 29′ and its longitude 198° 20′. The other extreme of the land was lost in the horizon, so that there can be no doubt of its being a continuation of the American continent. The Discovery being about a mile astern and to leeward, found less water than we did; and tacking on that account, I was obliged to tack also to prevent separation. Our situation was now more and more critical. We were in shoal water, upon a lee shore, and the main body of the ice to windward, driving down upon us. It was evident that if we remained much longer between it and the land, it would force us ashore, unless it should happen to take the ground before us. It seemed nearly to join the land to leeward, and the only direction that was open was to the SW. After making a short board to the northward, I made the signal for the Discovery to tack, and tacked myself at the same time. The wind proved rather favourable; so that we lay up SW. and SW. by W.

At eight in the morning of the 19th, the wind veering back to W., I tacked to the northward; and at noon the latitude was 70° 6′ and the longitude 196° 42′. In this situation we had a good deal of drift-ice about us, and the main ice was about two leagues to the north. At half-past one we got in with the edge of it. It was not so compact as that which we had seen to the northward; but it was too close, and in too large pieces, to attempt forcing the ships through it. On the ice lay a prodigious number of sea-horses;[1] and as we were in want of fresh provisions, the boats from each ship were sent to get some. By 7 o'clock in the evening we had received on board the Resolution nine of these animals, which till now we had supposed to be sea-cows; so that we were not a little disappointed, especially some of the seamen, who for the novelty of the thing had been feasting their eyes for some days past. Nor would they have been disappointed now, nor have known the difference, if we had not happened to have one or two on board who had been in Greenland, and declared what animals these were, and that no one ever ate of them. But notwithstanding this we lived upon them as long as they lasted; and there were few on board who did not prefer them to our salt meat. The fat at first is as sweet as marrow, but in a few days it grows rancid, unless it be salted; in which state it will keep much longer. The lean flesh is coarse, black, and has rather a strong taste; and the heart is nearly as well tasted as that of a bullock. The fat, when melted, yields a good deal of oil, which burns very well in lamps; and their hides, which are very thick, were very useful about our rigging. The teeth or tusks of most of them were at this time very small; even some of the largest and oldest of these animals had them not exceeding six inches in length. From this we concluded that they had lately shed their old teeth. They lie in herds of many hundreds upon the ice, huddling one over the other like swine; and roar or bray very loud, so that in the night or in

[1] Walrus.

foggy weather they gave us notice of the vicinity of the ice before we could see it. We never found the whole herd asleep, some being always upon the watch. These, on the approach of the boat, would wake those next to them, and the alarm being thus gradually communicated, the whole herd would be awake presently. But they were seldom in a hurry to get away till after they had been once fired at. Then they would tumble one over the other into the sea in the utmost confusion; and if we did not at the first discharge kill those we fired at, we generally lost them, though mortally wounded. They did not appear to us to be that dangerous animal some authors have described, not even when attacked. They are rather more so to appearance than in reality. Vast numbers of them would follow and come close up to the boats; but the flash of a musket in the pan, or even the bare pointing of one at them, would send them down in an instant. The female will defend the young one to the very last, and at the expense of her own life, whether in the water or upon the ice. Nor will the young one quit the dam though she be dead; so that if you kill one you are sure of the other. The dam, when in the water, holds the young one between her fore-fins. Why they should be called sea-horses is hard to say, unless the word be a corruption of the Russian name "morse," for they have not the least resemblance of a horse. This is without doubt the same animal that is found in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and there called sea-cow. It is certainly more like a cow than a horse, but this likeness consists in nothing but the snout. In short, it is an animal like a seal, but incomparably larger. The dimensions and weight of one, which was none of the largest, were as follows:

	Ft.	In.
Length from the snout to the tail,	9	4
Length of the neck from the snout to the shoulder-bone,	2	6
Height of the shoulder,	5	0
Length of the fins, Fore,	2	4
Length of the fins, Hind,	2	6
Breadth of the fins, Fore,	1	2½
Breadth of the fins, Hind,	2	0
Snout, Breadth,	0	5½
Snout, Depth,	1	3
Circumference of the neck close to the ears,	2	7
Circumference of the body at the shoulder,	7	10
Circumference near the hind fins,	5	6
From the snout to the eyes,	0	7

	Lb.
Weight of the carcase, without the head, skin, or entrails,	854
Head,	41½
Skin,	205

I could not find out what these animals feed upon. There was nothing in the maws of those we killed.

It is worth observing that for some days before this date we had frequently seen flocks of ducks flying to the southward. They were of two sorts, the one much larger than the other. The largest were of a brown colour; and of the small sort either the duck or drake was black and white, and the other brown. Some said they saw geese also. Does not this indicate that there must be land to the north where these birds find shelter in the proper season, to breed, and whence they were now returning to a warmer climate?

By the time we had got our sea-horses on board, we were in a manner surrounded with the ice, and had no way left to clear it but by standing to the southward; which was done till 3 o'clock next morning, with a gentle breeze westerly, and for the most part thick, foggy weather. The soundings were from twelve to fifteen fathoms. We then tacked and stood to the north till 10 o'clock, when, the wind veering to the northward, we directed our course to the WSW. and W. At two in the afternoon we fell in with the main ice, along the edge of which we kept; being partly directed by the roaring of the sea-horses, for we had a very thick fog. Thus we continued

sailing till near midnight, when we got in amongst the loose ice, and heard the surge of the sea upon the main ice. The fog being very thick, and the wind easterly, I now hauled to the southward; and at 10 o'clock the next morning, the fog clearing away, we saw the continent of America, extending from S. by E. to E. by S.; and at noon from SW. half S. to E., the nearest part five leagues distant. At this time we were in the Latitude of 69° 32′ and in the Longitude of 195° 48′; and as the main ice was at no great distance from us, it is evident that it now covered a part of the sea which but a few days before had been clear, and that it extended farther to the south than where we first fell in with it. It must not be understood that I supposed any part of this ice which we had seen to be fixed; on the contrary, I am well assured that the whole was a movable mass.

Having but little wind, in the afternoon I sent the master in a boat to try if there was any current; but he found none. I continued to steer in for the American land until 8 o'clock, in order to get a nearer view of it, and to look for a harbour; but seeing nothing like one, I stood again to the north, with a light breeze westerly. At this time the coast extended from SW. to E.; the nearest part four or five leagues distant. The southern extreme seemed to form a point, which was named Cape Lisburne. It lies in the Latitude of 69° 5′ and in the Longitude of 194° 42′, and appeared to be pretty high land, even down to the sea. But there may be low land under it which we might not see, being not less than ten leagues from it. Everywhere else, as we advanced northward, we had found a low coast from which the land rises to a middle height. The coast now before us was without snow, except in one or two places, and had a greenish hue; but we could not perceive any wood upon it.

On the 22d the wind was southerly, and the weather mostly foggy, with some intervals of sunshine. At eight in the evening it fell calm, which continued till midnight, when we heard the surge of the sea against the ice, and had several loose pieces about us. A light breeze now sprang up at NE., and as the fog was very thick, I steered to the southward to clear the ice. At 8 o'clock next morning the fog dispersed, and I hauled to the westward. For finding that I could not get to the north near the coast on account of the ice, I resolved to try what could be done at a distance from it; and as the wind seemed to be settled at N. I thought it a good opportunity. As we advanced to the W., the water deepened gradually to twenty-eight fathoms, which was the most we had. With the northerly wind the air was raw, sharp, and cold; and we had fogs, sunshine, showers of snow and sleet, by turns. At ten in the morning of the 26th we fell in with the ice. At noon, it extended from NW. to E. by N., and appeared to be thick and compact. At this time we were by observation in the Latitude of 69° 36′, and in the Longitude of 184°, so that it now appeared we had no better prospect of getting to the north here than nearer the shore. I continued to stand to the westward till five in the afternoon, when we were in a manner embayed by the ice, which appeared high, and very close in the NW. and NE. quarters, with a great deal of loose ice about the edge of the main field. At this time we had baffling light winds, but it soon fixed at S., and increased to a fresh gale, with showers of rain. We got the tack aboard and stretched to the eastward, this being the only direction in which the sea was clear of ice.

At four in the morning of the 27th we tacked and stood to the W., and at seven in the evening we were close in with the edge of the ice, which lay ENE. and WSW., as far each way as the eye could reach. Having but little wind, I went with the boats to examine the state of the ice. I found it consisting of loose pieces of various extent, and so close together that I could hardly enter the outer edge with a boat; and it was as impossible for the ships to

enter it as if it had been so many rocks. I took particular notice that it was all pure, transparent ice, except the upper surface, which was a little porous. It appeared to be entirely composed of frozen snow, and to have been all formed at sea. For setting aside the improbability, or rather impossibility, of such huge masses floating out of rivers in which there is hardly water for a boat, none of the productions of the land were found incorporated or fixed in it, which must have unavoidably been the case had it been formed in rivers either great or small. The pieces of ice that formed the outer edge of the field were from forty to fifty yards in extent to four or five; and I judged that the larger pieces reached thirty feet or more under the surface of the water. It also appeared to me very improbable that this ice could have been the production of the preceding winter alone; I should suppose it rather to have been the production of a great many winters. Nor was it less improbable, according to my judgment, that the little that remained of the summer could destroy the tenth part of what now subsisted of this mass; for the sun had already exerted upon it the full influence of its rays. Indeed I am of opinion that the sun contributes very little toward reducing these great masses. For although that luminary is a considerable while above the horizon, it seldom shines out for more than a few hours at a time, and is not seen for several days in succession. It is the wind, or rather the waves raised by the wind, that bring down the bulk of these enormous masses, by grinding one piece against another, and by undermining and washing away those parts that lie exposed to the surge of the sea. This was evident from our observing that the upper surface of many pieces had been partly washed away, while the base or under part remained firm for several fathoms round that which appeared above water, exactly like a shoal round an elevated rock. We measured the depth of water upon one, and found it to be fifteen feet, so that the ships might have sailed over it. If I had not measured this depth I should not have believed that there was a sufficient weight of ice above the surface to have sunk the other so much below it. Thus it may happen that more ice is destroyed in one stormy season than is formed in several winters, and an endless accumulation is prevented. But that there is always a remaining store, every one who has been upon the spot will conclude, and none but closet-studying philosophers will dispute. A thick fog which came on while I was thus employed with the boats hastened me aboard rather sooner than I could have wished, with one sea-horse to each ship. We had killed more, but could not wait to bring them with us. The number of these animals on all the ice that we had seen is almost incredible. We spent the night standing off and on amongst the drift ice; and at 9 o'clock the next morning, the fog having partly dispersed, boats from each ship were sent for sea-horses. For by this time our people began to relish them, and those we had procured before were all consumed. At noon our Latitude was 69° 17′, our Longitude 183°. At 2 o'clock, having got on board as much marine beef as was thought necessary, and the wind freshening at SSE., we took on board the boats and stretched to the SW. But not being able to weather the ice upon this tack, or to go through it, we made aboard to the E. till 8 o'clock, then resumed our course to the SW., and before midnight were obliged to tack again on account of the ice. Soon after the wind shifted to the NW., blowing a stiff gale, and we stretched to the SW. close hauled.

In the morning of the 29th we saw the main ice to the northward, and not long after, land bearing SW. by W. Presently after this more land showed itself, bearing W. It showed itself in two hills like islands, but afterwards the whole appeared connected. As we approached the land, the depth of water decreased very fast, so that at noon, when we tacked, we had only eight fathoms, being three

miles from the coast, which extended from S. 30° E. to N. 60° W. This last extreme terminated in a bluff point, being one of the hills above mentioned. The weather at this time was very hazy, with drizzling rain, but soon after it cleared, especially to the southward, westward, and northward. This enabled us to have a pretty good view of the coast, which in every respect is like the opposite one of America; that is, low land next the sea, with elevated land farther back. It was perfectly destitute of wood, and even snow, but was probably covered with a mossy substance that gave it a brownish cast. In the low ground lying between the high land and the sea was a lake extending to the SE. farther than we could see. As we stood off, the westernmost of the two hills before mentioned came open off the bluff point in the direction of NW. It had the appearance of being an island; but it might be joined to the other by low land, though we did not see it; and if so there is a two-fold point, with a bay between them. This point, which is steep and rocky, was named Cape North. Its situation is nearly in the Latitude of 68° 56′, and in the Longitude of 180° 51′. The coast beyond it must take a very westerly direction, for we could see no land to the northward of it, though the horizon was there pretty clear. Being desirous of seeing more of the coast to the westward, we tacked again at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, thinking we could weather Cape North; but finding we could not, the wind freshening, a thick fog coming on with much snow, and being fearful of the ice coming down upon us, I gave up the design I had formed of plying to the westward, and stood off shore again.

The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence to make any further attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year in any direction, so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed toward finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was how I should spend the winter so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and at the same time be in a condition to return to the north in further search of a passage the ensuing summer.

CHAPTER V.[1]

After having stood off till we got into eighteen fathoms water, I bore up to the eastward along the coast, which by this time it was pretty certain could only be the continent of Asia. As the wind blew fresh, with a very heavy fall of snow and a thick mist, it was necessary to proceed with great caution. I therefore brought to for a few hours in the night.

At daybreak on the 30th we made sail, and steered such a course as I thought would bring us in with the land, being in a great measure guided by the lead; for the weather was as thick as ever, and it snowed incessantly. At ten we got sight of the coast, bearing SW. four miles distant, and presently after, having shoaled the water to seven fathoms, we hauled off. At this time a very low point or spit bore SSW. four miles distant, to the E. of which there appeared to be a narrow channel leading into some water that we saw over the point. Probably the lake before mentioned communicates here with the sea. At noon, the mist dispersing for a short interval, we had a tolerably good view of the coast, which extended from SE. to NW. by W. Some parts appeared higher than others, but in general it was very low, with high land farther up the country. The whole was now covered with snow, which had lately fallen, quite down to the sea. I continued to range along the coast at two leagues' distance till ten at night, when we hauled off; but we resumed our course

[1] Chapter X. in Original Edition.

next morning soon after daybreak, when we got sight of the coast again, extending from W. to SE. by S. At eight the eastern part bore S., and proved to be an island, which at noon bore SW. half S. four or five miles distant. It is about four or five miles in circuit, of a middling height, with a steep, rocky coast, situated about three leagues from the main, in the Latitude of 67° 45′, and distinguished in the chart by the name of Burney's Island. The inland country hereabouts is full of hills, some of which are of a considerable height. The land was covered with snow, except a few spots upon the sea-coast, which still continued low, but less so than farther westward. For the two preceding days the main height of the mercury in the thermometer had been very little above the freezing point, and often below it; so that the water in the vessels upon the deck was frequently covered with a sheet of ice.

I continued to steer SSE., nearly in the direction of the coast, till five in the afternoon, when land was seen bearing S. 50° E., which we presently found to be a continuation of the coast, and hauled up for it. Being abreast of the eastern land at ten at night, and in doubts of weathering it, we tacked and made a board to the westward till past one the next morning, when we stood again to the E., and found that it was as much as we could do to keep our distance from the coast; the wind being exceedingly unsettled, varying continually from N. to NE. At half-an-hour past eight, the eastern extreme above mentioned bore S. by E. six or seven miles distant. At the same time a headland appeared in sight bearing E. by S. half S., and soon after we could trace the whole coast lying between them, and a small island at some distance from it. The coast seemed to form several rocky points, connected by a low shore, without the least appearance of a harbour. At some distance from the sea the low land appeared to swell into a number of hills. The highest of these were covered with snow, and in other respects the whole country seemed naked. At seven in the evening two points of land, at some distance beyond the eastern head, opened off it in the direction of S. 37° E. I was now well assured of what I had believed before, that this was the country of the Tschutski, or the north-east coast of Asia, and that thus far Behring proceeded in 1728; that is, to this head, which Muller says is called Serdze Kamen, on account of a rock upon it shaped like a heart. But I conceive that Mr Muller's knowledge of the geography of these parts is very imperfect. There are many elevated rocks upon this cape, and possibly some one or other of them may have the shape of a heart. It is a pretty lofty promontory, with a steep rocky cliff facing the sea, and lies in the Latitude of 67° 3′, and in the Longitude of 188° 11′. To the eastward of it the coast is high and bold; but to the westward it is low, and trends NNW. and NW. by W., which is nearly its direction all the way to Cape North. The soundings are everywhere the same at the same distance from the shore, which is also the case on the opposite shore of America. The greatest depth we found in ranging along it was twenty-three fathoms. And in the night, or in foggy weather, the soundings are no bad guide in sailing along either of these shores.

At 8 o'clock in the morning of the 2d the most advanced land to the SE. bore S. 25° E., and from this point of view had the appearance of being an island. But the thick snow showers which succeeded one another pretty fast, and settled upon the land, hid great part of the coast at this time from our sight. Soon after, the sun, whose face we had not seen for near five days, broke out at intervals between the showers, and in some measure freed the coast from the fog, so that we had a sight of it, and found the whole to be connected. The wind still continued at N., the air was cold, and the mercury in the thermometer never rose above 35° and was sometimes as low as 30°. At noon, the observed Latitude was 66°

37′. We had now fair weather and sunshine; and as we ranged along the coast, at the distance of four miles, we saw several of the inhabitants, and some of their habitations, which looked like little hillocks of earth. In the evening we passed the Eastern Cape, or the point above mentioned, from which the coast changes its direction and trends SW. It is the same point of land which we had passed on the 11th of August. They who believed implicitly in Mr Stæhlin's map then thought it the east point of his island Alashka; but we had by this time satisfied ourselves that it is no other than the eastern promontory of Asia, and probably the proper Tschukotskoi Noss, though the promontory to which Behring gave that name is farther to the SW. It is a peninsula of considerable height, joined to the continent by a very low and, to appearance, narrow neck of land. It shows a steep rocky cliff next the sea, and off the very point are some rocks like spires. It is situated in the Latitude of 66° 6′, and in the Longitude of 190° 22′, and is distant, from Cape Prince of Wales, on the American coast, thirteen leagues, in the direction of N. 53° W. The land about this promontory is composed of hills and valleys. The former terminate at the sea in steep rocky points, and the latter in low shores. The hills seemed to be naked rocks, but the valleys had a greenish hue, but destitute of tree or shrub.[1]

After passing the cape, I steered SW. half W., for the northern point of St Laurence Bay, in which we had anchored on the 10th of last month. We reached it by 8 o'clock next morning, and saw some of the inhabitants at the place where I had seen them before, as well as several others on the opposite side of the bay. None of them, however, attempted to come off to us; which seemed a little extraordinary, as the weather was favourable enough, and those whom we had lately visited had no reason that I know of to dislike our company. These people must be the Tschutski; a nation that, at the time Mr Muller wrote, the Russians had not been able to conquer. And from the whole of their conduct with us it appears that they have not as yet brought them under subjection; though it is obvious that they must have a trade with the Russians, either directly or by means of some neighbouring nation, as we cannot otherwise account for their being in possession of the spontoons, in particular, of which we took notice.

This Bay of St Laurence[2] is at least five leagues broad at the entrance, and four leagues deep, narrowing toward the bottom, where it appeared to be tolerably well sheltered from the sea-winds, provided there be sufficient depth of water for ships. I did not wait to examine it, although I was very desirous of finding an harbour in those parts to which I might resort next spring. But I wanted one where wood might be got, and I knew that none was to be found here. From the south point of this bay, which lies in the Latitude of 65° 30′, the coast trends W. by S. for about nine leagues, and there forms a deep bay or river; or else the land there is so low that we could not see it. At one in the afternoon, in the direction of our course, we saw what was first taken for a rock; but it proved to be a dead whale, which some natives of the Asiatic coast had killed and were tow-

[1] Deshniew's voyage in 1648, in quest of the Anadir River, is considered the only one before Cook's in which the north-eastern extremity of Asia was doubled. The Cossack navigator set out from the Kolima river in northern Siberia, and passed southwards through Behring's Straits—not then, of course, so named, or named at all—to the mouth of the Anadir.

[2] Captain Cook gives it this name, having anchored in it on St Laurence's day, August 10. It is remarkable that Behring sailed past this very place on the 10th of August 1728; on which account the neighbouring island was named by him after the same saint.—*Note in Original Edition.*

ing ashore. They seemed to conceal themselves behind the fish to avoid being seen by us. This was unnecessary; for we pursued our course without taking any notice of them.

At daybreak on the 4th I hauled to the NW., in order to get a nearer view of the inlet seen the preceding day; but the wind soon after veering to that direction I gave up the design, and, steering to the southward along the coast, passed two bays, each about two leagues deep. The northernmost lies before a hill which is remarkable by being rounder than any other upon the coast; and there is an island lying before the other. It may be doubted whether there be a sufficient depth for ships in either of these bays, as we always met with shoal water when we edged in for the shore. The country here is exceedingly hilly and naked. In several places on the low ground next the sea were the dwellings of the natives: and near all of them were erected stages of bones, such as before described. These may be seen at a great distance on account of their whiteness. At noon the Latitude was 64° 38′ and the Longitude 188° 15′; the southernmost point of the main in sight bore S. 48° W., and the nearest shore about three or four leagues distant. By this time the wind had veered again to the N., and blew a gentle breeze. The weather was clear, and the air cold. I did not follow the direction of the coast, as I found that it took a westerly direction toward the Gulf of Anadir, into which I had no inducement to go, but steered to the southward, in order to get a sight of the Island of St Laurence, discovered by Behring; which accordingly showed itself, and at 8 o'clock in the evening it bore S. 20° E., by estimation, eleven leagues distant. At the same time the southernmost point of the mainland bore S. 83° W., distant twelve leagues. I take this point to be the point which Behring calls the East Point of Suchotski, or Cape Tschukotskoi; a name which he gave it, and with propriety, because it was from this part of the coast that the natives came off to him who called themselves of the nation of the Tschutski. I make its Latitude to be 64° 13′ and its Longitude 186° 36′.

In justice to the memory of Behring, I must say that he has delineated the coast very well, and fixed the latitude and longitude of the points better than could be expected from the methods he had to go by. This judgment is not formed from Mr Muller's account of the voyage, or the chart prefixed to his book; but from Dr Campbell's account of it in his edition of Harris's Collection, and a map thereto annexed, which is both more circumstantial and accurate than that of Mr Muller. The more I was convinced of my being now upon the coast of Asia, the more I was at a loss to reconcile Mr Stæhlin's map of the New Northern Archipelago with my observations; and I had no way to account for the great difference, but by supposing that I had mistaken some part of what he calls the Island of Alashka for the American continent, and had missed the channel that separates them. Admitting even this, there would still have been a considerable difference. It was with me a matter of some consequence to clear up this point the present season, that I might have but one object in view the next. And, as these northern isles are represented by him as abounding with wood, I was in hopes, if I should find them, of getting a supply of that article, which we now began to be in great want of on board. With these views I steered over for the American coast, and at five in the afternoon the next day saw land bearing three-quarters E., which we took to be Anderson's Island or some other land near it, and therefore did not wait to examine it. On the 6th, at four in the morning, we got sight of the American coast near Sledge Island; and at six the same evening this island bore N. 6° E., ten leagues distant, and the easternmost land in sight N. 49° E. If any part of what I had supposed to be American coast could possibly be the Island of Alashka, it was that now before us; and in that case I must

have missed the channel between it and the main, by steering to the west instead of the east after we first fell in with it. I was not, therefore, at a loss where to go in order to clear up these doubts.

At eight in the evening of the 7th we had got close in with the land, Sledge Island bearing N. 85° W., eight or nine leagues distant; and the eastern part of the coast N. 70° E., with high land in the direction of E. by N., seemingly at a great distance beyond the point. At this time we saw a light ashore, and two canoes filled with people coming off toward us. I brought to, that they might have time to come up. But it was to no purpose; for, resisting all the signs of friendship we could exhibit, they kept at a distance of a quarter of a mile, so that we left them and pursued our course along the coast. At one in the morning of the 8th, finding the water shoal pretty fast, we dropped anchor in ten fathoms, where we lay until daylight, and then resumed our course along the coast, which we found to trend E. and E. half S. At seven in the evening we were abreast of a point lying in the Latitude of 64° 21′, and in the Longitude of 197°; beyond which the coast takes a more northerly direction. At eight this point, which obtained the name of Cape Darby, bore S. 62° W.; the northernmost land in sight, N. 32° E.; and the nearest shore three miles distant. In this situation we anchored in thirteen fathoms water, over a muddy bottom.

Next morning at daybreak we weighed and sailed along the coast. Two islands, as we supposed them to be, were at this time seen; the one bearing S. 70° E. and the other E. Soon after, we found ourselves upon a coast covered with wood; an agreeable sight, to which of late we had not been accustomed. As we advanced to the north, we raised land in the direction of NE. half N., which proved to be a continuation of the coast we were upon. We also saw high land over the islands, seemingly at a good distance beyond them. This was thought to be the continent, and the other land the Island of Alashka. But it was already doubtful whether we should find a passage between them; for the water shoaled insensibly as we advanced farther to the north. In this situation, two boats were sent to sound before the ships; and I ordered the Discovery to lead, keeping nearly in the mid-channel between the coast on our larboard and the northernmost island on our starboard. Thus we proceeded till three in the afternoon, when, having passed the island, we had not more than three fathoms and a half of water; and the Resolution at one time brought the mud up from the bottom. More water was not to be found in any part of the channel; for, with the ships and boats, we had tried it from side to side. I therefore thought it high time to return, especially as the wind was in such a quarter that we must ply back. But what I dreaded most was the wind increasing, and raising the sea into waves, so as to put the ships in danger of striking. At this time a headland on the west shore, which is distinguished by the name of Bald Head, bore N. by W., one league distant. The coast beyond it extended as far as NE. by N., where it seemed to end in a point, behind which the coast of the high land, seen over the islands, stretched itself; and some thought they could trace where it joined. On the west side of Bald Head the shore forms a bay, in the bottom of which is a low beach, where we saw a number of huts or habitations of the natives.

Having continued to ply back all night, by daybreak the next morning we had got into six fathoms water. At 9 o'clock, being about a league from the west shore, I took two boats and landed, attended by Mr King, to seek wood and water. We landed where the coast projects out into a bluff head, composed of perpendicular strata of a rock of a dark blue colour, mixed with quartz and glimmer. There joins to the beach a narrow border of land, now covered with long grass, where we met with some *Angel-*

ica. Beyond this the ground rises abruptly. At the top of this elevation we found a heath abounding with a variety of berries; and farther on the country was level, and thinly covered with small spruce trees and birch and willows no bigger than broom stuff. We observed tracks of deer and foxes on the beach, on which also lay a great quantity of drift-wood; and there was no want of fresh water. I returned on board with an intention to bring the ships to an anchor here; but the wind then veering to NE., which blew rather on this shore, I stretched over to the opposite one in the expectation of finding wood there also, and anchored at 8 o'clock in the evening under the south end of the northernmost island. So we then supposed it to be; but next morning we found it to be a peninsula, united to the continent by a low neck of land, on each side of which the coast forms a bay. We plied into the southernmost, and about noon anchored in five fathoms water, over a bottom of mud; the point of the peninsula, which obtained the name of Cape Denbigh, bearing N. 68° W., three miles distant. Several people were seen upon the peninsula; and one man came off in a small canoe. I gave him a knife and a few beads, with which he seemed well pleased. Having made signs to him to bring us something to eat, he immediately left us and paddled toward the shore. But meeting another man coming off, who happened to have two dried salmon, he got them from him, and on returning to the ship would give them to nobody but me. Some of our people thought that he asked for me under the name of "Capitane;" but in this they were probably mistaken. He knew who had given him the knife and beads, but I do not see how he could know that I was the captain. Others of the natives soon after came off, and exchanged a few dry fish for such trifles as they could get or we had to give them. They were most desirous of knives; and they had no dislike to tobacco.

After dinner Lieutenant Gore was sent to the peninsula, to see if wood and water were there to be got, or rather water, for the whole beach round the bay seemed to be covered with drift-wood. At the same time a boat was sent from each ship to sound round the bay; and at three in the afternoon, the wind freshening at NE., we weighed in order to work farther in. But it was soon found to be impossible, on account of the shoals, which extended quite round the bay to the distance of two or three miles from the shore, as the officers who had been sent to sound reported. We therefore kept standing off and on with the ships, waiting for Mr Gore, who returned about 8 o'clock with the launch laden with wood. He reported that there was but little fresh water; and that wood was difficult to be got at, by reason of the boats grounding at some distance from the beach. This being the case, I stood back to the other shore; and at 8 o'clock the next morning sent all the boats and a party of men, with an officer, to get wood from the place where I had landed two days before. We continued for a while to stand on and off with the ships, but at length came to an anchor in one-fourth less than five fathoms, half-a-league from the coast, the south point of which bore S. 26° W., and Bald Head N. 60° E., nine leagues distant. Cape Denbigh bore S. 72° E., twenty-six miles distant; and the island under the east shore, to the southward of Cape Denbigh, named Bessborough Island, S. 52° E., fifteen leagues distant.

As this was a very open road, and consequently not a safe station, I resolved not to wait to complete water, as that would require some time; but only to supply the ships with wood, and then to go in search of a more convenient place for the other article. We took off the drift-wood that lay upon the beach; and as the wind blew along shore the boats could sail both ways, which enabled us to make great despatch. In the afternoon I went ashore and walked a little into the country; which, where there was no wood, was covered with heath and

other plants, some of which produce berries in abundance. All the berries were ripe, the hurtle-berries[1] too much so; and hardly a single plant was in flower. The underwood, such as birch, willows, and alders, rendered it very troublesome walking among the trees, which were all spruce, and none of them above six or eight inches in diameter. But we found some lying upon the beach more than twice this size. All the drift-wood in these northern parts was fir; I saw not a stick of any other sort. Next day a family of the natives came near to the place where we were taking off wood. I know not how many there were at first; but I saw only the husband, the wife, and their child, and a fourth person, who bore the human shape, and that was all; for he was the most deformed cripple I had ever seen or heard of. The other man was almost blind, and neither he nor his wife were such good-looking people as we had sometimes seen amongst the natives of this coast. The under lips of both were bored; and they had in their possession some such glass beads as I had met with before amongst their neighbours. But iron was their beloved article. For four knives, which we had made out of an old iron hoop, I got from them near 400 pounds weight of fish, which they had caught on this or the preceding day. Some were trout, and the rest were in size and taste somewhat between a mullet and a herring. I gave the child, who was a girl, a few beads; on which the mother burst into tears, then the father, then the cripple, and at last, to complete the concert, the girl herself; but this music continued not long. Before night we had got the ships amply supplied with wood, and had carried on board about twelve tons of water to each.

On the 14th a party of men were sent on shore to cut brooms, which we were in want of, and the branches of spruce trees for brewing beer. Towards noon everybody was taken on board; for the wind freshening had raised such a surf on the beach that the boats could not continue to land without great difficulty. Some doubts being still entertained whether the coast we were now upon belonged to an island or the American continent, and the shallowness of the water putting it out of our power to determine this with our ships, I sent Lieutenant King with two boats under his command to make such searches as might leave no room for a variety of opinions on the subject. Next day the ships removed over to the bay which is on the south-east side of Cape Denbigh, where we anchored in the afternoon. Soon after, a few of the natives came off in their small canoes, and bartered some dried salmon for such trifles as our people had to give them.

At daybreak on the 16th, nine men, each in his canoe, paid us a visit. They approached the ship with some caution, and evidently came with no other view than to gratify their curiosity. They drew up abreast of each other under our stern, and gave us a song; while one of their number beat upon a kind of drum, and another made a thousand antic motions with his hands and body. There was, however, nothing savage either in the song or in the gestures that accompanied it. None of us could perceive any difference between these people, either as to their size or features, and those whom we had met with on every other part of the coast, King George's Sound excepted. Their clothing, which consisted principally of deer-skins, was made after the same fashion; and they observed the custom of boring their under lips, and fixing ornaments to them. The dwellings of these people were seated close to the beach. They consist simply of a sloping roof, without any side walls, composed of logs and covered with grass and earth. The floor is also laid with logs; the entrance is at one end, the fireplace just within it, and a small hole is made near the door to let out the smoke.

After breakfast a party of men were sent to the peninsula for brooms and

[1] Whortle-berries, bilberries.

spruce. At the same time half the remainder of the people in each ship had leave to go and pick berries. These returned on board at noon, when the other half went on the same errand. The berries to be got here were wild currant-berries, partridge-berries, and heath-berries. I also went ashore myself and walked over part of the peninsula. In several places there was very good grass, and I hardly saw a spot on which some vegetable was not growing. The low land which connects this peninsula with the continent is full of narrow creeks, and abounds with ponds of water, some of which were already frozen over. There were a great many geese and bustards, but so shy that it was not possible to get within musket-shot of them. We also met with some snipes, and on the high ground were partridges of two sorts. Where there was any wood, mosquitoes were in plenty. Some of the officers, who travelled farther than I did, met with a few of the natives of both sexes, who treated them with civility. It appeared to me that this peninsula must have been an island in remote times; for there were marks of the sea having flowed over the isthmus; and even now it appeared to be kept out by a bank of sand, stones, and wood, thrown up by the waves. By this bank it was evident that the land was here encroaching upon the sea, and it was easy to trace its gradual formation.

About seven in the evening Mr King returned from his expedition, and reported that he proceeded with the boats about three or four leagues farther than the ships had been able to go; that he then landed on the west side; that, from the heights he could see the two coasts join, and the inlet to terminate in a small river or creek, before which were banks of sand or mud, and everywhere shoal water. The land, too, was low and swampy for some distance to the northward; then it swelled into hills; and the complete junction of those on each side of the inlet was easily traced. From the elevated spot on which Mr King surveyed the sound, he could distinguish many extensive valleys, with rivers running through them, well wooded, and bounded by hills of a gentle ascent and moderate height. One of these rivers to the north-west appeared to be considerable; and from its direction he was inclined to think that it emptied itself into the sea at the head of the bay. Some of his people, who penetrated beyond this into the country, found the trees larger the farther they advanced. In honour of Sir Fletcher Norton,[1] Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr King's near relation, I named this inlet Norton Sound. It extends to the northward as far as the Latitude of 64° 55′. The bay in which we were now at anchor lies on the south-east side of it, and is called by the natives Chacktoole. It is but an indifferent station, being exposed to the south and south-west winds; nor is there a harbour in all this sound. But we were so fortunate as to have the wind from the north and north-east all the time, with remarkably fine weather.

Having now fully satisfied myself that Mr Stæhlin's map must be erroneous, and, having restored the American continent to that space which he had occupied with his imaginary island of Alashka, it was high time to think of leaving these northern regions and to retire to some place during the winter, where I might procure refreshments for my people, and a small supply of provisions. Petropaulowska, or the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, in Kamtschatka, did not appear likely to furnish either the one or the other for so large a number of men. I had, besides, other reasons for not repairing thither at this time. The first, on which all the others depended, was the great dislike I had to lie inactive for six or seven months, which would have been the necessary consequence of wintering in any of these northern parts. No place was so conveniently within our reach, where

[1] Afterwards Lord Grantley.

we could expect to have our wants supplied, as the Sandwich Islands; to them, therefore, I determined to proceed. But before this could be carried into execution, a supply of water was necessary. With this view I resolved to search the American coast for a harbour, by proceeding along it to the southward, and thus endeavour to connect the survey of this part of it with that lying immediately to the north of Cape Newenham. If I failed in finding a harbour there, my plan was then to proceed to Samganoodha, which was fixed upon as our place of rendezvous in case of separation.

CHAPTER VI.

Having weighed on the 17th in the morning with a light breeze at E., we steered to the southward and attempted to pass within Bessborough Island; but though it lies six or seven miles from the continent, were prevented by meeting with shoal water. As we had but little wind all the day, it was dark before we passed the island, and the night was spent under an easy sail. We resumed our course at daybreak on the 18th, along the coast. At noon we had no more than five fathoms water. At this time the latitude was 63° 37′. Bessborough Island now bore N. 42° E.; the southernmost land in sight, which proved also to be an island, S. 66° W.; the passage between it and the main S. 40° W.; and the nearest land about two miles distant. I continued to steer for this passage until the boats, which were ahead, made the signal for having no more than three fathoms water. On this we hauled without the island, and made the signal for the Resolution's boat to keep between the ships and the shore.

This island, which obtained the name of Stuart's Island, lies in the Latitude of 63° 35′, and seventeen leagues from Cape Denbigh in the direction of S. 27° W. It is six or seven leagues in circuit. Some parts of it are of a middling height; but in general it is low, with some rocks lying off the western part. The coast of the continent is for the most part low land, but we saw high land up the country. It forms a point, opposite the island, which was named Cape Stephens, and lies in Latitude 63° 33′ and in Longitude 197° 41′. Some drift-wood was seen upon the shores both of the island and of the continent; but not a tree was perceived growing upon either. One might anchor upon occasion between the north-east side of this island and the continent, in a depth of five fathoms, sheltered from westerly, southerly, and easterly winds. But this station would be wholly exposed to the northerly winds, the land in that direction being at too great a distance to afford any security. Before we reached Stuart's Island, we passed two small islands lying between us and the main; and as we ranged along the coast several people appeared upon the shore, and by signs seemed to invite us to approach them. As soon as we were without the island, we steered S. by W. for the southernmost point of the continent in sight, till 8 o'clock in the evening, when, having shoaled the water from six fathoms to less than four, I tacked and stood to the northward into five fathoms, and then spent the night lying off and on. At the time we tacked, the southernmost point of land, the same which is mentioned above, and was named Point Shallow Water, bore S. half E. seven leagues distant.

We resumed our course to the southward at daybreak next morning, but shoal water obliged us to haul more to the westward. At length we got so far advanced upon the bank, that we could not hold a NNW. course, meeting sometimes with only four fathoms. The wind blowing fresh at ENE., it was high time to look for deep water, and to quit a coast upon which we could no longer navigate with any degree of safety. I therefore hauled the wind to the northward, and gradually deep-

ened the water to eight fathoms. At the time we hauled the wind we were at least twelve leagues from the continent and nine to the westward of Stuart's Island. No land was seen to the southward of Point Shallow Water, which I judge to lie in the Latitude of 63°; so that between this latitude and Shoal Ness, in Latitude 60°, the coast is entirely unexplored. Probably it is accessible only to boats or very small vessels, or at least, if there be channels for larger vessels it would require some time to find them; and I am of opinion that they must be looked for near the coast. From the mast-head, the sea within us appeared to be chequered with shoals; the water was very much discoloured and muddy, and considerably fresher than at any of the places where we had lately anchored. From this I inferred that a considerable river runs into the sea in this unknown part.[1]

As soon as we got into eight fathoms water I steered to the westward, and afterwards more southerly, for the land discovered on the 5th, which at noon the next day bore SW. by W., ten or eleven leagues distant. At this time we had a fresh gale at N., with showers of hail and snow at intervals, and a pretty high sea; so that we got clear of the shoals but just in time. As I now found that the land before us lay too far to the westward to be Anderson's Island, I named it Clerke's Island. It lies in the Latitude of 63° 15′, and in the Longitude of 190° 30′. It seemed to be a pretty large island, in which are four or more hills, all connected by low ground; so that at a distance it looks like a group of islands. Near its east part lies a small island remarkable by having upon it three elevated rocks. Not only the greater island but this small spot was inhabited. We got up to the northern point of Clerke's Island about 6 o'clock, and having ranged along its coast till dark, brought to during the night. At daybreak next morning we stood in again for the coast, and continued to range along it in search of a harbour till noon, when, seeing no likelihood of succeeding, I left it and steered SSW. for the land which we had discovered on the 29th of July; having a fresh gale at N. with showers of sleet and snow. I remarked that as soon as we opened the channel which separates the two continents, cloudy weather with snow-showers immediately commenced; whereas all the time that we were in Norton Sound we had, with the same wind, clear weather. Might not this be occasioned by the mountains to the north of that place attracting the vapours and hindering them to proceed any farther?

At daybreak in the morning of the 23d the land above mentioned appeared in sight, bearing SW., six or seven leagues distant. From this point of view it resembled a group of islands; but it proved to be but one, of thirty miles in extent in the direction of NW. and SE., the SE. end being Cape Upright, already taken notice of. The island is but narrow, especially at the low necks of land that connect the hills. I afterward found that it was wholly unknown to the Russians; and therefore, considering it as a discovery of our own, I named it Gore's Island. It appeared to be barren, and without inhabitants; at least we saw none. Nor did we see so many birds about it as when we first discovered it. But we saw some sea-otters, an animal which we had not met with to the north of this latitude. Four leagues from Cape Upright, in the direction of S. 72° W., lies a small island whose elevated summit terminates in several pinnacle rocks. On this account it was named Pinnacle Island. At two in the afternoon, after passing Cape Upright, I steered SE. by S. for Samganoodha, with a gentle breeze

[1] In modern maps a large river named the Kwichpak, taking its rise far inland to the east and south-east, and debouching by several mouths into the sea north of Cape Romanzov, is marked just where Cook conjectured the existence of such a stream.

at NNW., being resolved to spend no more time in searching for a harbour amongst islands which I now began to suspect had no existence, at least not in the latitude and longitude where modern map-makers have thought proper to place them. In the evening of the 24th the wind veered to SW. and S., and increased to a fresh gale.

We continued to stretch to the eastward till 8 o'clock in the morning of the 25th, when, in the Latitude of 58° 32′, and in the Longitude of 191° 10′, we tacked and stood to the west; and soon after, the gale increasing, we were reduced to two courses and close-reefed maintop-sails. Not long after, the Resolution sprang a leak under the starboard buttock, which filled the spirit-room with water before it was discovered; and it was so considerable as to keep one pump constantly employed. We durst not put the ship upon the other tack for fear of getting upon the shoals that lie to the NW. of Cape Newenham; but continued standing to the west till six in the evening of the 26th, when we wore and stood to the eastward, and then the leak no longer troubled us. This proved that it was above the water line, which was no small satisfaction. The gale was now over, but the wind remained at S. and SW. for some days longer.

At length, on the 2d of October at daybreak, we saw the island of Oonalashka bearing SE. But as this was to us a new point of view, and the land was obscured by a thick haze, we were not sure of our situation till noon, when the observed latitude determined it. As all the harbours were alike to me provided they were equally safe and convenient, I hauled into a bay that lies ten miles to the westward of Samganoodha, known by the name of Egoochshac; but we found very deep water, so that we were glad to get out again. The natives, many of whom lived here, visited us at different times, bringing with them dried salmon and other fish, which they exchanged with the seamen for tobacco. But a few days before, every ounce of tobacco that was in the ship had been distributed among them; and the quantity was not half sufficient to answer their demands. Notwithstanding this, so improvident a creature is an English sailor, that they were as profuse in making their bargains as if we had now arrived at a port in Virginia; by which means, in less than eight-and-forty hours the value of this article of barter was lowered above 1000 per cent. At 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 3d we anchored in Samganoodha harbour; and the next morning the carpenters of both ships were set to work to rip off the sheathing of and under the wale on the starboard side abaft. Many of the seams were found quite open, so that it was no wonder that so much water had found its way into the ship. While we lay here we cleared the fish and spirit rooms and the after-hold, disposing things in such a manner, that in case we should happen to have any more leaks of the same nature the water might find it way to the pumps. And besides this work, and completing our water, we cleared the forehold to the very bottom, and took in a quantity of ballast.

The vegetables which we had met with when we were here before were now mostly in a state of decay, so that we were but little benefited by the great quantities of berries everywhere found ashore. In order to avail ourselves as much as possible of this useful refreshment, one-third of the people by turns had leave to go and pick them. Considerable quantities of them were also procured from the natives. If there were any seeds of the scurvy in either ship, these berries, and the use of spruce beer, which [the crews] had to drink every other day, effectually eradicated them. We also got plenty of fish, at first mostly salmon, both fresh and dried, which the natives brought us. Some of the fresh salmon was in high perfection; but there was one sort, which we called hook-nosed, from the figure of its head, that was but indifferent. We drew the seine several times at the head of the bay, and caught a good many salmon-trout,

and once a halibut that weighed 254 pounds. The fishery failing, we had recourse to hooks and lines. A boat was sent out every morning, and seldom returned without eight or ten halibut, which was more than sufficient to serve all our people. The halibut were excellent, and there were few who did not prefer them to salmon. Thus we not only procured a supply of fish for present consumption, but had some to carry with us to sea. This enabled us to make a considerable saving of our provisions, which was an object of no small importance.

On the 8th I received by the hands of an Oonalashka man, named Derramoushk, a very singular present, considering the place. It was a rye loaf, or rather a pie made in the form of a loaf, for it enclosed some salmon highly seasoned with pepper. This man had the like present for Captain Clerke, and a note for each of us written in a character which none of us could read. It was natural to suppose that this present was from some Russians now in our neighbourhood; and therefore we sent by the same hand, to these our unknown friends, a few bottles of rum, wine, and porter, which we thought would be as acceptable as anything we had beside; and we soon knew that in this we had not been mistaken. I also sent, along with Derramoushk, Corporal Lediard of the marines, an intelligent man, in order to gain some further information, with orders that if he met with any Russians he should endeavour to make them understand that we were English, the friends and allies of their nation.

On the 10th, Lediard returned with three Russian seamen or furriers, who with some others resided at Egooch-shac, where they had a dwelling-house, some store-houses, and a sloop of about thirty tons burthen. One of these men was either master or mate of this vessel; another of them wrote a very good hand and understood figures; and they were all three well-behaved, intelligent men, and very ready to give me all the information I could desire. But for want of an interpreter we had some difficulty to understand each other. They appeared to have a thorough knowledge of the attempts that had been made by their countrymen to navigate the Frozen Ocean, and of the discoveries which had been made from Kamtschatka by Behring, Tscherikoff, and Spanberg. But they seemed to know no more of Lieutenant Syndo, or Synd, than his name. Nor had they the least idea what part of the world Mr Stæhlin's map referred to when it was laid before them. When I pointed out Kamtschatka and some other known places upon that map, they asked whether I had seen the islands there laid down; and on my answering in the negative, one of them put his finger upon a part of this map where a number of islands was represented, and said that he had cruised there for land but never could find any. I then laid before them my own chart, and found that they were strangers to every part of the American coast except what lies opposite this island. One of these men said that he had been with Behring in his American voyage, but he must then have been very young, for he had not now, at the distance of thirty-seven years, the appearance of being aged. Never was there greater respect paid to the memory of any distinguished person than by these men to that of Behring. The trade in which they are engaged is very beneficial; and its being undertaken and extended to the eastward of Kamtschatka was the immediate consequence of the second voyage of that able navigator, whose misfortunes proved to be the source of much private advantage to individuals and of public utility to the Russian nation. And yet, if his distresses had not accidentally carried him to die in the island which bears his name, and whence the miserable remnant of his ship's crew brought back sufficient specimens of its valuable furs, probably the Russians never would have undertaken any future voyages which could lead them to make discoveries in the sea towards the coast of America. Indeed, after

his time Government seems to have paid less attention to this; and we owe what discoveries have been since made principally to the enterprising spirit of private traders, encouraged, however, by the superintending care of the Court of Petersburg. The three Russians having remained with me all night, visited Captain Clerke next morning, and then left us, very well satisfied with the reception they had met with, promising to return in a few days and to bring with them a chart of the islands lying between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka.

On the 15th, in the evening, while Mr Webber and I were at a village at a small distance from Samganoodha, a Russian landed there who, I found, was the principal person amongst his countrymen in this and the neighbouring islands. His name was Erasim Gregorioff Sin Ismyloff. He arrived in a canoe carrying three persons, attended by twenty or thirty other canoes, each conducted by one man. I took notice that the first thing they did after landing was to make a small tent for Ismyloff of materials which they brought with them, and then they made others for themselves of their canoes and paddles, which they covered with grass, so that the people of the village were at no trouble to find them lodging. Ismyloff, having invited us into his tent, set before us some dried salmon and berries, which, I was satisfied, was the best cheer he had. He appeared to be a sensible, intelligent man; and I felt no small mortification in not being able to converse with him unless by signs, assisted by figures and other characters, which, however, were a very great help. I desired to see him on board the next day, and accordingly he came, with all his attendants. Indeed he had moved into our neighbourhood for the express purpose of waiting upon us. I was in hopes to have had by him the chart which his three countrymen had promised, but I was disappointed. However, he assured me I should have it, and he kept his word. I found that he was very well acquainted with the geography of these parts, and with all the discoveries that had been made in them by the Russians. On seeing the modern maps, he at once pointed out their errors. He told me he had accompanied Lieutenant Syndo, or Synd, as he called him, in his expedition to the north; and, according to his account, they did not proceed farther than the Tschukotskoi Nos, or rather than the Bay of St Laurence, for he pointed on our chart to the very place where I landed. From thence, he said, they went to an island in Latitude 63°, upon which they did not land, nor could he tell me its name; but I should guess it to be the same to which I gave the name of Clerke's Island. To what place Synd went after that, or in what manner he spent the two years during which, as Ismyloff said, his researches lasted, he either could not, or would not, inform us. Perhaps he did not comprehend our inquiries about this; and yet in almost every other thing we could make him understand us. This created a suspicion that he had not really been in that expedition, notwithstanding his assertion.

Both Ismyloff and the others affirmed that they knew nothing of the continent of America to the northward, and that neither Lieutenant Synd nor any other Russian had ever seen it of late. They call it by the same name which Mr Stæhlin gives to his great island, that is, Alashka. Stachtan Nitada, as it is called in the modern maps, is a name quite unknown to these people, natives of the islands as well as Russians; but both of them know it by the name of America. From what we could gather from Ismyloff and his countrymen, the Russians have made several attempts to get a footing upon that part of this continent that lies contiguous to Oonalashka and the adjoining islands, but have always been repulsed by the natives, whom they describe as a very treacherous people. They mentioned two or three captains, or chief men, who had been murdered by them; and some of the Russians

showed us wounds which they said they had received there. Some other information which we got from Ismyloff is worth recording, whether true or false. He told us that in the year 1773 an expedition had been made into the Frozen Sea in sledges over the ice to three large islands that lie opposite the mouth of the River Kolima. We were in some doubt whether he did not mean the same expedition of which Muller gives an account; and yet he wrote down the year and marked the islands on the chart. But a voyage which he himself had performed engaged our attention more than any other. He said that on the 12th of May 1771 he sailed from Bolscheretzk,[1] in a Russian vessel, to one of the Kurile Islands, named Mareekan, in the Latitude of 47°, where there is a harbour and a Russian settlement. From this island he proceeded to Japan, where he seems to have made but a short stay. For when the Japanese came to know that he and his companions were Christians, they made signs for them to be gone, but did not, so far as we could understand him, offer any insult or force. From Japan he got to Canton, and thence to France in a French ship. From France he travelled to St Petersburg, and was afterwards sent out again to Kamtschatka. What became of the vessel in which he first embarked, we could not learn, nor what was the principal object of the voyage. His not being able to speak one word of French made this story a little suspicious. He did not even know the name of any one of the most common things that must have been in use every day while he was on board the ship and in France. And yet he seemed clear as to the times of his arriving at the different places, and of his leaving them, which he put down in writing.

The next morning he would fain have made me a present of a sea-otter skin, which, he said, was worth eighty roubles at Kamtschatka. However, I thought proper to decline it; but I accepted of some dried fish and several baskets of the lily, or "faranne" root. In the afternoon Mr Ismyloff, after dining with Captain Clerke, left us with all his retinue, promising to return in a few days. Accordingly on the 19th he made us another visit, and brought with him the charts before mentioned, which he allowed me to copy, and the contents of which furnish matter for the following observations.[2] There were two of them, both manuscripts, and bearing every mark of authenticity. The first comprehended the Penshinskian Sea,[3] the coast of Tartary as low as the Latitude of 41°, the Kurile Islands, and the peninsula of Kamtschatka. Since this map had been made, Wawseelee Irkeechoff, Captain of the Fleet, explored in 1758 the coast of Tartary, from Okotsk and the River Amoor to Japan, or 41° of Latitude. Mr Ismyloff also informed us that great part of the sea-coast of the peninsula of Kamtschatka had been corrected by himself, and described the instrument he made use of, which must have been a theodolite. He also informed us that there were only two harbours fit for shipping on all the east coast of Kamtschatka, viz., the Bay of Awatska, and the River Olutora, in the bottom of the gulf of the same name; that there was not a single harbour upon its west coast; and that Yamsk was the only one on all the west side of the Penshinskian Sea, except Okotsk, till we come to the River Amoor. The Kurile Islands afford only one harbour, and that is on the north-east side of Mareekan, in the Latitude of 47½°, where, as I have before observed, the Russians have a settlement. The second chart was to me the most interesting, for it comprehended all the discoveries made by the Russians to the eastward of Kamt-

[1] On the south-west coast of Kamtschatka, just across the peninsula from Petropaulovski on the south-east side.

[2] Considerably abridged, as now of comparatively slight value, having long ago been superseded by further research in those regions.

[3] The Sea of Okotsk.

schatka towards America, which, if we exclude the voyage of Behring and Tscherikoff, will amount to little or nothing. . . .

It appeared by the chart, as well as by the testimony of Ismyloff and the other Russians, that this[1] is as far as their countrymen have made any discoveries, or have extended themselves, since Behring's time. They all said that no Russians had settled themselves so far to the east as the place where the natives gave the note to Captain Clerke; which Mr Ismyloff, to whom I delivered it, on perusing it said had been written at Oomanak. It was, however, from him that we got the name of Kodiak,[2] the largest of Schumagin's Islands; for it had no name upon the chart produced by him. The names of all the other islands were taken from it, and we wrote them down as pronounced by him. He said they were all such as the natives themselves called their islands by; but, if so, some of the names seem to have been strangely altered. It is worth observing, that no names were put to the islands which Ismyloff told us were to be struck out of the chart; and I considered this as some confirmation that they were not in existence. I have already observed that the American continent is here called by the Russians, as well as by the islanders, Alashka; which name, though it properly belong only to the country adjoining to Ooneemak, is used by them when speaking of the American continent in general, which they know perfectly well to be a great land. This is all the information I got from these people relating to the geography of this part of the world; and I have reason to believe that this was all the information they were able to give. For they assured me over and over again that they knew of no other islands besides those which were laid down upon this chart;[3] and that no Russian had ever seen any part of the continent of America to the northward, except that which lies opposite the country of the Tschutskis.

Mr Ismyloff remained with us till the 21st in the evening, when he took his final leave. To his care I entrusted a letter to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in which was enclosed a chart of all the northern coasts I had visited. He said there would be an opportunity of sending it to Kamtschatka or Okotsk the ensuing spring; and that it would be at St Petersburg the following winter. He gave me a letter to Major Behm, Governor of Kamtschatka, who resides at Bolscheretsk; and another to the commanding officer at Petropaulowska. Mr Ismyloff seemed to have abilities that might entitle him to a higher station in life than that in which we found him. He was tolerably well versed in astronomy and in the most useful branches of the mathematics. I made him a present of a Hadley's octant; and though probably it was the first he had ever seen, he made himself acquainted in a very short time with most of the uses to which that instrument can be applied.

In the morning of the 22d we made an attempt to get to sea, with the wind at SE., which miscarried. The following afternoon we were visited by one Jacob Ivanovitch Soposnicoff, a Russian who commanded a boat or small vessel at Oomanak. This man had a great share of modesty, and would drink no strong liquor, of which the rest of his countrymen whom we had met with here were immoderately fond. He seemed to know more

[1] The Halibut Isles, and the Island of Ooneemak, forming—the latter especially—a westward continuation of the peninsula of Alashka; from which it is divided by a narrow and shallow channel, impracticable for ships.

[2] A Russian ship had been at Kodiack, in 1776; it lies south of the middle of the Alashkan peninsula, some distance westward from the entrance to Cook's inlet.

[3] They were Behring's Island, Copper Island, and the Aleutian chain, as far as the channel between Ooneemak and the peninsula of Alashka on the American mainland.

accurately what supplies could be got at the harbour of Petropaulowska, and the price of the different articles, than Mr Ismyloff. But, by all accounts, everything we should want at that place was very scarce and bore a high price. Flour, for instance, was from three to five roubles the pood;[1] and deer from three to five roubles each. This man told us that he was to be at Petropaulowska in May next; and, as I understood, was to have the charge of my letter. He seemed to be exceedingly desirous of having some token from me to carry to Major Behm; and to gratify him I sent a small spying-glass.

After we became acquainted with these Russians, some of our gentlemen at different times visited their settlement on the island; where they always met with a hearty welcome. This settlement consisted of a dwelling-house and two store-houses. And besides the Russians there was a number of the Kamtschadales and of the natives, as servants or slaves to the former. Some others of the natives, who seemed independent of the Russians, lived at the same place. Such of them as belonged to the Russians were all males; and they are taken, or perhaps purchased, from their parents when young. There were at this time about twenty of these, who could be looked upon in no other light than as children. They all live in the same house, the Russians at the upper end, the Kamtschadales in the middle, and the natives at the lower end; where is fixed a large boiler for preparing their food, which consists chiefly of what the sea produces, with the addition of wild roots and berries. There is little difference between the first and last table besides what is produced by cookery, in which the Russians have the art to make indifferent things palatable. I have eaten whale's flesh of their dressing which I thought very good; and they made a kind of pan-pudding of salmon roe, beaten up fine and fried, that is no bad succedaneum for bread. They may, now and then, taste real bread, or have a dish in which flour is an ingredient; but this can only be an occasional luxury. If we except the juice of berries, which they sip at their meals, they have no other liquor besides pure water; and it seems to be very happy for them that they have nothing stronger. As the island supplies them with food, so it does in a great measure with clothing. This consists chiefly of skins, and is perhaps the best they could have. The upper garment is made like our waggoner's frock, and reaches as low as the knee. Besides this they wear a waistcoat or two, a pair of breeches, a fur cap, and a pair of boots, the soles and upper leathers of which are of Russian leather, but the legs are made of some kind of strong gut. Their two chiefs, Ismyloff and Ivanovitch, wore each a calico frock; and they, as well as some others, had skirts, which were of silk. These, perhaps, were the only part of their dress not made amongst themselves.

There are Russians settled upon all the principal islands between Oonalashka and Kamtschatka, for the sole purpose of collecting furs. Their great object is the sea-beaver or otter. I never heard them inquire after any other animal; though those whose skins are of inferior value are also made part of their cargoes. I never thought to ask how long they have had a settlement upon Oonalashka and the neighbouring isles; but, to judge from the great subjection the natives are under, this cannot be of a very late date.[2] All these furriers are relieved from time to time by others. Those we met with arrived here from Okotsk in 1776, and are to return in 1781; so that their stay at the island will be four years at least.

It is now time to give some account of the native inhabitants. To all appearance they are the most peaceable, inoffensive people I ever met with, and as to honesty they might serve as a pattern to the most civilised

[1] Thirty-six pounds.

[2] The Russians began to frequent Oonalashka in 1762.

nation upon earth. But, from what I saw of their neighbours, with whom the Russians have no connection, I doubt whether this was their original disposition, and rather think that it has been the consequence of their present state of subjection. Indeed, if some of our gentlemen did not misunderstand the Russians, they had been obliged to make some severe examples before they could bring the islanders into any order. If there were severities inflicted at first, the best apology for them is that they have produced the happiest consequences; and at present the greatest harmony subsists between the two nations. The natives have their own chiefs in each island, and seem to enjoy liberty and property unmolested. But whether or no they are tributaries to the Russians, we could never find out. There was some reason to think that they are.

These people are rather low of stature, but plump and well shaped, with rather short necks, swarthy chubby faces, black eyes, small beards, and long, straight, black hair; which the men wear loose behind and cut before, but the women tie up in a bunch. Their dress has been occasionally mentioned. Both sexes wear the same in fashion; the only difference is in the materials. The women's frock is made of sealskin, and that of the men of the skins of birds; both reaching below the knee. This is the whole dress of the women. But over the frock the men wear another, made of gut, which resists water, and has a hood to it which draws over the head. Some of them wear boots; and all of them have a kind of oval snouted cap, made of wood, with a rim to admit the head. The caps are dyed with green and other colours; and round the upper part of the rim are stuck the long bristles of some sea-animal on which are strung glass beads, and on the front is a small image or two made of bone. They make use of no paint; but the women puncture their faces slightly, and both men and women bore the under lip, to which they fix pieces of bone. But it is as uncommon at Oonalashka to see a man with this ornament, as to see a woman without it. Some fix beads to the upper lip, under the nostrils; and all of them hang ornaments in their ears.

Their food consists of fish, sea-animals, birds, roots, and berries, and even of sea-weed. They dry large quantities of fish in summer, which they lay up in small huts for winter use, and probably they preserve roots and berries for the same time of scarcity. They eat almost everything raw. Boiling and broiling were the only methods of cookery that I saw them make use of; and the first was probably learned from the Russians. Some have got little brass kettles; and those who have not, make one of a flat stone, with sides of clay, not unlike a standing pie. I was once present when the chief of Oonalashka made his dinner off the raw head of a large halibut, just caught. Before any was given to the chief, two of his servants ate the gills, without any other dressing besides squeezing out the slime. This done, one of them cut off the head of the fish, took it to the sea, and washed it, then came with it, and sat down by the chief; first pulling up some grass, upon a part of which the head was laid, and the rest was strewed before the chief. He then cut large pieces off the cheeks, and laid these within reach of the great man, who swallowed them with as much satisfaction as we should do raw oysters. When he had done, the remains of the head were cut in pieces and given to the attendants, who tore off the meat with their teeth, and gnawed the bones like so many dogs.

As these people use no paint, they are not so dirty in their persons as the savages who thus besmear themselves; but they are full as lousy and filthy in their houses. Their method of building is as follows: They dig in the ground an oblong square pit, the length of which seldom exceeds fifty feet and the breadth twenty, but in general the dimensions are smaller. Over this excavation they form the roof, of wood which

the sea throws ashore. This roof is covered first with grass, and then with earth, so that the outward appearance is like a dunghill. In the middle of the roof, towards each end, is left a square opening by which the light is admitted; one of these openings being for this purpose only, and the other being also used to go in and out by, with the help of a ladder, or rather a post with steps cut in it. In some houses there is another entrance below, but this is not common. Round the sides and ends of the huts the families (for several are lodged together) have their separate apartments, where they sleep and sit at work, not upon benches, but in a kind of a concave trench, which is dug all round the inside of the house, and covered with mats, so that this part is kept tolerably decent. But the middle of the house, which is common to all the families, is far otherwise. For although it be covered with dry grass, it is a receptacle for dirt of every kind, and the place for the urine trough, the stench of which is not mended by raw hides or leather being almost continually steeped in it. Behind and over the trench are placed the few effects they are possessed of, such as their clothing, mats, and skins. Their household furniture consists of bowls, spoons, buckets, piggins, or cans, matted baskets, and perhaps a Russian kettle or pot. All these utensils are very neatly made and well-formed; and yet we saw no other tools among them but the knife and the hatchet, that is, a small flat piece of iron made like an adze by fitting it into a crooked wooden handle. These were the only instruments we met with there made of iron. For although the Russians live amongst them, we found much less of this metal in their possession than we had met with in the possession of other tribes on the American continent who had never seen, nor perhaps had any intercourse with, the Russians. Probably a few beads, a little tobacco and snuff, purchase all they have to spare. There are few, if any of them, that do not both smoke and chew tobacco, and take snuff; a luxury that bids fair to keep them always poor.

They did not seem to wish for more iron, or to want any other instruments except sewing needles, their own being made of bone. With these they not only sew their canoes and make their clothes, but also very curious embroidery. Instead of thread they use the fibres of sinews, which they split to the thickness which each sort of work requires. All sewing is performed by the women. They are the tailors, shoemakers, and boat-builders or boat-coverers, for the men most probably construct the frame of wood over which the skins are sewed. They make mats and baskets of grass that are both beautiful and strong. Indeed, there is a neatness and perfection in most of their work that shows they neither want ingenuity nor perseverance.

I saw not a fireplace in any one of their houses. They are lighted as well as heated by lamps, which are simple, and yet answer the purpose very well. They are made of a flat stone, hollowed on one side like a plate, and about the same size, or rather larger. In the hollow part they put the oil, mixed with a little dry grass, which serves the purpose of a wick. Both men and women frequently warm their bodies over one of these lamps, by placing it between their legs, under their garments, and sitting thus over it for a few minutes. They produce fire both by collision and by attrition; the former by striking two stones one against another, on one of which a good deal of brimstone is first rubbed. The latter method is with two pieces of wood, one of which is a stick of about eighteen inches in length, and the other a flat piece. The pointed end of the stick they press upon the other, whirling it nimbly round as a drill, thus producing fire in a few minutes. This method is common in many parts of the world. It is practised by the Kamtschadales, by these

people, by the Greenlanders, by the Brazilians, by the Otaheiteans, by the New Hollanders, and probably by many other nations. Yet some learned and ingenious men have founded an argument on this custom to prove that this and that nation are of the same extraction. But accidental agreements, in a few particular instances, will not authorise such a conclusion; nor will a disagreement either in manners or customs between two different nations of course prove that they are of different extraction. I could support this opinion by many instances besides the one just mentioned.

No such thing as an offensive or even defensive weapon was seen amongst the natives of Oonalashka. We cannot suppose that the Russians found them in such a defenceless state; it is more probable that, for their own security, they have disarmed them. Political reasons, too, may have induced the Russians not to allow these islanders to have any large canoes; for it is difficult to believe they had none such originally, as we found them amongst all their neighbours. However, we saw none here but one or two belonging to the Russians. The canoes made use of by the natives are the smallest we had anywhere seen upon the American coast, though built after the same manner, with some little difference in the construction. The stern of these terminates a little abruptly; the head is forked, the upper point of the fork projecting without the under one, which is even with the surface of the water. Why they should thus construct them is difficult to conceive, for the fork is apt to catch hold of everything that comes in the way, to prevent which they fix a piece of small stick from point to point. In other respects their canoes are built after the manner of those used by the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, the framing being of slender laths, and the covering of seal-skins. They are about twelve feet long, a foot and a half broad in the middle, and twelve or fourteen inches deep. Upon occasion they can carry two persons; one of whom is stretched at full length in the canoe, and the other sits in the seat, or round hole, which is nearly in the middle. Round this hole is a rim or hoop of wood, about which is sewed gut skin, that can be drawn together or opened like a purse, with leathern thongs fitted to the outer edge. The man seats himself in this place, draws the skin tight round his body over his gut frock, and brings the ends of the thongs or purse-string over the shoulder to keep it in its place. The sleeves of his frock are tied round his wrists; and it being close round his neck, and the hood drawn over his head, where it is confined by his cap, water can scarcely penetrate either to his body or into the canoe. If any should, however, insinuate itself, the boatman carries a piece of sponge with which he dries it up. He uses the double-bladed paddle, which is held with both hands in the middle, striking the water with a quick regular motion, first on one side and then on the other. By this means the canoe is impelled at a great rate, and in a direction as straight as a line can be drawn. In sailing from Egoochshac to Samganoodha, two or three canoes kept way with the ship, though she was going at the rate of seven miles an hour. Their fishing and hunting implements lie ready upon their canoes, under straps fixed for the purpose. They are all made, in great perfection, of wood and bone, and differ very little from those used by the Greenlanders, as they are described by Crantz. The only difference is in the point of the missile dart, which in some we saw here is not above an inch long; whereas Crantz says, that those of the Greenlanders are a foot and a half in length. These people are very expert in striking fish, both in the sea and in rivers. They also make use of hooks and lines, nets and wears. The hooks are composed of bone, and the lines of sinews.

The fishes which are common to other northern seas are found here,

such as whales, grampuses, porpoises, sword-fish, halibut, cod, salmon, trout, soles, flat-fish; several other sorts of small fish; and there may be many more that we had no opportunity of seeing. Halibut and salmon seem to be in the greatest plenty, and on them the inhabitants of these isles subsist chiefly, at least they were the only sort of fish, except a few cod, which we observed to be laid up for their winter store. To the north of 60° the sea is in a manner destitute of small fish of every kind, but then whales are more numerous. Seals, and that whole tribe of sea-animals, are not so numerous as in many other seas. Nor can this be thought strange, since there is hardly any part of the coast on either continent, nor any of the islands lying between them, that is not inhabited, and whose inhabitants hunt these animals for their food and clothing. Sea-horses are, indeed, in prodigious numbers about the ice; and the sea-otter is, I believe, nowhere found but in this sea. We sometimes saw an animal with a head like a seal's, that blew after the manner of whales. It was larger than a seal, and its colour was white, with some dark spots. Probably this was the sea-cow or "manatee."

I think I may venture to assert, that sea and water fowls are neither in such numbers nor in such variety as with us in the northern parts of the Atlantic Ocean. There are some, however, here that I do not remember to have seen anywhere else, particularly the *Alca monochroa* of Steller, and a black and white duck, which I conceive to be different from the stone-duck described by Krasheninikoff.[1] All the other birds seen by us are mentioned by this author, except some that we met with near the ice; and most if not all of these are described by Martin in his voyage to Greenland. It is a little extraordinary that penguins, which are common in many parts of the world, should not be found in this sea. Albatrosses, too, are so very scarce that I cannot help thinking that this is not their proper climate. The few land-birds that we met with are the same with those in Europe; but there may be many others which we had no opportunity of knowing. A very beautiful bird was shot in the woods at Norton Sound, which I am told is sometimes found in England, and known by the name of chatterer. Our people met with other small birds there, but in no great variety and abundance; such as the woodpecker, the bullfinch, the yellow finch, and a small bird called a titmouse.

As our excursions and observations were confined wholly to the sea-coast, it is not to be expected that we could know much of the animals or vegetables of the country. Except mosquitoes, there are few other insects, nor reptiles that I saw, but lizards. There are no deer upon Oonalashka or upon any other of the islands. Nor have they any domestic animals, not even dogs. Foxes and weasels were the only quadrupeds we saw; but they told us that they had hares also and the "marmottas"[2] mentioned by Krasheninikoff. Hence it is evident that the sea and rivers supply the greatest share of food to the inhabitants. They are also obliged to the sea for all the wood made use of for building and other necessary purposes; for not a stick grows upon any of the islands nor upon the adjacent coast of the continent.

The learned tell us, that the seeds of plants are by various means conveyed from one part of the world to another; even to islands in the midst of great oceans and far remote from any other land. How comes it to pass that there are no trees growing on this part of the continent of America, nor any other of the islands lying near it? They are certainly as well situated for receiving seeds, by

[1] In his "Description of Kamtschatka," published in French at Amsterdam in 1770, and afterwards translated into English.

[2] Marmots.

all the various ways I have heard of, as any of those coasts that abound in wood. May not Nature have denied to some soil the power of raising trees without the assistance of art? As to the drift-wood upon the shores of the islands I have no doubt that it comes from America. For although there may be none on the neighbouring coast, enough may grow farther up the country, which torrents in the spring may break loose and bring down to the sea. And not a little may be conveyed from the woody coasts, though they lie at a greater distance.

There are a great variety of plants at Oonalashka, and most of them were in flower the latter end of June. Several of them are such as we find in Europe and in other parts of America, particularly in Newfoundland; and others of them, which are also met with in Kamtschatka, are eaten by the natives both there and here. The principal one is the "faranne," or lily root, which is about the size of a root of garlic, round, made up of a number of small cloves and grains like groats. When boiled it is somewhat like saloop; the taste is not disagreeable, and we found means to make some good dishes with it. It does not seem to be in great plenty, for we got none but what Ismyloff gave us. We must reckon amongst the food of the natives some other wild roots; the stalk of a plant resembling *Angelica;* and berries of several different sorts, such as bramble-berries, cran-berries, hurtle-berries, heath-berries, a small red berry which in Newfoundland is called partridge-berry; and another brown berry unknown to us. This has somewhat of the taste of a sloe, but is unlike it in every other respect. It is very astringent if eaten in any quantity. Brandy might be distilled from it. Captain Clerke attempted to preserve some, but they fermented and became as strong as if they had been steeped in spirits. There were a few other plants which we found serviceable, but are not made use of by either Russians or natives; such as wild purslain, peatops, a kind of scurvy-grass, cresses, and some others. All these we found very palatable dressed either in soups or in salads. On the low ground and in the valleys is plenty of grass, which grows very thick and to a great length. I am of opinion that cattle might subsist at Oonalashka all the year round without being housed. And the soil in many places seemed capable of producing grain, roots, and vegetables. But at present the Russian traders and the natives seem satisfied with what Nature brings forth.

Native sulphur was seen amongst the inhabitants of the island, but I had no opportunity of learning where they got it. We found also ochre, a stone that gives a purple colour, and another that gives a very good green. It may be doubted whether this last is known. In its natural state, it is of a greyish green colour, coarse and heavy. It easily dissolves in oil; but when put into water it entirely loses its properties. It seemed to be scarce in Oonalashka; but we were told that it was in greater plenty on the Island Oonemak. As to the stones about the shore and hills I saw nothing in them that was uncommon.

The people of Oonalashka bury their dead on the summits of hills, and raise a little hillock over the grave. In a walk into the country one of the natives who attended me pointed out several of these receptacles of the dead. There was one of them by the side of the road leading from the harbour to the village, over which was raised a heap of stones. It was observed that every one who passed it added one to it.[1] I saw in the country several stone hillocks that seemed to have been raised by art. Many of them were apparently of great antiquity. What their notions are of the Deity and of a

[1] It is almost superfluous to recall here the ancient Celtic practice, and modern Scottish proverb of "adding a stone to the cairn" of any one to whose memory honour was intended.

future state, I know not. I am equally unacquainted with their diversions; nothing having been seen that could give us an insight into either.

They are remarkably cheerful and friendly amongst each other; and always behaved with great civility to us. The Russians told us that they never had any connections with their women, because they were not Christians. Our people were not so scrupulous; and some of them had reason to repent that the females of Oonalashka encouraged their addresses without any reserve, for their health suffered by a distemper that is not unknown here. The natives of this island are also subject to the cancer, or a complaint like it, which those whom it attacks are very careful to conceal. They do not seem to be long-lived. I nowhere saw a person, man or woman, whom I could suppose to be sixty years of age; and but very few who appeared to be above fifty. Probably their hard way of living may be the means of shortening their days.

I have frequently had occasion to mention, from the time of our arrival in Prince William's Sound, how remarkably the natives on this north-west side of America resemble the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, in various particulars of person, dress, weapons, canoes, and the like. However, I was much less struck with this than with the affinity which we found subsisting between the dialects of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux and those of Norton Sound and Oonalashka. This appears from a table of corresponding words which I put together. Enough is certain to warrant this judgment, that there is great reason to believe that all these nations are of the same extraction; and if so, there can be little doubt of there being a northern communication of some sort by sea between this west side of America and the east side through Baffin's Bay, which communication, however, may be effectually shut up against ships by ice and other impediments. Such at least was my opinion at this time.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

In the morning of Monday the 26th we put to sea from Samganoodha harbour, and, as the wind was southerly, stood away to the westward. My intention was now to proceed to Sandwich Islands, there to spend a few of the winter months, in case we should meet with the necessary refreshments, and then to direct our course to Kamtschatka, so as to endeavour to be there by the middle of May the ensuing summer. In consequence of this resolution, I gave Captain Clerke orders how to proceed in case of separation; appointing Sandwich Islands for the first place of rendezvous, and the harbour of Petropaulowska in Kamtschatka for the second. Soon after we were out of the harbour, the wind veered to the SE. and ESE., which by the evening carried us as far as the western part of Oonalashka, where we got the wind at S. With this we stretched to the westward till 7 o'clock the next morning, when we wore and stood to the E. The wind by this time had increased in such a manner as to reduce us to our three courses. It blew in very heavy squalls, attended with rain, hail, and snow.

At 9 o'clock in the morning of the 28th, the Island of Oonalashka bore SE., four leagues distant. We then wore and stood to the westward. The strength of the gale was now over, and towards evening the little wind that blew insensibly veered round to the E., where it continued but a short time before it got to NE. and increased to a very hard gale with rain. I steered first to the southward; and as the wind inclined to the N. and NW., I steered more westerly. On

[1] The justice of Captain Cook's inference has been amply demonstrated since his time by the success of those expeditions, the history of which is familiar to all.

the 29th, at half-past six in the morning, we saw land extending from E. by S. to S. by W., supposed to be the Island Amoghta. At eight, finding that we could not weather the island, as the wind had now veered to the westward, I gave over plying, and bore away for Oonalashka, with a view of going to the northward and eastward of that island, not daring to attempt a passage to the SE. of it in so hard a gale of wind. At the time we bore away, the land extended from E. by S. half S. to SSW., four leagues distant. The Longitude by the time-keeper was 191° 17′ and the Latitude 53° 38′. At 11 o'clock, as we were steering to the NE., we discovered an elevated rock, like a tower, bearing NNE. half E., four leagues distant. It lies in the Latitude of 53° 57′ and in the Longitude of 191° 2′. We must have passed very near it in the night. We could judge of its steepness from this circumstance, that the sea, which now ran very high, broke nowhere but against it. At three in the afternoon, after getting a sight of Oonalashka, we shortened sail and hauled the wind, not having time to get through the passage before night. At daybreak the next morning we bore away under courses and close-reefed topsails, having a very hard gale at WNW., with heavy squalls attended with snow. At noon we were in the middle of the strait between Oonalashka and Oonella, the harbour of Samganoodha bearing SSE., one league distant. At three in the afternoon, being through the strait and clear of the isles, Cape Providence bearing WSW., two or three leagues distant, we steered to the southward under double-reefed topsails and courses, with the wind at WNW., a strong gale and fair weather.

On Monday the 2d of November, the wind veered to the southward, and before night blew a violent storm, which obliged us to bring to. The Discovery fired several guns, which we answered, but without knowing on what occasion they were fired. At 8 o'clock we lost sight of her and did not see her again till eight the next morning. At ten she joined us; and as the height of the gale was now over, and the wind had veered back to WNW., we made sail and resumed our course to the southward. The 6th in the evening, being in the Latitude of 42° 12′ and in the Longitude of 201° 26′, the variation was 17° 15′ E. The next morning, our Latitude being 41° 20′ and our Longitude 202°, a shag or cormorant flew several times round the ship. As these birds are seldom if ever known to fly far out of sight of land, I judged that some was not far distant. However, we could see none. In the afternoon, there being but little wind, Captain Clerke came on board and informed me of a melancholy accident that happened on board his ship the second night after we left Samganoodha. The main-tack gave way, killed one man, and wounded the boatswain and two or three more. In addition to this misfortune, I now learned that on the evening of the 3d his sails and rigging received considerable damage; and that the guns which he fired were the signal to bring to.

On the 8th the wind was at N., a gentle breeze, with clear weather. On the 9th, in the Latitude of 39½°, we had eight hours' calm. This was succeeded by the wind from the S. attended with fair weather. Availing ourselves of this, as many of our people as could handle a needle were set to work to repair the sails; and the carpenters were employed to put the boats in order. On the 12th at noon, being then in the Latitude of 38° 14′ and in the Longitude of 206° 17′, the wind returned back to the northward; and on the 15th, in the Latitude of 33° 30′, it veered to the E. At this time we saw a tropic-bird and a dolphin; the first that we had observed during the passage. On the 17th the wind veered to the southward, where it continued till the afternoon of the 19th, when a squall of wind and rain brought it at once round by the W. to the N. This was in the Latitude of 32° 26′, and in the Longitude of 207° 30′. The wind presently increased to a very strong gale, attended

with rain, so as to bring us under double-reefed topsails. In lowering down the main-topsail to reef it, the wind tore it quite out of the foot-rope; and it was split in several other parts. This sail had only been brought to the yard the day before, after having had a repair. The next morning we got another topsail to the yard. This gale proved to be the forerunner of the trade-wind, which in Latitude 25° veered to the E. and ESE. I continued to steer to the southward till daylight in the morning of the 25th, at which time we were in the Latitude of 20° 55′. I now spread the ships[1] and steered to the west. In the evening we joined, and at midnight brought to. At daybreak next morning land was seen extending from SSE. to W. We made sail and stood for it. At eight it extended from SE. half S. to W., the nearest part two leagues distant. It was supposed that we saw the extent of the land to the E., but not to the W. We were now satisfied that the group of the Sandwich Islands had been only imperfectly discovered; as those of them which we had visited in our progress northward all lie to the leeward of our present station.

In the country was an elevated saddle hill, whose summit appeared above the clouds. From this hill the land fell in a gentle slope, and terminated in a steep rocky coast, against which the sea broke in a dreadful surf. Finding that we could not weather the island, I bore up and ranged along the coast to the westward. It was not long before we saw people on several parts of the shore, and some houses and plantations. The country seemed to be both well wooded and watered, and running streams were seen falling into the sea in various places. As it was of the last importance to procure a supply of provisions at these islands, and experience having taught me that I could have no chance to succeed in this if a free trade with the natives were to be allowed, that is, if it were left to every man's discretion to trade for what he pleased and in the manner he pleased; for this substantial reason I now published an order prohibiting all persons from trading except such as should be appointed by me and Captain Clerke, and even these were enjoined to trade only for provisions and refreshments. Women were also forbidden to be admitted into the ships, except under certain restrictions. But the evil I meant to prevent by this regulation, I soon found had already got amongst them.

At noon the coast extended from S. 81° E. to N. 56° W.; a low flat, like an isthmus, bore S. 42° W.; the nearest shore three or four miles distant; the Latitude was 20° 59′, and the Longitude 203° 50′. Seeing some canoes coming off to us, I brought to. As soon as they got alongside, many of the people who conducted them came into the ship without the least hesitation. We found them to be of the same nation with the inhabitants of the islands more to leeward which we had already visited; and, if we did not mistake them, they knew of our having been there. Indeed, it rather appeared too evident, for these people had got amongst them the venereal distemper, and as yet I knew of no other way of its reaching them but by an intercourse with their neighbours since our leaving them. We got from our visitors a quantity of cuttle-fish for nails and pieces of iron. They brought very little fruit and roots, but told us that they had plenty of them on their island, as also hogs and fowls. In the evening, the horizon being clear to the westward, we judged the westernmost land in sight to be an island separated from that off which we now were. Having no doubt that the people would return to the ships next day with the produce of their country, I kept plying off all night, and in the morning stood close in shore. At first only a few of the natives visited us; but towards noon we had the company of a good many, who brought with them bread-fruit,

[1] To give the better chance of discovering the land, near which he knew that he had arrived.

potatoes, "taro" or eddy roots, a few plantains, and small pigs, all of which they exchanged for nails and iron tools. Indeed, we had nothing else to give them. We continued trading with them till 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when, having disposed of all their cargoes, and not seeming inclined to fetch more, we made sail and stood off shore. While we were lying to, though the wind blew fresh, I observed that the ships drifted to the east; consequently there must have been a current setting in that direction. This encouraged me to ply to windward, with a view to get round the east end of the island, and so have the whole leeside before us. In the afternoon of the 30th, being off the NE. end of the island, several canoes came off to the ships. Most of these belonged to a chief named Terreeoboo, who came in one of them. He made me a present of two or three small pigs, and we got by barter from the other people a little fruit. After a stay of about two hours they all left us, except six or eight of their company who chose to remain on board. A double sailing canoe came soon after to attend upon them, which we towed astern all night. In the evening we discovered another island to windward, which the natives call Owhyhee.[1] The name of that off which we had been for some days, we were also told, is Mowee.

On the 1st of December, at eight in the morning, Owhyhee extended from S. 22° E. to S. 12° W.; and Mowee from N. 41° to N. 83° W. Finding that we could fetch Owhyhee, I stood for it; and our visitors from Mowee, not choosing to accompany us, embarked in their canoe and went ashore. At seven in the evening we were close up with the north side of Owhyhee, where we spent the night standing off and on. In the morning of the 2d we were surprised to see the summits of the mountains on Owhyhee covered with snow. They did not appear to be of any extraordinary height; and yet in some places the snow seemed to be of a considerable depth, and to have lain there some time. As we drew near the shore some of the natives came off to us. They were a little shy at first; but we soon enticed some of them on board, and at last prevailed upon them to return to the island and bring off what we wanted. Soon after these reached the shore, we had company enough, and few coming empty-handed, we got a tolerable supply of small pigs, fruit, and roots. We continued trading with them till six in the evening, when we made sail and stood off, with a view of plying to windward round the island. The current which I have mentioned as setting to the eastward had now ceased; for we gained but little by plying. On the 6th, in the evening, being about five leagues farther up the coast, and near the shore, we had some traffic with the natives. But as it had furnished only a trifling supply, I stood in again the next morning, when we had a considerable number of visitors; and we lay to, trading with them till two in the afternoon. By that time we had procured pork, fruit, and roots sufficient for four or five days. We then made sail and continued to ply to windward.

Having procured a quantity of sugar-cane, and having upon a trial made but a few days before found that a strong decoction of it produced a very palatable beer, I ordered some more to be brewed for our general use. But when the cask was now broached not one of my crew would even so much as taste it. As I had no motive in preparing this beverage but to save our spirit for a colder climate, I gave myself no trouble, either by exerting authority or by having recourse to persuasion, to prevail upon them to drink it, knowing that there was no danger of the scurvy so long as we could get a plentiful supply of other

[1] Better known as Hawaii; it is the largest of the group. Mowee is marked in the later maps as Maue Honolulu, the seat of government, is on the Island of Oahu, which in his former notice of the Sandwich Islands Cook merely mentions under the name of Woahoo (Book III., Chapter XII.).

vegetables. But that I might not be disappointed in my views, I gave orders that no grog should be served in either ship. I myself and the officers continued to make use of this sugar-cane beer whenever we could get materials for brewing it. A few hops, of which we had some on board, improved it much. It has the taste of new malt beer, and I believe no one will doubt of its being very wholesome. And yet my inconsiderate crew alleged that it was injurious to their health. They had no better reason to support a resolution which they took on our first arrival in King George's [Nootka] Sound, not to drink the spruce-beer made there. But whether from a consideration that it was not the first time of their being required to use that liquor, or from some other reason, they did not attempt to carry their purpose into actual execution; and I had never heard of it till now, when they renewed their ignorant opposition to my best endeavours to serve them. Every innovation whatever on board a ship, though ever so much to the advantage of seamen, is sure to meet with their highest disapprobation. Both portable soup and sour krout[1] were at first condemned as stuff unfit for human beings. Few commanders have introduced into their ships more novelties, as useful varieties of food and drink, than I have done. Indeed few commanders have had the same opportunities of trying such experiments, or been driven to the same necessity of trying them. It has, however, been in a great measure owing to various little deviations from established practice that I have been able to preserve my people, generally speaking, from that dreadful distemper the scurvy, which has perhaps destroyed more of our sailors in their peaceful voyages than have fallen by the enemy in military expeditions.

I kept at some distance from the coast till the 13th, when I stood in again six leagues farther to windward than we had as yet reached; and after having some trade with the natives who visited us, returned to sea. I should have got near the shore again on the 15th for a supply of fruit or roots, but the wind happening to be at SE. by S. and SSE., I thought this a good time to stretch to the eastward, in order to get round, or at least to get a sight of the south-east end of the island. The wind continued at SE. by S. most part of the 16th. It was variable between S. and E. on the 17th, and on the 18th it was continually veering from one quarter to another, blowing sometimes in hard squalls, and at other times calm, with thunder, lightning, and rain. In the afternoon we had the wind westerly for a few hours, but in the evening it shifted to E. by S., and we stood to the southward close-hauled, under an easy sail, as the Discovery was at some distance astern. At this time the south-east point of the island bore SW. by S., about five leagues distant; and I made no doubt that I should be able to weather it. But at 1 o'clock next morning it fell calm, and we were left to the mercy of a north-easterly swell which impelled us fast toward the land; so that long before daybreak we saw lights upon the shore, which was not more than a league distant. The night was dark, with thunder, lightning, and rain.

At 3 o'clock the calm was succeeded by a breeze from E. blowing in squalls, with rain. We stood to the NE., thinking it the best tack to clear the coast; but if it had been daylight, we should have chosen the other. At daybreak the coast was seen extending from N. by W. to SW. by W., a dreadful surf breaking upon the shore, which was not more than half-a-league distant. It was evident that we had been in the most imminent danger. Nor were we yet in safety, the wind veering more easterly, so that for some

[1] Cook on his second voyage took a quantity of this with him. He describes it as cabbage cut small, to which is put a little salt, juniper-berries, and aniseed; it is then fermented, and close packed in casks, where it will keep a long time, retaining its virtues as a wholesome vegetable food and a great anti-scorbutic.

time we did but just keep our distance from the coast. What made our situation more alarming was the leach-rope of the main-topsail giving way, which was the occasion of the sail's being rent in two; and the two top-gallant-sails gave way in the same manner, though not half worn out. By taking a favourable opportunity, we soon got others to the yards, and then we left the land astern. The Discovery, by being at some distance to the north, was never near the land, nor did we see her till 8 o'clock.

As soon as daylight appeared the natives ashore displayed a white flag, which we conceived to be a signal of peace and friendship. Some of them ventured out after us, but the wind freshening, and it not being safe to wait, they were soon left astern. In the afternoon, after making another attempt to weather the eastern extreme, which failed, I gave it up and ran down to the Discovery. Indeed it was of no consequence to get round the island, for we had seen its extent to the south-east, which was the thing I aimed at; and according to the information which we had got from the natives, there is no other island to the windward of this. However, as we were so near the south end of it, and as the least shift of wind in our favour would serve to carry us round, I did not wholly give up the idea of weathering it, and therefore continued to ply. On the 20th at noon this south-east point bore S. three leagues distant, the snowy hills WNW., and we were about four miles from the nearest shore. In the afternoon some of the natives came in their canoes, bringing with them a few pigs and plantains. The latter were very acceptable, having had no vegetables for some days; but the supply we now received was so inconsiderable, being barely sufficient for one day, that I stood in again the next morning till within three or four miles of the land, where we were met by a number of canoes laden with provisions. We brought to and continued trading with the people in them till four in the afternoon, when, having got a pretty good supply, we made sail and stretched off to the northward.

I had never met with a behaviour so free from reserve and suspicion in my intercourse with any tribes of savages as we experienced in the people of this island. It was very common for them to send up into the ship the several articles they brought off for barter; afterwards they would come in themselves and make their bargains on the quarter-deck. The people of Otaheite, even after our repeated visits, do not care to put so much confidence in us. I infer from this that those of Owhyhee must be more faithful in their dealings with one another than the inhabitants of Otaheite are. For if little faith were observed amongst themselves they would not be so ready to trust strangers. It is also to be observed, to their honour, that they had never once attempted to cheat us in exchanges, nor to commit a theft. They understand trading as well as most people, and seemed to comprehend clearly the reason of our plying upon the coast. For though they brought off provisions in great plenty, particularly pigs, yet they kept up their price; and rather than dispose of them for less than they thought they were worth, would take them ashore again.

On the 22d, at eight in the morning, we tacked to the southward, with a fresh breeze at E. by N. At noon the Latitude was 20° 28′ 30″, and the snowy peak bore SW. half S. We had a good view of it the preceding day, and the quantity of snow seemed to have increased and to extend lower down the hill. I stood to the SE. till midnight, then tacked to the N. till four in the morning, when we returned to the SE. tack; and as the wind was at NE. by E., we had hopes of weathering the island. We should have succeeded if the wind had not died away and left us to the mercy of a great swell, which carried us fast toward the land, which was not two leagues distant. At length we got our head off, and some light puffs of wind, which came with showers of rain, put us out of danger. While

we lay, as it were, becalmed, several of the islanders came off with hogs, fowls, fruit, and roots. Out of one canoe we got a goose, which was about the size of a Muscovy duck; its plumage was dark grey, and the bill and legs black.

At four in the afternoon, after purchasing everything that the natives had brought off, which was full as much as we had occasion for, we made sail and stretched to the N., with the wind at ENE. At midnight we tacked and stood to the SE. Upon a supposition that the Discovery would see us tack, the signal was omitted; but she did not see us, as we afterwards found, and continued standing to the N., for at daylight next morning she was not in sight. At this time, the weather being hazy, we could not see far, so that it was possible the Discovery might be following us; and being past the north-east part of the island I was tempted to stand on till, by the wind veering to NE., we could not weather the land upon the other tack. Consequently we could not stand to the N. to join or look for the Discovery. At noon we were by observation in the Latitude of 19° 55′ and in the Longitude of 205° 3′; the south-east point of the island bore S. by E. quarter E., six leagues distant; the other extreme bore N. 60° W., and we were two leagues from the nearest shore. At six in the evening the southernmost extreme of the island bore SW., the nearest shore seven or eight miles distant, so that we had now succeeded in getting to the windward of the island, which we had aimed at with so much perseverance. The Discovery, however, was not yet to be seen; but the wind, as we had it, being very favourable for her to follow us, I concluded that it would not be long before she joined us. I therefore kept cruising off this south-east point of the island, which lies in the Latitude of 19° 34′ and in the Longitude of 205° 6′, till I was satisfied that Captain Clerke could not join me here. I now conjectured that he had not been able to weather the north-east part of the island, and had gone to leeward in order to meet me that way.

As I generally kept from five to ten leagues from the land, no canoes except one came off to us till the 28th, when we were visited by a dozen or fourteen. The people who conducted them brought, as usual, the produce of the island. I was very sorry that they had taken the trouble to come so far. For we could not trade with them, our old stock not being as yet consumed; and we had found by late experience that the hogs could not be kept alive, nor the roots preserved from putrefaction many days. However, I intended not to leave this part of the island before I got a supply, as it would not be easy to return to it again in case it should be found necessary. We began to be in want on the 30th, and I would have stood in near the shore but was prevented by a calm; but a breeze springing up at midnight from S. and SW., we were enabled to stand in for the land at daybreak. At 10 o'clock in the morning we were met by the islanders with fruit and roots, but in all the canoes were only three small pigs. Our not having bought those which had been lately brought off may be supposed to be the reason of this very scanty supply. We brought to for the purposes of trade, but soon after our marketing was interrupted by a very hard rain, and besides we were rather too far from the shore. Nor durst I go nearer, for I could not depend upon the wind's remaining where it was for a moment; the swell also being high, and setting obliquely upon the shore, against which it broke in a frightful surf. In the evening the weather mended, the night was clear, and it was spent in making short boards.

Before daybreak the atmosphere was again loaded with heavy clouds, and the New Year was ushered in with very hard rain, which continued at intervals till past 10 o'clock. The wind was southerly, a light breeze with some calms. When the rain ceased, the sky cleared and the breeze freshened. Being at this time about five miles from the land, several

canoes arrived with fruit and roots, and at last some hogs were brought off. We lay to, trading with them, till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when, having a tolerable supply, we made sail with a view of proceeding to the north-west or leeside of the island, to look for the Discovery. It was necessary, however, the wind being at S., to stretch first to the eastward, till midnight, when the wind came more favourable, and we went upon the other tack. For several days past both wind and weather had been exceedingly unsettled, and there fell a great deal of rain. The three following days were spent in running down the south-east side of the island. For during the nights we stood off and on, and part of each day was employed in lying to, in order to furnish an opportunity to the natives of trading with us. They sometimes came on board while we were five leagues from the shore; but whether from a fear of losing their goods in the sea, or from the uncertainty of the market, they never brought much with them. The principal article procured was salt, which was extremely good.

On the 5th, in the morning, we passed the south point of the island, which lies in the Latitude of 18° 54′, and beyond it we found the coast to trend N. 60° W. On this point stands a pretty large village, the inhabitants of which thronged off to the ship with hogs and women. It was not possible to keep the latter from coming on board; and no women I ever met with were less reserved. Indeed it appeared to me that they visited us with no other view than to make a surrender of their persons. As I had now got a quantity of salt, I purchased no hogs but such as were fit for salting, refusing all that were under size. However we could seldom get any above fifty or sixty pounds weight. It was happy for us that we still had some vegetables on board, for we now received few such productions. Indeed this part of the country, from its appearance, did not seem capable of affording them. Marks of its having been laid waste by the explosion of a volcano everywhere presented themselves; and though we had as yet seen nothing like one upon the island, the devastation that it had made in this neighbourhood was visible to the naked eye.[1] This part of the coast is sheltered from the reigning winds; but we could find no bottom to anchor upon, a line of 160 fathoms not reaching it, within the distance of half-a-mile from the shore. The islanders having all left us towards the evening, we ran a few miles down the coast, and then spent the night standing off and on.

The next morning the natives visited us again, bringing with them the same articles of commerce as before. Being now near the shore, I sent Mr Bligh, the master, in a boat to sound the coast, with orders to land and to look for fresh water. Upon his return he reported that at two cables' length from the shore he had found no soundings with a line of 160 fathoms; that when he landed he found no stream or spring, but only rain water deposited in holes upon the rocks, and even that was brackish from the spray of the sea; and that the surface of the country was entirely composed of slags and ashes, with a few plants here and there interspersed. Between ten and eleven we saw with pleasure the Discovery coming round the south point of the island; and at one in the afternoon she joined us. Captain Clerke then coming on board, informed me that he had cruised four or five days where we were separated, and then plied round the east side of the island; but that, meeting with unfavourable winds, he had been carried to some distance from the coast. He had one of the islanders on board all this time, who had remained there from choice, and had refused to quit the ship though opportunities had offered. Having spent the night standing off and on, we stood in again

[1] Several volcanoes are still active in the islands; and two of them, Morena Loa and Morena Kea, rise to the very respectable altitude of some 15,000 feet.

the next morning, and when we were about a league from the shore many of the natives visited us.

At daybreak on the 8th we found that the currents during the night, which we spent in plying, had carried us back considerably to windward; so that we were now off the south-west point of the island. There we brought to, in order to give the natives an opportunity of trading with us. We spent the night as usual, standing off and on. It happened that four men and ten women who had come on board the preceding day still remained with us. As I did not like the company of the latter, I stood inshore towards noon, principally with a view to get them out of the ship, and some canoes coming off I took that opportunity of sending away our guests. We had light airs from NW. and SW., and calms, till eleven in the morning of the 10th, when the wind freshened at WNW., which, with a strong current setting to the SE., so much retarded us that in the evening between 7 and 8 o'clock the south point of the island bore N. 10¼° W., four leagues distant. The south snowy hill now bore N. 1¼° E.

At four in the morning of the 11th, the wind having fixed at W., I stood in for the land in order to get some refreshments. As we drew near the shore the natives began to come off. We lay to, or stood on and off, trading with them all the day, but got a very scanty supply at last. Many canoes visited us whose people had not a single thing to barter, which convinced us that this part of the island must be very poor, and that we had already got all that they could spare. We spent the 12th plying off and on, with a fresh gale at W. A mile from the shore, and to the NE. of the south point of the island, having tried soundings, we found ground at fifty-five fathoms depth, the bottom a fine sand. At five in the evening we stood to the SW., with the wind at WNW., and soon after midnight we had a calm. At 8 o'clock next morning, having got a small breeze at SSE., we steered to the NNW. in for the land. Soon after, a few canoes came alongside with some hogs, but without any vegetables, which articles we most wanted. We had now made some progress; for at noon the south point of the island bore S. 86¼° E., the south-west point N. 13° W., the nearest shore two leagues distant, Latitude by observation 18° 56′, and our Longitude by the timekeeper 203° 40′. We had got the length of the south-west point of the island in the evening; but the wind now veering to the westward and northward, during the night we lost all that we had gained. Next morning, being still off the south-west point of the island, some canoes came off, but they brought nothing that we were in want of. We had now neither fruit nor roots, and were under a necessity of making use of some of our sea provisions. At length some canoes from the northward brought us a small supply of hogs and roots.

We had variable light airs, next to a calm, the following day, till five in the afternoon, when a small breeze at ENE. springing up, we were at last enabled to steer along shore to the northward. The weather being fine, we had plenty of company this day, and abundance of everything. Many of our visitors remained with us on board all night, and we towed their canoes astern. At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts, so that before 10 o'clock, there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions, for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort. Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had at times on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish dis-

position. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of fire-arms; and two or three muskets, and as many four-pounders were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened. In the evening, Mr Bligh returned and reported that he had found a bay in which was good anchorage and fresh water, in a situation tolerably easy to be come at. Into this bay I resolved to carry the ships, there to refit and supply ourselves with every refreshment that the place could afford. As night approached, the greater part of our visitors retired to the shore; but numbers of them requested our permission to sleep on board. Curiosity was not the only motive, at least with some; for the next morning several things were missing, which determined me not to entertain so many another night.

At 11 o'clock in the forenoon we anchored in the bay (which is called by the natives Karakakooa),[1] in thirteen fathoms water, over a sandy bottom, and about a quarter of a mile from the north-east shore. In this situation the south point of the bay bore S. by W., and the north point W. half N. We moored with the stream anchor and cable to the northward, unbent the sails, and struck the yards and topmasts. The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled in one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward last summer. To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean.[2]

[1] It lies on the west side of Owhyhee or Hawaii, near the southern extremity of the island.

[2] With these ardently confident expressions of hopefulness, and of most justifiable satisfaction in the past and prospective achievements of the voyage—so vividly in contrast with the calamity that imminently impended—Captain Cook's journal closes. The third volume of the Original Edition, written by Captain King, and consisting, with appendices, of between 500 and 600 pages (equal to at least 250 pages of the present edition), recounts in two books, V. and VI., the transactions on returning to the Sandwich Islands," and the "transactions during the second expedition to the north by the way of Kamtschatka; and on the return home by the way of Canton and the Cape of Good Hope." As the death of Captain Cook diminishes notably the interest of the voyage in its sequel, despite the elaborate and curious descriptions of Kamtschatka and the Kamtschadales—and as there is little or nothing in the homeward route, that has not been perhaps more vividly described in the narratives of the older navigators,—only that part of Captain King's volume is here given, which relates to the mournful events in Karakakooa Bay.

BOOK V.

CAPTAIN KING'S JOURNAL OF THE TRANSACTIONS ON RETURNING TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

KARAKAKOOA Bay is situated on the west side of the Island of Owhyhee, in a district called Akona. It is about a mile in depth, and bounded by two low points of land at the distance of half-a-league, and bearing SSE. and NNW. from each other. On the north point, which is flat and barren, stands the village of Kowrowa, and in the bottom of the bay, near a grove of tall cocoa-nut trees, there is another village of a more considerable size called Kakooa: between them runs a high rocky cliff, inaccessible from the sea shore. On the south side, the coast, for about a mile inland, has a rugged appearance; beyond which the country rises with a gradual ascent, and is overspread with cultivated enclosures and groves of cocoa-nut trees, where the habitations of the natives are scattered in great numbers. The shore all around the bay is covered with a black coral rock, which makes the landing very dangerous in rough weather; except at the village of Kakooa, where there is a fine sandy beach, with a "morai," or burying-place, at one extremity, and a small well of fresh water at the other. This bay appearing to Captain Cook a proper place to refit the ships, and lay in an additional supply of water and provisions, we moored on the north side, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, Kowrowa bearing NW.

As soon as the inhabitants perceived our intention of anchoring in the bay, they came off from the shore in astonishing numbers, and expressed their joy by singing and shouting and exhibiting a variety of wild and extravagant gestures. The sides, the decks, and rigging of both ships were soon completely covered with them; and a multitude of women and boys, who had not been able to get canoes, came swimming round us in shoals, many of whom, not finding room on board, remained the whole day playing in the water. Among the chiefs who came on board the Resolution was a young man called Parea, whom we soon perceived to be a person of great authority. On presenting himself to Captain Cook, he told him that he was Jakanee[1] to the King of the island, who was at that time engaged on a military expedition at Mowee, and was expected to return within three or four days. A few presents from Captain Cook attached him entirely to our interests, and he became exceedingly useful to us in the management of his countrymen, as we had soon occasion to experience. For we had not been long at anchor when it was observed that the Discovery had such a number of people hanging on one side, as occasioned her to heel considerably; and that the men were unable to keep off the crowds which continued pressing into her. Captain Cook, being apprehensive that she might suffer some injury, pointed out the danger to Parea, who immediately went to their assistance, cleared the ship of its incumbrances, and drove away the canoes that surrounded her.

The authority of the chiefs over the inferior people appeared from this incident to be of the most despotic kind. A similar instance of it happened the same day on board the Resolution, where the crowd being so

[1] We afterward met with several others of the same denomination; but whether it be an office, or some degree of affinity, we could never learn with certainty.—*Note in Original Edition.*

great as to impede the necessary business of the ship, we were obliged to have recourse to the assistance of Kaneena, another of their chiefs, who had likewise attached himself to Captain Cook. The inconvenience we laboured under being made known, he immediately ordered his countrymen to quit the vessel; and we were not a little surprised to see them jump overboard without a moment's hesitation, all except one man, who loitering behind and showing some unwillingness to obey, Kaneena took him up in his arms and threw him into the sea. Both these chiefs were men of strong and well-proportioned bodies, and of countenances remarkably pleasing. Kaneena especially was one of the finest men I ever saw. He was about six feet high, had regular and expressive features, with lively, dark eyes; his carriage was easy, firm, and graceful.

It has been already mentioned that during our long cruise off this island the inhabitants had always behaved with great fairness and honesty in their dealings, and had not shown the slightest propensity to theft; which appeared to us the more extraordinary, because those with whom we had hitherto held any intercourse were of the lowest rank, either servants or fisherman. We now found the case exceedingly altered. The immense crowd of islanders which blocked up every part of the ships, not only afforded frequent opportunity of pilfering without risk of discovery, but our inferiority in number held forth a prospect of escaping with impunity in case of detection. Another circumstance to which we attributed this alteration in their behaviour, was the presence and encouragement of their chiefs; for, generally tracing the booty into the possession of some men of consequence, we had the strongest reason to suspect that these depredations were committed at their instigation.

Soon after the Resolution had got into her station, our two friends, Parrea and Kaneena, brought on board a third chief named Koah, who, we were told, was a priest, and had been in his youth a distinguished warrior. He was a little old man, of an emaciated figure; his eyes exceedingly sore and red, and his body covered with a white leprous scurf, the effects of an immoderate use of the "ava." Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig which he held in his hand, whilst he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us from many circumstances to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed with red cloth in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook; and a small pig was their usual offering to the "Eatooa." Their speeches, or prayers, were uttered, too, with a readiness and volubility that indicated them to be according to some formulary. When this ceremony was over, Koah dined with Captain Cook, eating plentifully of what was set before him; but, like the rest of the inhabitants of the islands in these seas, could scarcely be prevailed on to taste a second time our wine or spirits. In the evening, Captain Cook, attended by Mr Bayly and myself, accompanied him on shore. We landed at the beach, and were received by four men who carried wands tipped with dog's hair, and marched before us, pronouncing with a loud voice a short sentence, in which we could only distinguish the word "Orono."[1] The crowd which

[1] Captain Cook generally went by this name amongst the natives of Owhyhee; but we could never learn its precise meaning. Sometimes they applied it to an invisible being, who, they said, lived in the heavens. We also found that it was a title belonging to a personage of great rank and power in the island, who resembles pretty much the Delai Lama of the Tartars,

had been collected on the shore retired at our approach, and not a person was to be seen, except a few lying prostrate on the ground near the huts of the adjoining village.

Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the "morai," situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at Kakooa. It was a square, solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height. The top was flat and well-paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the sculls of the captives sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side, towards the sea, stood two small houses with a covered communication.

We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood, of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images, and after chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the "morai" where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the "whatta" of Otaheite, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under this stand, took down the hog and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground, and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together, not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw, coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the "morai," ten men carrying a live hog and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekeea, the young man above mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterwards offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekeea, with the same ceremony.

Whilst Captain Cook was aloft in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekeea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert, and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself, and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same, who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony. We were now led back into the other division of the "morai," where there was a space ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms,

---

and the Ecclesiastical Emperor of Japan.—*Note in Original Edition.*

whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekeea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed that after every response their parts became gradually shorter, till towards the close Kaireekeea's consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word "Orono."

When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables, and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the "ava," which is done by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the Captain's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The "ava" was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him. When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the "morai," after distributing amongst the people some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meaning of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial; they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives, and as far as related to the person of Captain Cook they seemed approaching to adoration.

The next morning I went on shore with a guard of eight marines, including the corporal and lieutenant, having orders to erect the observatory in such a situation as might best enable me to superintend and protect the waterers and the other working parties that were to be on shore. As we were viewing a spot conveniently situated for this purpose in the middle of the village, Pareea, who was always ready to show both his power and his goodwill, offered to pull down some houses that would have obstructed our observations. However, we thought it proper to decline this offer, and fixed on a field of sweet potatoes adjoining to the "morai," which was readily granted us; and the priests, to prevent the intrusion of the natives, immediately consecrated the place by fixing their wands round the wall by which it was enclosed. This sort of religious interdiction they call "taboo," a word we heard often repeated during our stay amongst these islanders, and found to be of very powerful and extensive operation. It procured us even more privacy than we desired. No canoes ever presumed to land near us; the natives sat on the wall, but none offered to come within the tabooed space till he had obtained our permission. But though the men, at our request, would come across the field with provisions, yet not all our endeavours could prevail on the women to approach us. Presents were tried, but without effect; Pareea and Koah

were tempted to bring them, but in vain; we were invariably answered that the "Eatooa" and Terreeoboo (which was the name of their King) would kill them. This circumstance afforded no small matter of amusement to our friends on board, where the crowds of people, and particularly of women, that continued to flock thither, obliged them almost every hour to clear the vessel in order to have room to do the necessary duties of the ship. On these occasions 200 or 300 women were frequently made to jump into the water at once, where they continued swimming and playing about till they could again procure admittance.

From the 19th to the 24th, when Pareea and Koah left us to attend Terreeoboo, who had landed on some other part of the island, nothing very material happened on board. The calkers were set to work on the sides of the ships, and the rigging was carefully overhauled and repaired. The salting of hogs for sea-store was also a constant and one of the principal objects of Captain Cook's attentions. It has generally been thought impracticable to cure the flesh of animals by salting in tropical climates, the progress of putrefaction being so rapid as not to allow time for the salt to take (as they express it) before the meat gets a taint, which prevents the effect of the pickle. We do not find that experiments relative to this subject have been made by the navigators of any nation before Captain Cook. In his first trials, which were made in 1774 during his second voyage to the Pacific Ocean, the success he met with, though very imperfect, was yet sufficient to convince him of the error of the received opinion. As the voyage in which he was now engaged was likely to be protracted a year beyond the time for which the ships had been victualled, he was under the necessity of providing by some such means for the subsistence of the crews, or of relinquishing the further prosecution of his discoveries. He therefore lost no opportunity of renewing his attempts, and the event answered his most sanguine expectations.[1]

I shall now return to our transactions on shore at the observatory, where we had not been long settled before we discovered in our neighbourhood the habitations of a society of priests, whose regular attendance at the "morai" had excited our curiosity. Their huts stood round a pond of water, and were surrounded by a grove of cocoa-nut trees, which separated them from the beach and the rest of the village, and gave the place an air of religious retirement. On my acquainting Captain Cook with these circumstances, he resolved to pay them a visit. On his arrival at the beach he was conducted to a sacred building called Harre-no-Orono or the house of Orono, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol of the same kind with those on the "morai." I was here again made to support one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, Kaireekeea, accompanied by twelve priests, made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers; and after the hair was singed off it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the Captain's nose, after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The "ava" was then brewed and handed round, a fat hog ready dressed was brought in, and we were fed as before.

During the rest of the time we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore he was attended by one of these priests, who went before him giving notice that

[1] After describing the process, King says: "I brought home with me some barrels of this pork which was pickled at Owhyhee in January 1779, and was tasted by several persons in England about Christmas 1780, and found perfectly sound and wholesome."

the "Orono" had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekeea and his brethren immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c., and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the "Orono." When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear in their countenances, whilst Kaireekeea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns. The civilities of this society were not, however, confined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them every day a constant supply of hogs and vegetables more than sufficient for our subsistence, and several canoes loaded with provisions were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity more like the discharge of a religious duty than the effect of mere liberality; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told it was at the expense of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the priests and grandfather to Kaireekeea, who was at that time absent attending the King of the island.

As everything relating to the character and behaviour of this people must be interesting to the reader on account of the tragedy that was afterwards acted here, it will be proper to acquaint him that we had not always so much reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the warrior chiefs, or "Earees," as with that of the priests. In all our dealings with the former we found them sufficiently attentive to their own interests; and besides their habit of stealing, which may admit of some excuse from the universality of the practice amongst the islanders of these seas, they made use of other artifices equally dishonourable. I shall only mention one instance, in which we discovered with regret our friend Koah to be a party principally concerned. As the chiefs who brought us presents of hogs were always sent back handsomely rewarded, we had generally a greater supply than we could make use of. On these occasions Koah, who never failed in his attendance on us, used to beg such as we did not want, and they were always given to him. It one day happened that a pig was presented us by a man whom Koah himself introduced as a chief who was desirous of paying his respects; and we recollected the pig to be the same that had been given to Koah just before. This leading us to suspect some trick, we found, on further inquiry, the pretended chief to be an ordinary person; and on connecting this with other circumstances, we had reason to suspect that it was not the first time we had been the dupes of the like imposition.

Things continued in this state till the 24th, when we were a good deal surprised to find that no canoes were suffered to put off from the shore, and that the natives kept close to their houses. After several hours' suspense, we learned that the bay was tabooed, and all intercourse with us interdicted, on account of the arrival of Terreeoboo. As we had not foreseen an accident of this sort, the crews of both ships were obliged to pass the day without their usual supply of vegetables. The next morning, therefore, they endeavoured both by threats and promises to induce the natives to come alongside; and as some of them were at last venturing to put off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musket was immediately fired over his head to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon Terreeoboo arrived, and visited the

ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe in which were his wife and children. He stayed on board till near 10 o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa.

The next day about noon the King, in a large canoe attended by two others, set out from the village and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and magnificent. In the first canoe were Terreeoboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second came the venerable Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wicker-work, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed. As soon as I saw them approaching I ordered out our little guard to receive the King; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated when the King rose up and in a very graceful manner threw over the Captain's shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet on his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the King's exchanging names with Captain Cook, which amongst all the islanders of the Pacific Ocean is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekeea I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He had a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterward presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him next to the King, after which Kaireekeea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

I was surprised to see in the person of this King the same infirm and emaciated old man that came on board the Resolution when we were off the north-east side of the Island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the King, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld. As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Terreeoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the Resolution. They were received with every mark of respect that could be shown them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the King, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo, and about half-a-dozen more old chiefs, remained on shore and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives either kept within their huts

or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the King left the Resolution, Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn, still continued under the effects of the "taboo," that is, were forbidden to stir from home or to have any communication with us.

CHAPTER II.

The quiet and inoffensive behaviour of the natives having taken away every apprehension of danger, we did not hesitate to trust ourselves amongst them at all times and in all situations. The officers of both ships went daily up the country in small parties, or even singly, and frequently remained out the whole night. It would be endless to recount all the instances of kindness and civility which we received upon those occasions. Wherever we went the people flocked about us, eager to offer every assistance in their power, and highly gratified if their services were accepted. Various little arts were practised to attract our notice or to delay our departure. The boys and girls ran before as we walked through their villages, and stopped us at every opening where there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time we were invited to accept a draught of cocoa-nut milk or some other refreshment, under the shade of their huts; at another we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted all their skill and agility to amuse us with songs and dances. The satisfaction we derived from their gentleness and hospitality was, however, frequently interrupted by that propensity to stealing which they have in common with all the other islanders of these seas. This circumstance was the more distressing as it sometimes obliged us to have recourse to acts of severity which we should willingly have avoided if the necessity of the case had not absolutely called for them. Some of their most expert swimmers were one day discovered under the ships drawing out the filling-nails of the sheathing, which they performed very dexterously by means of a short stick with a flint stone fixed in the end of it. To put a stop to this practice, which endangered the very existence of the vessels, we at first fired small shot at the offenders; but they easily got out of our reach by diving under the ship's bottom. It was therefore found necessary to make an example by flogging one of them on board the Discovery.

About this time a large party of gentlemen from both ships set out on an excursion into the interior parts of the country, with a view of examining its natural productions. [This] afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of showing his attention and generosity. For as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass should give them every assistance in their power. And to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present. After remaining out six days our officers returned without having being able to penetrate above twenty miles into the island; partly from want of proper guides, and partly from the impracticability of the country.

The head of the Resolution's rudder being found exceedingly shaken, and most of the pintles either loose or broken, it was unhung and sent on shore, on the 27th in the morning, to undergo a thorough repair. At the same time the carpenters were sent into the country, under conduct of some of Kaoo's people, to cut planks for the head rail-work, which was also entirely decayed and rotten. On the 28th Captain Clerke, whose ill health confined him for the most part on board, paid Terreeoboo his first visit at his hut on shore. He was received with the same formalities as were observed with Captain Cook; and on

his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.

As we had not yet seen anything of their sports or athletic exercises, the natives, at the request of some of our officers, entertained us this evening with a boxing-match. Though these games were much inferior, as well in point of solemnity and magnificence, as in the skill and powers of the combatants, to what we had seen exhibited at the Friendly Islands, yet as they differed in some particulars, it may not be improper to give a short account of them. We found a vast concourse of people assembled on a level spot of ground at a little distance from our tents. A long space was left vacant in the midst of them, at the upper end of which sat the judges, under three standards, from which hung slips of cloth of various colours, the skins of two wild geese, a few small birds, and bunches of feathers. When the sports were ready to begin, the signal was given by the judges, and immediately two combatants appeared. They came forward slowly, lifting up their feet very high behind, and drawing their hands along the soles. As they approached, they frequently eyed each other from head to foot in a contemptuous manner, casting several arch looks at the spectators, straining their muscles, and using a variety of affected gestures. Being advanced within reach of each other, they stood with both arms held out straight before their faces, at which part all their blows were aimed. They struck in what appeared to our eyes an awkward manner, with a full swing of the arm; made no attempt to parry, but eluded their adversary's attack by an inclination of the body or by retreating. The battle was quickly decided; for if either of them was knocked down, or even fell by accident, he was considered as vanquished, and the victor expressed his triumph by a variety of gestures, which usually excited, as was intended, a loud laugh among the spectators. He then waited for a second antagonist; and if again victorious, for a third, till he was at last in his turn defeated. A singular rule observed in these combats is, that whilst any two are preparing to fight, a third person may step in and choose either of them for his antagonist, when the other is obliged to withdraw. Sometimes three or four followed each other in this manner before the match was settled. When the combat proved longer than usual, or appeared too unequal, one of the chiefs generally stepped in and ended it by putting a stick between the combatants. The same good humour was preserved throughout which we before so much admired in the Friendly Islanders. As these games were given at our desire, we found it was universally expected that we should have borne our part in them; but our people, though much pressed by the natives, turned a deaf ear to their challenge, remembering full well the blows they got at the Friendly Islands.

This day died William Watman, a seaman of the gunner's crew; an event which I mention the more particularly as death had hitherto been very rare amongst us. He was an old man, and much respected on account of his attachment to Captain Cook. He had formerly served as a marine twenty-one years; after which he entered as a seaman on board the Resolution in 1772, and served with Captain Cook in his voyage towards the South Pole. At their return he was admitted into Greenwich Hospital, through the Captain's interest, at the same time with himself; and being resolved to follow throughout the fortunes of his benefactor, he also quitted it along with him on his being appointed to the command of the present expedition. During the voyage he had frequently been subject to slight fevers, and was a convalescent when we came into the bay, where being sent on shore for a few days he conceived himself perfectly recovered, and at his own desire returned on board; but the day following he had a paralytic stroke, which in two days more carried him off. At the request of the King of the island

he was buried on the "morai," and the ceremony was performed with as much solemnity as our situation permitted. Old Kaoo and his brethren were spectators, and preserved the most profound silence and attention whilst the service was reading. When we began to fill up the grave, they approached it with great reverence, threw in a dead pig, some cocoa-nuts, and plantains; and for three nights afterwards they surrounded it, sacrificing hogs and performing their usual ceremonies of hymns and prayers, which continued till daybreak. At the head of the grave we erected a post, and nailed upon it a square piece of board, on which was inscribed the name of the deceased, his age, and the day of his death. This they promised not to remove; and we have no doubt but that it will be suffered to remain, as long as the frail materials of which it is made will permit.

The ships being in great want of fuel, the Captain desired me on the 2d of February to treat with the priests for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the "morai." I must confess I had at first some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I found myself mistaken. Not the smallest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return. Whilst the sailors were taking it away, I observed one of them carrying off a carved image; and on further inquiry I found that they had conveyed to the boats the whole semicircle.[1] Though this was done in the presence of the natives, who had not shown any mark of resentment at it but had even assisted them in the removal, I thought it proper to speak to Kaoo on the subject, who appeared very indifferent about the matter, and only desired that we would restore the centre image I have mentioned before, which he carried into one of the priest's houses.

Terreeoboo and his chiefs had for some days past been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and objects of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points, but could never learn anything further than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed, and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them naturally enough to such a conclusion. To these may be added a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly—our having no women with us, together with our quiet conduct and unwarlike appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay, and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered that they should wish to see us take our leave.[2] It is

[1] Of twelve images, described in the preceding Chapter.

[2] It is shrewdly enough suggested, in a note in Kerr's Collection (vol. xvi., page 439), that the subsequent unexpected return of the ships to Karakakooa Bay may have alarmed the natives for the security of their own sustenance until the next season of plenty, and in a certain measure predisposed them to deal with the strangers in a less friendly, trustful, and respectful way.

very probable, however, that Terreeoboo had no other view in his inquiries at present than a desire of making sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For on our telling him we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables for the King to present to the "Orono" on his departure.

We were this day much diverted at the beach by the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument of the sort described [in Book III., Chapter XII.[1]]; some bits of sea-weed were tied round his neck; and round each leg a piece of strong netting about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dogs' teeth were loosely fastened in rows. His style of dancing was entirely burlesque, and accompanied with strange grimaces and pantomimical distortions of the face, which, though at times inexpressibly ridiculous, yet on the whole were without much meaning or expression. In the evening we were again entertained with wrestling and boxing-matches, and we displayed in return the few fireworks we had left. Nothing could be better calculated to excite the admiration of these islanders, and to impress them with an idea of our great superiority, than an exhibition of this kind. Captain Cook has already described the extraordinary effects of that which was made at Hapaee; and though the present was in every respect infinitely inferior, yet the astonishment of the natives was not less.

I have before mentioned that the carpenters from both ships had been sent up the country to cut planks for the head-rail work of the Resolution. This was the third day since their departure, and having received no intelligence from them, we began to be very anxious for their safety. We were communicating our apprehensions to old Kaoo, who appeared as much concerned as ourselves, and were concerting measures with him for sending after them, when they arrived all safe. They had been obliged to go farther into the country than was expected before they met with trees fit for their purpose, and it was this circumstance, together with the badness of the roads, and the difficulty of bringing back the timber, which had detained them so long. They spoke in high terms of their guides, who both supplied them with provisions, and guarded their tools with the utmost fidelity.

The next day being fixed for our departure, Terreeoboo invited Captain Cook and myself to attend him on the 3d to the place where Kaoo resided. On our arrival we found the ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers tied to the fibres of cocoa-nut husks, and a great number of hatchets, and other pieces of iron-ware that had been got in barter from us. At a little distance from these lay an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind, and near them was a large herd of hogs. At first we imagined the whole to be intended as a present for us, till Kaireekeea informed me that it was a gift or tribute from the people of that district to the King, and accordingly, as soon as we were seated, they brought all the bundles and laid them severally at Terreeoboo's feet, spreading out the cloth and displaying the feathers and iron-ware before him. The King seemed much pleased with this mark of their duty, and having selected about a third part of the iron-ware, the same proportion of feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, these were set aside by themselves; and the remainder of the cloth, together with all the hogs and vegetables, were afterwards presented to Captain Cook and myself. We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded everything of the kind we had seen either at the Friendly or Society Islands. Boats were immediately sent to carry them on board, the large hogs

[1] *Ante*, page 712.

were picked out to be salted for sea-store, and upwards of thirty smaller pigs and the vegetables were divided between the two crews.

The same day we quitted the "morai" and got the tents and astronomical instruments on board. The charm of the taboo was now removed; and we had no sooner left the place than the natives rushed in and searched eagerly about in expectation of finding something of value that we might have left behind. As I happened to remain the last on shore, and waited for the return of the boat, several came crowding about me; and having made me sit down by them, began to lament our separation. It was, indeed, not without difficulty I was able to quit them. And here I hope I may be permitted to relate a trifling occurrence in which I was principally concerned. Having had the command of the party on shore during the whole time we were in the bay, I had an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with the natives, and of being better known to them, than those whose duty required them to be generally on board. As I had every reason to be satisfied with their kindness in general, so I cannot too often nor too particularly mention the unbounded and constant friendship of their priests. On my part, I spared no endeavours to conciliate their affections and gain their esteem; and I had the good fortune to succeed so far, that when the time of our departure was made known I was strongly solicited to remain behind, not without offers of the most flattering kind. When I excused myself by saying that Captain Cook would not give his consent, they proposed that I should retire into the mountains, where, they said, they would conceal me till after the departure of the ships; and on my further assuring them that the Captain would not leave the bay without me, Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited upon Captain Cook, whose son they supposed I was, with a formal request that I might be left behind. The Captain, to avoid giving a positive refusal to an offer so kindly intended, told them that he could not part with me at that time, but that he should return to the island next year, and would then endeavour to settle the matter to their satisfaction.

Early in the morning of the 4th we unmoored and sailed out of the bay, with the Discovery in company, and were followed by a great number of canoes. Captain Cook's design was to finish the survey of Owhyhee before he visited the other islands, in hopes of meeting with a road better sheltered than the bay we had just left; and in case of not succeeding here, he purposed to take a view of the south-east part of Mowee, where the natives informed us we should find an excellent harbour. We had calm weather all this and the following day, which made our progress to the northward very slow. We were accompanied by a great number of the natives in their canoes, and Terreeoboo gave a fresh proof of his friendship to Captain Cook by a large present of hogs and vegetables that was sent after him.

In the night of the 5th, having a light breeze off the land, we made some way to the northward; and in the morning of the 6th, having passed the westernmost point of the island, we found ourselves abreast of a deep bay called by the natives Toe-yah-yah. We had great hopes that this bay would furnish us with a safe and commodious harbour, as we saw to the north-east several fine streams of water, and the whole had the appearance of being well sheltered. These observations agreeing with the accounts given us by Koah, who accompanied Captain Cook, and had changed his name, out of compliment to us, into "Britannee," the pinnace was hoisted out, and the master, with "Britannee" for his guide, was sent to examine the bay, whilst the ships worked up after them. In the afternoon the weather became gloomy, and the gusts of wind that blew off the land, were so violent as to make it necessary to take in all the sails, and bring to under the mizzen-staysail. All the canoes left us at the begin-

ning of the gale; and Mr Bligh, on his return, had the satisfaction of saving an old woman and two men, whose canoe had been overset by the violence of the wind as they were endeavouring to gain the shore. Besides these distressed people, we had a great many women on board whom the natives had left behind in their hurry to shift for themselves. The master reported to Captain Cook that he had landed at the only village he saw, on the north side of the bay, where he was directed to some wells of water, but found they would by no means answer our purpose; that he afterward proceeded farther into the bay, which runs inland to a great depth, and stretches toward the foot of a very conspicuous high mountain, situated on the north-west end of the island; but that instead of meeting with safe anchorage, as "Britannee" had taught him to expect, he found the shores low and rocky, and a flat bed of coral rocks running along the coast and extending upwards of a mile from the land, on the outside of which the depth of water was twenty fathoms over a sandy bottom; and that, in the meantime "Britannee" had contrived to slip away, being afraid of returning, as we imagined, because his information had not proved true and successful.

In the evening, the weather being more moderate, we again made sail; but about midnight it blew so violently as to split both the fore and main topsails. On the morning of the 7th we bent fresh sails, and had fair weather and a light breeze. At noon the latitude by observation was 20° 1′ N., the W. point of the island bearing S. 7° E., and the NW. point N. 38° E. As we were at this time four or five leagues from the shore, and the weather very unsettled, none of the canoes would venture out, so that our guests were obliged to remain with us, much indeed to their dissatisfaction, for they were all sea-sick, and many of them had left young children behind them. In the afternoon, though the weather was still squally, we stood in for the land, and being about three leagues from it we saw a canoe with two men paddling toward us, which we immediately conjectured had been driven off the shore by the late boisterous weather, and therefore stopped the ship's way in order to take them in. These poor wretches were so entirely exhausted with fatigue, that had not one of the natives on board, observing their weakness, jumped into the canoe to their assistance, they would scarcely have been able to fasten it to the rope we had thrown out for that purpose. It was with difficulty we got them up the ship's side, together with a child about four years old, which they had lashed under the thwarts of the canoe, where it had lain with only its head above water. They told us they had left the shore the morning before, and had been from that time without food or water. The usual precautions were taken in giving them victuals, and the child being committed to the care of one of the women, we found them all next morning perfectly recovered.

At midnight a gale of wind came on which obliged us to double reef the top-sails and get down the top-gallant yards. On the 8th at daybreak, we found that the fore-mast had again given way, the fishes which were put on the head in King George's or Nootka Sound, on the coast of America, being sprung, and the parts so very defective as to make it absolutely necessary to replace them, and of course to unstep the mast. In this difficulty, Captain Cook was for some time in doubt whether he should run the chance of meeting with a harbour in the islands to leeward, or return to Karakakooa. That bay was not so remarkably commodious in any respect but that a better might probably be expected, both for the purpose of repairing the masts and for procuring refreshments, of which it was imagined that the neighbourhood of Karakakooa had been already pretty well drained. On the other hand, it was considered as too great a risk to leave a place that was tolerably sheltered, and which, once

left could not be regained, for the mere hopes of meeting with a better, the failure of which might perhaps have left us without resource. We therefore continued standing on towards the land, in order to give the natives an opportunity of releasing their friends on board from their confinement; and at noon, being within a mile of the shore, a few canoes came off to us, but so crowded with people that there was not room in them for any of our guests. We therefore hoisted out the pinnace to carry them on shore; and the master who went with them, had directions to examine the south coasts of the bay for water, but returned without finding any.

The winds being variable, and a current setting strong to the northward, we made but little progress in our return; and at 8 o'clock in the evening of the 9th it began to blow very hard from the SE., which obliged us to close reef the top-sails; and at two in the morning of the 10th, in a heavy squall, we found ourselves close in with the breakers that lie to the northward of the west point of Owhyhee. We had just room to haul off and avoid them, and fired several guns to apprise the Discovery of the danger. In the forenoon, the weather was more moderate, and a few canoes came off to us, from which we learned that the late storms had done much mischief, and that several large canoes had been lost. During the remainder of the day we kept beating to windward, and before night we were within a mile of the bay; but not choosing to run on while it was dark, we stood off and on till daylight next morning, when we dropped anchor nearly in the same place as before.

CHAPTER III.

We were employed the whole of the 11th and part of the 12th in getting out the fore-mast and sending it with the carpenters on shore. Besides the damage which the head of the mast had sustained, we found the heel exceedingly rotten, having a large hole up the middle of it capable of holding four or five cocoa-nuts. It was not however, thought necessary to shorten it, and fortunately the logs of red toa-wood which had been cut at Eimeo for anchor-stocks were found fit to replace the sprung part of the fishes. As these repairs were likely to take up several days, Mr Bayly and myself got the astronomical apparatus on shore, and pitched our tents on the "morai;" having with us a guard of a corporal and six marines. We renewed our friendly correspondence with the priests, who, for the greater security of the workmen and their tools, tabooed the place where the mast lay, sticking their wands round it as before. The sail-makers were also sent on shore to repair the damages which had taken place in their department during the late gales. They were lodged in a house adjoining to the "morai," that was lent us by the priests. Such were our arrangements on shore. I shall now proceed to the account of those other transactions with the natives which led by degrees to the fatal catastrophe of the 14th.

Upon coming to anchor we were surprised to find our reception very different from what it had been on our first arrival; no shouts, no bustle, no confusion, but a solitary bay, with only here and there a canoe stealing close along the shore. The impulse of curiosity, which had before operated to so great a degree, might now indeed be supposed to have ceased; but the hospitable treatment we had invariably met with, and the friendly footing on which we parted, gave us some reason to expect that they would again have flocked about us with great joy on our return. We were forming various conjectures upon the occasion of this extraordinary appearance, when our anxiety was at length relieved by the return of a boat which had been sent on shore, and brought us word that Terreeoboo was absent and had left the bay under the taboo.

Though this account appeared very satisfactory to most of us, yet others were of opinion, or rather perhaps have been led by subsequent events to imagine, that there was something at this time, very suspicious in the behaviour of the natives; and that the interdiction of all intercourse with us, on pretence of the King's absence, was only to give him time to consult with his chiefs in what manner it might be proper to treat us. Whether these suspicions were well founded, or the account given by the natives was the truth, we were never able to ascertain. For though it is not improbable that our sudden return, for which they could see no apparent cause, and the necessity of which we afterward found it very difficult to make them comprehend, might occasion some alarm; yet the unsuspicious conduct of Terreeoboo, who on his supposed arrival the next morning came immediately to visit Captain Cook, and the consequent return of the natives to their former friendly intercourse with us, are strong proofs that they neither meant nor apprehended any change of conduct.

In support of this opinion I may add the account of another accident, precisely of the same kind, which happened to us on our first visit, the day before the arrival of the King. A native had sold a hog on board the Resolution, and taken the price agreed on, when Pareea, passing by, advised the man not to part with the hog without an advanced price. For this he was sharply spoken to and pushed away; and the taboo being soon after laid on the bay, we had at first no doubt but that it was in consequence of the offence given to the chief. Both these accidents serve to show how very difficult it is to draw any certain conclusion from the actions of people with whose customs as well as language we are so imperfectly acquainted; at the same time, some idea may be formed from them of the difficulties, at the first view, perhaps, not very apparent, which those have to encounter who, in all their transactions with these strangers, have to steer their course amidst so much uncertainty, where a trifling error may be attended with even the most fatal consequences. However true or false our conjectures may be, things went on in their usual quiet course till the afternoon of the 13th.

Towards the evening of that day, the officer who commanded the watering party of the Discovery, came to inform me that several chiefs had assembled at the well near the beach, driving away the natives whom he had hired to assist the sailors in rolling down the casks to the shore. He told me, at the same time, that he thought their behaviour extremely suspicious, and that they meant to give him some further disturbance. At his request therefore, I sent a marine along with him, but suffered him to take only his side arms. In a short time the officer returned, and on his acquainting me that the islanders had armed themselves with stones, and were growing very tumultuous, I went myself to the spot, attended by a marine with his musket. Seeing us approach, they threw away their stones, and on my speaking to some of the chiefs, the mob were driven away, and those who chose it were suffered to assist in filling the casks. Having left things quiet here, I went to meet Captain Cook, whom I saw coming on shore in the pinnace. I related to him what had just passed; and he ordered me, in case of their beginning to throw stones or behave insolently, immediately to fire a ball at the offenders. I accordingly gave orders to the corporal to have the pieces of the sentinels loaded with ball instead of small shot. Soon after our return to the tents, we were alarmed by a continued fire of muskets from the Discovery, which we observed to be directed at a canoe that we saw paddling towards the shore in great haste, pursued by one of our small boats. We immediately concluded that the firing was in consequence of some theft, and Captain Cook ordered me to follow him with a marine armed, and to endeavour to seize the people

as they came on shore. Accordingly we ran towards the place where we supposed the canoe would land, but were too late, the people having quitted it and made their escape into the country before our arrival. We were at this time ignorant that the goods had been already restored; and as we thought it probable, from the circumstances we had at first observed, that they might be of importance, were unwilling to relinquish our hopes of recovering them. Having therefore inquired of the natives which way the people had fled, we followed them till it was near dark, when, judging ourselves to be about three miles from the tents, and suspecting that the natives who frequently encouraged us in the pursuit were amusing us with false information, we thought it in vain to continue our search any longer, and returned to the beach.

During our absence, a difference of a more serious and unpleasant nature had happened. The officer who had been sent in the small boat, and was returning on board with the goods which had been restored, observing Captain Cook and me engaged in the pursuit of the offenders, thought it his duty to seize the canoe, which was left drawn up on the shore. Unfortunately this canoe belonged to Parea, who, arriving at the same moment from on board the Discovery, claimed his property with many protestations of his innocence. The officer refusing to give it up, and being joined by the crew of the pinnace, which was waiting for Captain Cook, a scuffle ensued, in which Parea was knocked down by a violent blow on the head with an oar. The natives who were collected about the spot, and had hitherto been peaceable spectators, immediately attacked our people with such a shower of stones, as forced them to retreat with great precipitation, and swim off to a rock at some distance from the shore. The pinnace was immediately ransacked by the islanders; and but for the timely interposition of Parea, who seemed to have recovered from the blow, and forgotten it at the same instant, would soon have been entirely demolished. Having driven away the crowd, he made signs to our people that they might come and take possession of the pinnace, and that he would endeavour to get back the things which had been taken out of it. After their departure, he followed them in his canoe with a midshipman's cap, and some other trifling articles of the plunder, and, with much apparent concern at what had happened, asked if the "Orono" would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day? On being assured that he should be well received, he joined noses (as their custom is) with the officers in token of friendship, and paddled over to the village of Kowrowa.

When Captain Cook was informed of what had passed, he expressed much uneasiness at it, and as we were returning on board—"I am afraid," said he, "that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for," he added, "they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." However, as it was too late to take any steps this evening, he contented himself with giving orders that every man and woman on board should be immediately turned out of the ship. As soon as this order was executed, I returned on shore; and our former confidence in the natives being now much abated by the events of the day, I posted a double guard on the "morai," with orders to call me if they saw any men lurking about the beach. At about 11 o'clock five islanders were observed creeping round the bottom of the "morai;" they seemed very cautious in approaching us, and at last, finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight. About midnight, one of them venturing up close to the observatory, the sentinel fired over him, on which the man fled and we passed the remainder of the night without further disturbance.

Next morning, at daylight, I went on board the Resolution for the time-keeper, and in my way was hailed by the Discovery, and informed that

their cutter had been stolen during the night from the buoy where it was moored. When I arrived on board I found the marines arming, and Captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the Discovery's cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever anything of consequence was lost at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king or some of the principal "Erees," on board, and to keep them as hostages till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly, the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and before I left the ship some great guns had been fired at two large canoes that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between 7 and 8 o'clock when we quitted the ship together; Captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr Phillips and nine marines with him, and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were to quiet the minds of the natives on our side of the bay, by assuring them they should not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted; the Captain went toward Kowrowa, where the King resided, and I proceeded to the beach. My first care on going ashore was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within their tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo and the priests, and explained to them as well as I could the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though Captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that they and the people of the village on our side need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me with great earnestness if Terreeoboo was to be hurt. I assured him he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the meantime, Captain Cook having called off the launch, which was stationed at the north point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect, the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was to inquire for Terreeoboo, and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the Resolution. In a short time the boys returned along with the natives who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led Captain Cook to the house where the King had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which Captain Cook was convinced that he was in nowise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat and spend the day on board the Resolution. To this proposal the King readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already in the pinnace, and the rest af the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kaneekabareea, the mother of the boys, and one of the King's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears

and entreaties, besought him not to go on board. At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round Capain Cook and their King. In this situation the lieutenant of marines, observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms if any occasion should require it, proposed to the Captain to draw them up along the rocks close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the King was sitting. All this time, the old King remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance: Captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him in the most pressing manner to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the King appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterwards, having recourse to force and violence, insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook, therefore, finding that the alarm had spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point, observing to Mr Phillips that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprise which had carried Captain Cook on shore had now failed and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger till an accident happened which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay having fired at some canoes that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where Captain Cook was, just as he had left the King, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous, the women and children were immediately sent off, and the men put on their war-mats and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone and a long iron spike (which they call a "pahooa"), came up to the Captain, flourishing his weapon by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The Captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot was not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the "Erees" attempted to stab Mr Phillips with his "pahooa," but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musketry from the marines and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion. Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy; three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant, who had received a stab between the shoulders with a "pahooa," having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's

edge and calling out to the boats to cease firing and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boatmen had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable that his humanity on this occasion proved fatal to him. For it was remarked that whilst he faced the natives none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged on shore and surrounded by the enemy, who, snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, showed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction.

Thus fell our great and excellent commander! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed, and was rather removed from the enjoyment than cut off from the acquisition of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation under their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

IT has been already related that four of the marines who attended Captain Cook were killed by the islanders on the spot. The rest, with Mr Phillips, their lieutenant, threw themselves into the water, and escaped under cover of a smart fire from the boats. On this occasion a remarkable instance of gallant behaviour and of affection for his men was shown by that officer; for he had scarcely got into the boat, when seeing one of the marines, who was a bad swimmer, struggling in the water, and in danger of being taken by the enemy, he immediately jumped into the sea to his assistance, though much wounded himself; and after receiving a blow on the head from a stone, which had nearly sent him to the bottom, he caught the man by the hair and brought him safe off. Our people continued for some time to keep up a constant fire from the boats (which during the whole transaction were not more than twenty yards from the land), in order to afford their unfortunate companions, if any of them should still remain alive, an opportunity of escaping. These efforts, seconded by a few guns that were fired at the same time from the Resolution, having forced the natives at last to retire, a small boat manned by five of our young midshipmen pulled towards the shore, where they saw the bodies, without any signs of life, lying on the ground; but judging it dangerous to attempt to bring them off with so small a force, and their ammunition being nearly expended, they returned to the ships, leaving them in possession of the islanders, together with ten stands of arms.

As soon as the general consternation which the news of this calamity occasioned throughout both crews had a little subsided, their attention was called to our party at the "morai," where the mast and sails were on shore with a guard of only six marines. It is impossible for me to describe the emotions of my own mind during the time these transactions had been carrying on at the other side of the bay. Being at the distance only of a short mile from the village of Kowrowa, we could see distinctly an immense crowd

[1] Captain King occupies the rest of the Chapter with a sketch of his great chief's career and an eulogium on his abilities, achievements, and character, that is stamped with the eloquence of heartfelt affection and esteem.

collected on the spot where Captain Cook had just before landed. We heard the firing of the musketry, and could perceive some extraordinary bustle and agitation in the multitude. We afterward saw the natives flying, the boats retire from the shore, and passing and repassing in great stillness between the ships. I must confess that my heart soon misgave me. Where a life so dear and valuable was concerned, it was impossible not to be alarmed by appearances both new and threatening. But besides this, I knew that a long and uninterrupted course of success in his transactions with the natives of these seas had given the Captain a degree of confidence that I was always fearful might, at some unlucky moment, put him too much off his guard; and I now saw all the dangers to which that confidence might lead, without receiving much consolation from considering the experience that had given rise to it. My first care, on hearing the muskets fired, was to assure the people who were assembled in considerable numbers round the wall of our consecrated field, and seemed equally at a loss with ourselves how to account for what they had seen and heard, that they should not be molested; and that at all events I was desirous of continuing on peaceable terms with them. We remained in this posture till the boats had returned on board, when Captain Clerke observing through his telescope that we were surrounded by the natives, and apprehending they meant to attack us, ordered two four-pounders to be fired at them. Fortunately these guns, though well aimed, did no mischief, and yet gave the natives a convincing proof of their power. One of the balls broke a cocoa-nut tree in the middle under which a party of them were sitting; and the other shivered a rock that stood in an exact line with them. As I had just before given them the strongest assurances of their safety, I was exceedingly mortified at this act of hostility; and, to prevent a repetition of it, immediately despatched a boat to acquaint Captain Clerke that at present I was on the most friendly terms with the natives; and that, if occasion should hereafter arise for altering my conduct toward them, I would hoist a jack as a signal for him to afford us all the assistance in his power.

We expected the return of the boat with the utmost impatience; and after remaining a quarter of an hour under the most torturing anxiety and suspense, our fears were at length confirmed by the arrival of Mr Bligh, with orders to strike the tents as quickly as possible and to send the sails that were repairing on board. Just at the same moment our friend Kaireekeea, having also received intelligence of the death of Captain Cook from a native who had arrived from the other side of the bay, came to me with great sorrow and dejection in his countenance, to inquire if it was true. Our situation was at this time extremely critical and important; not only our own lives, but the event of the expedition and the return of at least one of the ships being involved in the same common danger. We had the mast of the Resolution, and the greatest part of our sails, on shore, under the protection of only six marines; their loss would have been irreparable; and though the natives had not as yet shown the smallest disposition to molest us, yet it was impossible to answer for the alteration which the news of the transaction at Kowrowa might produce. I therefore thought it prudent to dissemble my belief of the death of Captain Cook, and to desire Kaireekeea to discourage the report lest either the fear of our resentment, or the successful example of their countrymen, might lead them to seize the favourable opportunity which at this time offered itself of giving us a second blow. At the same time, I advised him to bring old Kaoo and the rest of the priests into a large house that was close to the "morai," partly out of regard to their safety in case it should have been found necessary to proceed to extremities, and partly to have him near us in order to make use of his authority with the people

if it could be instrumental in preserving peace.

Having placed the marines on the top of the "morai," which formed a strong and advantageous post, and left the command with Mr Bligh, giving him the most positive directions to act entirely on the defensive, I went on board the Discovery in order to represent to Captain Clerke the dangerous situation of our affairs. As soon as I quitted the spot the natives began to annoy our people with stones, and I had scarcely reached the ship before I heard the firing of the marines. I therefore returned instantly on shore, where I found things growing every moment more alarming. The natives were arming and putting on their mats, and their numbers increased very fast. I could also perceive several large bodies marching towards us along the cliff which separates the village of Kakoos from the north side of the bay, where the village of Kowrowa is situated. They began at first to attack us with stones from behind the walls of their enclosures, and finding no resistance on our part, they soon grew more daring. A few resolute fellows, having crept along the beach under cover of the rocks, suddenly made their appearance at the foot of the "morai," with a design, as it seemed, of storming it on the side next the sea, which was its only accessible part; and were not dislodged till after they had stood a considerable number of shot and seen one of their party fall. The bravery of one of these assailants well deserves to be particularly mentioned. For having returned to carry off his companion amidst the fire of our whole party, a wound which he received made him quit the body and retire; but in a few minutes he again appeared, and being again wounded, he was obliged a second time to retreat. At this moment I arrived at the "morai," and saw him return the third time, bleeding and faint; and being informed of what had happened, I forbade the soldiers to fire, and he was suffered to carry off his friend, which he was just able to perform, and then fell down himself and expired.

About this time, a strong reinforcement from both ships having landed, the natives retreated behind their walls, which giving me access to our friendly priests, I sent one of them to endeavour to bring their countrymen to some terms, and to propose to them that if they would desist from throwing stones I would not permit our men to fire. This truce was agreed to, and we were suffered to launch the mast and carry off the sails and our astronomical apparatus unmolested. As soon as we had quitted the "morai," they took possession of it, and some of them threw a few stones, but without doing us any mischief. It was half-an-hour past 11 o'clock when I got on board the Discovery, where I found no decisive plan had been adopted for our future proceedings. The restitution of the boat, and the recovery of the body of Captain Cook, were the objects which on all hands we agreed to insist on; and it was my opinion that some vigorous steps should be taken in case the demand of them was not immediately complied with.

Though my feelings on the death of a beloved and honoured friend may be suspected to have had some share in this opinion, yet there were certainly other reasons, and those of the most serious kind, that had considerable weight with me. The confidence which their success in killing our chief and forcing us to quit the shore must naturally have inspired, and the advantage, however trifling, which they had obtained over us the preceding day, would, I had no doubt, encourage them to make some further dangerous attempts; and the more especially as they had little reason, from what they had hitherto seen, to dread the effects of our fire-arms. Indeed, contrary to the expectations of every one, this sort of weapon had produced no signs of terror in them. On our side, such was the condition of the ships, and the state of discipline amongst us, that had a vigorous attack been made on us in the night it would have been impossible to

answer for the consequences. In these apprehensions I was supported by the opinion of most of the officers on board, and nothing seemed to me so likely to encourage the natives to make the attempt as the appearance of our being inclined to an accommodation which they could only attribute to weakness or fear.

In favour of more conciliatory measures, it was justly urged that the mischief was done, and irreparable; that the natives had a strong claim to our regard on account of their former friendship and kindness, and the more especially as the late melancholy accident did not appear to have arisen from any premeditated design; that, on the part of Terreeoboo, his ignorance of the theft, his readiness to accompany Captain Cook on board, and his having actually sent his two sons into the boat, must free him from the smallest degree of suspicion; that the conduct of his women and the "Erees" might easily be accounted for, from the apprehensions occasioned by the armed force with which Captain Cook came on shore, and the hostile preparations in the bay, appearances so different from the terms of friendship and confidence in which both parties had hitherto lived, that the arming of the natives was evidently with a design to resist the attempt, which they had some reason to imagine would be made, to carry off their King by force, and was naturally to be expected from a people full of affection and attachment to their chiefs. To these motives of humanity others of a prudential nature were added; that we were in want of water and other refreshments; that our fore-mast would require six or eight days' work before it could be stepped; that the spring was advancing apace, and that the speedy prosecution of our next northern expedition ought now to be our sole object; that therefore to engage in a vindictive contest with the inhabitants might not only lay us under the imputation of unnecessary cruelty, but would occasion an unavoidable delay in the equipment of the ships. In this latter opinion Captain Clerke concurred, and though I was convinced that an early display of vigorous resentment would more effectually have answered every object both of prudence and humanity, I was not sorry that the measures I had recommended were rejected. For though the contemptuous behaviour of the natives, and their subsequent opposition to our necessary operations on shore, arising I have no doubt from misconstruction of our lenity, compelled us at last to have recourse to violence in our own defence; yet I am not so sure that the circumstances of the case would, in the opinion of the world, have justified the use of force on our part in the first instance. Cautionary rigour is at all times invidious, and has this additional objection to it, that the severity of a preventive course, when it best succeeds, leaves its expediency the least apparent.

During the time we were thus engaged in concerting some plan for our future conduct, a prodigious concourse of natives still kept possession of the shore; and some of them came off in canoes, and had the boldness to approach within pistol-shot of the ships and to insult us by various marks of contempt and defiance. It was with great difficulty we could restrain the sailors from the use of their arms on these occasions; but as pacific measures had been resolved on, the canoes were suffered to return unmolested. In pursuance of this plan, it was determined that I should proceed towards the shore with the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, with a view to bring the natives to a parley, and if possible to obtain a conference with some of the chiefs. If this attempt succeeded, I was to demand the dead bodies, and particularly that of Captain Cook; to threaten them with our vengeance in case of a refusal; but by no means to fire unless attacked, and not to land on any account whatever. These orders were delivered to me before the whole party and in the most positive manner.

I left the ships about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and as we approached

the shore I perceived every indication of a hostile reception. The whole crowd of natives was in motion, the women and children retiring, the men putting on their war-mats and arming themselves with long spears and daggers. We also observed that since the morning they had thrown up stone breastworks along the beach where Captain Cook had landed, probably in expectation of an attack at that place; and as soon as we were within reach they began to throw stones at us with slings, but without doing any mischief. Concluding, therefore, that all attempts to bring them to a parley would be in vain unless I first gave them some ground for mutual confidence, I ordered the armed boats to stop and went on in the small boat alone, with a white flag in my hand, which, by a general cry of joy from the natives, I had the satisfaction to find was instantly understood. The women immediately returned from the side of the hill whither they had retired; the men threw off their mats; and all sat down together by the water-side, extending their arms and inviting me to come on shore.

Though this behaviour was very expressive of a friendly disposition, yet I could not help entertaining some suspicions of its sincerity. But when I saw Koah, with a boldness and assurance altogether unaccountable, swimming off towards the boat with a white flag in his hand, I thought it necessary to return this mark of confidence, and therefore received him into the boat, though armed, a circumstance which did not tend to lessen my suspicions. I must confess I had long harboured an unfavourable opinion of this man. The priests had always told us that he was of a malicious disposition, and no friend of ours; and the repeated detections of his fraud and treachery had convinced us of the truth of their representations. Add to all this, the shocking transaction of the morning, in which he was seen acting a principal part, made me feel the utmost horror at finding myself so near him; and as he came up to me with feigned tears and embraced me, I was so distrustful of his intentions that I could not help taking hold of the point of the "pahooah" which he held in his hand and turning it from me. I told him that I had come to demand the body of Captain Cook, and to declare war against them unless it was instantly restored. He assured me this should be done as soon as possible, and that he would go himself for that purpose; and, after begging of me a piece of iron with much assurance, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, he leaped into the sea and swam ashore, calling out to his countrymen that we were all friends again.

We waited near an hour with great anxiety for his return, during which time the rest of the boats had approached so near the shore as to enter into conversation with a party of the natives at some distance from us, by whom they were plainly given to understand that the body had been cut to pieces and carried up the country; but of this circumstance I was not informed till our return to the ships. I began now to express some impatience at Koah's delay, upon which the chiefs pressed me exceedingly to come on shore, assuring me that if I would go myself to Terreeoboo the body would certainly be restored to me. When they found they could not prevail on me to land, they attempted, under a pretence of wishing to converse with more ease, to decoy our boat among some rocks where they would have had it in their power to cut us off from the rest. It was no difficult matter to see through these artifices, and I was therefore strongly inclined to break off all further communication with them, when a chief came to us who was the particular friend of Captain Clerke and of the officers of the Discovery, on board which ship he had sailed when we last left the bay, intending to take his passage to Mowee. He told us he came from Terreeoboo to acquaint us, that the body was carried up the country, but that it should be brought to us the next morning.

There appeared a great deal of sincerity in his manner, and being asked if he told a falsehood, he hooked his two fore-fingers together, which is understood amongst these islanders as the sign of truth, in the use of which they are very scrupulous.

As I was now at a loss in what manner to proceed, I sent Mr Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that had passed; that my opinion was, they meant not to keep their word with us, and were so far from being sorry at what had happened, that on the contrary they were full of spirits and confidence on account of their late success, and sought only to gain time till they could contrive some scheme for getting us into their power. Mr Vancouver came back with orders for me to return on board; having first given the natives to understand that if the body was not brought the next morning the town should be destroyed. When they saw that we were going off they endeavoured to provoke us by the most insulting and contemptuous gestures. Some of our people said they could distinguish several of the natives parading about in the clothes of our unfortunate comrades; and among them a chief brandishing Captain Cook's hanger, and a woman holding the scabbard. Indeed, there can be no doubt but that our behaviour had given them a mean opinion of our courage; for they could have but little notion of the motives of humanity that directed it.

In consequence of the report I made to Captain Clerke of what I conceived to be the present temper and disposition of the islanders, the most effectual measures were taken to guard against any attack they might make in the night. The boats were moored with top-chains; additional sentinels were posted on both ships; and guard boats were stationed to row round them, in order to prevent the natives from cutting the cables. During the night we observed a prodigious number of lights on the hills, which made some of us imagine they were removing their effects back into the country in consequence of our threats. But I rather believed them to have been the sacrifices that were performing on account of the war in which they imagined themselves about to be engaged; and most probably the bodies of our slain countrymen were at that time burning. We afterward saw fires of the same kind as we passed the Island of Morotoi, and which, we were told by some natives then on board, were made on account of the war they had declared against a neighbouring island. And this agrees with what we learned amongst the Friendly and Society Isles, that previous to any expedition against an enemy, the chiefs always endeavoured to animate and inflame the courage of the people by feasts and rejoicings in the night.

We remained the whole night undisturbed except by the howlings and lamentations which were heard on shore; and early the next morning, Koah came alongside the Resolution with a present of cloth and a small pig, which he desired leave to present to me. I have mentioned before that I was supposed by the natives to be the son of Captain Cook; and as he in his lifetime had always suffered them to believe it, I was probably considered as the chief after his death. As soon as I came on deck I questioned him about the body; and, on his returning me nothing but evasive answers, I refused to accept his presents, and was going to dismiss him with some expressions of anger and resentment, had not Captain Clerke, judging it best at all events to keep up the appearance of friendship, thought it more proper that he should be treated with the usual respect. This treacherous fellow came frequently to us during the course of the forenoon with some trifling present or other; and as I always observed him eyeing every part of the ship with great attention, I took care he should see we were well prepared for our defence. He was exceedingly urgent both with Captain Clerke and myself to go on shore, laying all the blame of the detention of the bodies on the other chiefs, and assuring us that every-

thing might be settled to our satisfaction by a personal interview with Terreeoboo. However, his conduct was too suspicious to make it prudent to comply with this request; and, indeed, a fact came afterward to our knowledge which proved the entire falsehood of his pretensions. For we were told that immediately after the action in which Captain Cook was killed, the old King had retired to a cave in the steep part of the mountain that hangs over the bay, which was accessible only by the help of ropes, and where he remained for many days, having his victuals let down to him by cords.

When Koah returned from the ships, we could perceive that his countrymen, who had been collected by break of day in vast crowds on the shore, thronged about him with great eagerness, as if to learn the intelligence he had acquired, and what was to be done in consequence of it. It is very probable that they expected we should attempt to put our threats in execution; and they seemed fully resolved to stand their ground. During the whole morning we heard conches blowing in different parts of the coast; large parties were seen marching over the hills; and, in short, appearances were so alarming that we carried out a stream anchor, to enable us to haul the ship abreast of the town in case of an attack, and stationed boats off the north point of the bay to prevent a surprise from that quarter. The breach of their engagement to restore the bodies of the slain, and the warlike posture in which they at this time appeared, occasioned fresh debates amongst us concerning the measures next to be pursued. It was at last determined that nothing should be suffered to interfere with the repair of the mast, and the preparations for our departure; but that we should nevertheless continue our negotiations for the recovery of the bodies. The greatest part of the day was taken up in getting the fore-mast into a proper situation on deck for the carpenters to work upon it, and in making the necessary alterations in the commissions of the officers. The command of the expedition having devolved upon Captain Clerke, he removed on board the Resolution, appointed Lieutenant Gore to be captain of the Discovery, and promoted Mr Harvey, a midshipman who had been with Captain Cook in his two last voyages, to the vacant lieutenancy. During the whole day we met with no interruption from the natives; and at night the launch was again moored with a top-chain, and guard boats stationed round both ships as before.

About 8 o'clock, it being very dark, a canoe was heard paddling toward the ship, and as soon as it was seen both the sentinels on deck fired into it. There were two persons in the canoe, and they immediately roared out "Tinnee" (which was the way in which they pronounced my name), and said they were friends, and had something for me belonging to Captain Cook. When they came on board, they threw themselves at our feet, and appeared exceedingly frightened. Luckily neither of them was hurt, notwithstanding the balls of both pieces had gone through the canoe. One of them was the person whom I have before mentioned under the name of the taboo man, who constantly attended Captain Cook, with the circumstances of ceremony I have already described, and who, though a man of rank in the island, could scarcely be hindered from performing the lowest offices of a menial servant. After lamenting with abundance of tears the loss of the "Orono," he told us that he had brought us a part of his body. He then presented to us a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, which he brought under his arm; and it is impossible to describe the horror which seized us on finding in it a piece of human flesh about nine or ten pounds weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body; that the rest was cut to pieces and burnt, but that the head and all the bones, except what belonged to the trunk, were in the possession of Terreeoboo and the other "Eree[illegible]," [illegible]

what we saw had been allotted to Kaoo, the chief of the priests, to be made use of in some religious ceremony; and that he had sent it as a proof of his innocence and attachment to us.

This afforded an opportunity of informing ourselves whether they were cannibals, and we did not neglect it. We first tried by many indirect questions, put to each of them apart, to learn in what manner the rest of the bodies had been disposed of; and finding them very constant in one story, that after the flesh had been cut off it was all burnt, we at last put the direct question, whether they had not eat some of it. They immediately showed as much horror at the idea as any European would have done; and asked very naturally if that was the custom amongst us. They afterward asked us with great earnestness and apparent apprehension, "When the 'Orono' would come again? and what he would do to them on his return?" The same inquiry was frequently made afterward by others; and this idea agrees with the general tenor of their conduct toward him, which showed that they considered him as a being of a superior nature. We pressed our two friendly visitors to remain on board till morning, but in vain. They told us that if this transaction should come to the knowledge of the King or chiefs, it might be attended with the most fatal consequences to their whole society, in order to prevent which they had been obliged to come off to us in the dark; and that the same precaution would be necessary in returning on shore. They informed us further, that the chiefs were eager to revenge the death of their countrymen; and particularly cautioned us against trusting Koah, who, they said, was our mortal and implacable enemy, and desired nothing more ardently than an opportunity of fighting us, to which the blowing of the conches we had heard in the morning was meant as a challenge. We learned from these men that seventeen of their countrymen were killed in the first action at Kowrowa, of whom five were chiefs; and that Kaneena and his brother, our very particular friends, were unfortunately of that number. Eight, they said, were killed at the observatory, three of whom were also of the first rank. About 11 o'clock our two friends left us, and took the precaution to desire that our guard boat might attend them till they had passed the Discovery, lest they should again be fired upon, which might alarm their countrymen on shore, and expose them to the danger of being discovered. This request was complied with, and we had the satisfaction to find that they got safe and undiscovered to land.

During the remainder of this night we heard the same loud howling and lamentations as in the preceding one. Early in the morning we received another visit from Koah. I must confess I was a little piqued to find that, notwithstanding the most evident marks of treachery in his conduct, and the positive testimony of our friends the priests, he should still be permitted to carry on the same farce, and to make us at least appear to be the dupes of his hypocrisy. Indeed, our situation was become extremely awkward and unpromising; none of the purposes for which this pacific course of proceeding had been adopted having hitherto been in the least forwarded by it. No satisfactory answer whatever had been given to our demands; we did not seem to be at all advanced toward a reconciliation with the islanders; they still kept in force on the shore, as if determined to resist any attempts we might make to land; and yet the attempt was become absolutely necessary, as the completing our supply of water would not admit of any longer delay.

However, it must be observed, in justice to the conduct of Captain Clerke, that it was very probable, from the great numbers of the natives and from the resolution with which they seemed to expect us, an attack could not have been made without some danger; and that the loss of a

very few men might have been severely felt by us during the remaining course of our voyage. Whereas the delaying the execution of our threats, though on the one hand it lessened their opinion of our prowess, had the effect of causing them to disperse on the other. For this day, about noon, finding us persist in our inactivity, great bodies of them, after blowing their conches and using every mode of defiance, marched off over the hills, and never appeared afterward. Those, however, who remained were not the less daring and insolent. One man had the audacity to come within musket shot, ahead of the ship; and after slinging several stones at us, he waved Captain Cook's hat over his head, whilst his countrymen on shore were exulting and encouraging his boldness. Our people were all in a flame at this insult, and coming in a body on the quarter-deck, begged they might no longer be obliged to put up with these repeated provocations, and requested me to obtain permission for them from Captain Clerke to avail themselves of the first fair occasion of revenging the death of their commander. On my acquainting him with what was passing, he gave orders for some great guns to be fired at the natives on shore, and promised the crew that if they should meet with any molestation at the watering-place the next day they should then be left at liberty to chastise them.

It is somewhat remarkable that before we could bring our guns to bear the islanders had suspected our intentions, from the stir they saw in the ship, and had retired behind their houses and walls. We were therefore obliged to fire, in some measure, at random; notwithstanding which our shot produced all the effects that could have been desired. For soon after we saw Koah paddling toward us with extreme haste, and on his arrival we learned that some people had been killed, and amongst the rest Maihamaiha, a principal chief and a near relation of the King.[1] Soon after the arrival of Koah, two boys swam off from the "morai" toward the ships, having each a long spear in his hand; and after they had approached pretty near they began to chant a song in a very solemn manner, the subject of which, from their often mentioning the word "Orono" and pointing to the village where Captain Cook was killed, we concluded to be the late calamitous disaster. Having sung in a plaintive strain for about twelve or fifteen minutes, during the whole of which time they remained in the water, they went on board the Discovery and delivered their spears; and after making a short stay returned on shore. Who sent them, or what was the object of this ceremony, we were never able to learn.

At night, the usual precautions were taken for the security of the ships; and as soon as it was dark our two friends who had visited us the night before came off again. They assured us that though the effects of our great guns this afternoon, had terrified the chiefs exceedingly, they had by no means laid aside their hostile intentions, and advised us to be on our guard. The next morning the boats of both ships were sent ashore for water; and the Discovery was warped close to the beach in order to cover that service. We soon found that the intelligence which the priests had sent us was not without foundation; and that the natives were resolved to take every opportunity of annoying us when it could be done without much risk. Throughout all this group of islands, the villages for the most part are situated near the sea, and the adjacent ground is enclosed with stone walls about three feet high. These we at first imagined were intended for the division of property; but we now discovered that they served, and pro-

[1] The word "matee" is commonly used, in the language of these islands, to express either killing or wounding; and we were afterward told that this chief had only received a slight blow on the face from a stone which had been struck by one of the balls.—*Note in Original Edition.*

bably were principally designed, for a defence against invasion. They consist of loose stones, and the inhabitants are very dexterous in shifting them with great quickness to such situations as the direction of the attack may require. In the sides of the mountain which hangs over the bay they have also little holes or caves of considerable depth, the entrance of which is secured by a fence of the same kind. From behind both these defences the natives kept perpetually harassing our waterers with stones; nor could the small force we had on shore, with the advantage of muskets, compel them to retreat.

In this exposed situation our people were so taken up in attending to their own safety, that they employed the whole forenoon in filling only one ton of water. As it was therefore impossible to perform this service till their assailants were driven to a greater distance, the Discovery was ordered to dislodge them with her great guns; which being effected by a few discharges, the men landed without molestation. However, the natives soon after made their appearance again in their usual mode of attack; and it was now found absolutely necessary to burn down some straggling houses near the wall behind which they had taken shelter. In executing these orders I am sorry to add that our people were hurried into acts of unnecessary cruelty and devastation. Something ought certainly to be allowed to their resentment of the repeated insults and contemptuous behaviour of the islanders, and to the natural desire of revenging the loss of their commander. But at the same time their conduct served strongly to convince me that the utmost precaution is necessary in trusting, though but for a moment, the discretionary use of arms in the hands of private seamen or soldiers on such occasions. The rigour of discipline and the habits of obedience by which their force is kept directed to its proper objects lead them naturally enough to conceive that whatever they have the power they have also the right to do. Actual disobedience being almost the only crime for which they are accustomed to expect punishment, they learn to consider it as the only measure of right and wrong; and hence are apt to conclude that what they can do with impunity they may do with justice and honour. So that the feelings of humanity which are inseparable from us all, and that generosity toward an unresisting enemy which at other times is the distinguishing mark of brave men, become but weak restraints to the exercise of violence when opposed to the desire they naturally have of showing their own independence and power.

I have already mentioned that orders had been given to burn only a few straggling huts which afforded shelter to the natives. We were therefore a good deal surprised to see the whole village on fire; and before a boat that was sent to stop the progress of the mischief could reach the shore, the houses of our old and constant friends the priests were all in flames. I cannot enough lament the illness that confined me on board this day. The priests had always been under my protection; and unluckily the officers who were then on duty, having been seldom on shore at the "morai," were not much acquainted with the circumstances of the place. Had I been present myself, I might probably have been the means of saving their little society from destruction. Several of the natives were shot in making their escape from the flames; and our people cut off the heads of two of them and brought them on board. The fate of one poor islander was much lamented by us all. As he was coming to the well for water he was shot at by one of the marines. The ball struck his calibash, which he immediately threw from him and fled. He was pursued into one of the caves I have before described, and no lion could have defended his den with greater courage and fierceness; till at last, after having kept two of our people at bay for a considerable time, he expired, covered with wounds. It was this accident that first brought us acquainted with the use of these

caverns. At this time, an elderly man was taken prisoner, bound, and sent on board in the same boat with the heads of his two countrymen. I never saw horror so strongly pictured as in the face of this man, nor so violent a transition to extravagant joy as when he was untied and told he might go away in safety. He showed us he did not want gratitude, as he frequently afterward returned with presents of provisions, and also did us other services.

Soon after the village was destroyed we saw coming down the hill a man attended by fifteen or twenty boys holding pieces of white cloth, green boughs, plantains, &c., in their hands. I knew not how it happened that this peaceful embassy, as soon as they were within reach, received the fire of a party of our men. This, however, did not stop them. They continued their procession, and the officer on duty came up in time to prevent a second discharge. As they approached nearer, it was found to be our much-esteemed friend Kaireekeea, who had fled on our first setting fire to the village, and had now returned and desired to be sent on board the Resolution. When he arrived, we found him exceedingly grave and thoughtful. We endeavoured to make him understand the necessity we were under of setting fire to the village, by which his house and those of his brethren were unintentionally consumed. He expostulated a little with us on our want of friendship and on our ingratitude. And indeed it was not till now that we learned the whole extent of the injury we had done them. He told us that, relying on the promises I had made them, and on the assurances they had afterward received from the men who had brought us the remains of Captain Cook, they had not removed their effects back into the country with the rest of the inhabitants, but had put everything that was valuable of their own, as well as what they had collected from us, into a house close to the "morai," where they had the mortification to see it all set on fire by ourselves. On coming on board he had seen the heads of his countrymen lying on the deck, at which he was exceedingly shocked, and desired with great earnestness that they might be thrown overboard. This request Captain Clerke instantly ordered to be complied with.

In the evening the watering party returned on board, having met with no further interruption. We passed a gloomy night, the cries and lamentations we heard on shore being far more dreadful than ever. Our only consolation was the hope that we should have no occasion in future for a repetition of such severities. It is very extraordinary that amidst all these disturbances the women of the island who were on board never offered to leave us, nor discovered the smallest apprehensions either for themselves or their friends ashore. So entirely unconcerned did they appear, that some of them who were on deck when the town was in flames seemed to admire the sight, and frequently cried out that it was "maitai," or very fine.

The next morning Koah came off as usual to the ships. As there existed no longer any necessity for keeping terms with him, I was allowed to have my own way. When he approached towards the side of the ship, singing his song, and offering me a hog and some plantains, I ordered him to keep off, cautioning him never to appear again without Captain Cook's bones, lest his life should pay the forfeit of his frequent breach of promise. He did not appear much mortified with this reception, but went immediately ons hore and joined a party of his countrymen who were pelting the waterers with stones. The body of the young man who had been killed the day before was found this morning lying at the entrance of the cave, and some of our people went and threw a mat over it. Soon after which they saw some men carrying him off on their shoulders, and could hear them singing, as they marched, a mournful song.

The natives being at last convinced

that it was not the want of ability to punish them which had hitherto made us tolerate their provocations, desisted from giving us any further molestation; and in the evening a chief called Eappo, who had seldom visited us, but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored no peace would be granted. We learned from this person that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burned; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided amongst the inferior chiefs; and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner: the head, to a great chief called Kahoo-opeon; the hair, to Maiamaia; and the legs, thighs, and arms, to Terreeoboo. After it was dark, many of the inhabitants came off with roots and other vegetables, and we also received two large presents of the same articles from Kaireekeea.

The 19th was chiefly taken up in sending and receiving the messages which passed between Captain Clerke and Terreeoboo. Eappo was very pressing that one of our officers should go on shore, and in the meantime offered to remain as a hostage on board. This request, however, it was not thought proper to comply with; and he left us with a promise of bringing the bones the next day. At the beach the waterers did not meet with the least opposition from the natives, who, notwithstanding our cautious behaviour, came amongst us again without the smallest appearance of diffidence or apprehension. Early in the morning of the 20th we had the satisfaction of getting the foremast stepped. It was an operation attended with great difficulty and some danger, our ropes being so exceedingly rotten that the purchase gave way several times.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock we saw a great number of people descending the hill which is over the beach in a kind of procession, each man carrying a sugar-cane or two on his shoulders, and bread-fruit, "taro," and plantains in his hand. They were preceded by two drummers, who, when they came to the water-side, sat down by a white flag, and began to beat their drums, while those who had followed them advanced one by one; and, having deposited the presents they had brought, retired in the same order. Soon after, Eappo came in sight in his long feathered cloak, bearing something with great solemnity in his hands; and having placed himself on a rock, he made signs for a boat to be sent him. Captain Clerke conjecturing that he had brought the bones of Captain Cook, which proved to be the fact, went himself in the pinnace to receive him, and ordered me to attend him in the cutter. When we arrived at the beach, Eappo came into the pinnace and delivered to the Captain the bones, wrapped up in a large quantity of fine new cloth, and covered with a spotted cloak of black and white feathers. He afterward attended us to the Resolution, but could not be prevailed upon to go on board; probably not choosing, from a sense of decency, to be present at the opening of the bundle. We found in it both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them that divided the thumb from the forefinger the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the forearms hanging to them; the thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire, and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut in the back part of it, but the skull

was free from any fracture. The lower jaw and feet, which were wanting, Eappo told us had been seized by different chiefs, and that Terreeoboo was using every means to recover them.

The next morning Eappo and the King's son came on board, and brought with them the remaining bones of Captain Cook, the barrels of his gun, his shoes, and some other trifles that belonged to him. Eappo took great pains to convince us that Terreeoboo, Maiha-maiha, and himself were most heartily desirous of peace; that they had given us the most convincing proof of it in their power; and that they had been prevented from giving it sooner by the other chiefs, many of whom were still our enemies. He lamented with the greatest sorrow the death of six chiefs we had killed, some of whom, he said, were amongst our best friends. The cutter, he told us, was taken away by Parea's people, very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him, and it had been broken up the next day. The arms of the marines, which we had also demanded, he assured us had been carried off by the common people, and were irrecoverable; the bones of the chief alone having been preserved as belonging to Terreeoboo and the "Erees." Nothing now remained but to perform the last offices to our great and unfortunate commander. Eappo was dismissed with orders to taboo all the bay; and in the afternoon, the bones having been put into a coffin and the service read over them, they were committed to the deep with the usual military honours. What our feelings were on this occasion, I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know that it is not in my power to express them.

During the forenoon of the 22d not a canoe was seen paddling in the bay, the taboo which Eappo had laid on it the day before at our request not being yet taken off. At length Eappo came off to us. We assured him that we were now entirely satisfied, and that, as the "Orono" was buried, all remembrance of what had passed was buried with him. We afterward desired him to take off the taboo, and to make it known that the people might bring their provisions as usual. The ships were soon surrounded with canoes, and many of the chiefs came on board expressing great sorrow at what happened and their satisfaction at our reconciliation. Several of our friends who did not visit us sent presents of large hogs and other provisions. Amongst the rest came the old treacherous Koah, but was refused admittance.

As we had now everything ready for sea, Captain Clerke, imagining that if the news of our proceedings should reach the islands to leeward before us it might have a bad effect, gave orders to unmoor. About eight in the evening we dismissed all the natives, and Eappo and the friendly Kaireekeea took an affectionate leave of us. We immediately weighed and stood out of the bay. The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers, and as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and goodwill.

CONCLUSION.

[Nothing now remains but to give an outline of the last twenty-one months' voyage of the Resolution and Discovery, until their arrival in England in October 1780; and, as before, the synopsis has been taken from the Cabinet Cyclopædia, "Maritime and Inland Discovery," vol. iii., pp. 86-92.]

"After leaving Owhyhee, the ships touched at the Island of Atooe, which was found desolated by a war originating in the claims of different chiefs to the goats which Captain Cook had put on shore. These animals had increased to six when the war broke out on their account, in the course of which they were all destroyed. The history of the introduction of useful animals into the South Sea Islands affords many parallel instances of human blindness, and of that barbar-

ous degree of envy and rapacity which destroys a treasure rather than leave it in the possession of a rival.

"Captain Clerke proceeded now to execute the intentions of his late commander, by repeating the attempt to find a passage through the Northern Ocean. He touched at the harbour of St Peter and St Paul in Awatska Bay, where he was treated by the Russians with unbounded hospitality; and then passing Behring's Strait a second time, penetrated as far as 70° 33′ N., where the same obstacle which had prevented the progress of the ships the preceding year forbade him to advance any farther. He met here with a firm barrier of ice, seven leagues farther to the south than that which had stopped the progress of Captain Cook. The impossibility of a passage by the north was now thought to be sufficiently proved, and it was resolved to proceed homewards; the chief purpose of the expedition having been thus answered. This resolution of the officers diffused among the crews, who were now heartily tired of the length of the voyage, as lively a joy as if the ships, instead of having nearly the whole earth to compass, were already arrived in the British Channel. When the ships had just reached Kamtschatka, Captain Clerke died of a decline; he had already circumnavigated the globe three times, having sailed first with Commodore Byron, and afterwards with Captain Cook. Captain Gore now succeeded to the command of the expedition, and Lieutenant King took the command of the Discovery. Their voyage to China was not productive of any important geographical results. In navigating these stormy seas they found it necessary to keep at a distance from land, and were thus baffled by constant tempestuous weather in their attempt to survey the coasts of Japan.

"On the 3d of December our navigators arrived at Macao, where they first became acquainted with the events which had taken place in Europe since their departure, and of the war which had broken out between Great Britain and France. A rumour of the generous conduct of the latter Government at the same time reached them; an order had been issued in March 1779, by the Minister of the Marine at Paris, to all the commanders of French ships, acquainting them with the expedition and destination of Captain Cook, and instructing them to treat that celebrated navigator wherever they should meet him, as a commander of a neutral and allied power. This measure, so honourable to the nation which adopted it, is said to have originated in the enlightened mind of the celebrated Turgot. Dr Franklin, who at that time resided at Paris as Ambassador from the United States, had a short time before issued a requisition, in which he earnestly recommended the commanders of American armed vessels not to consider Captain Cook as an enemy; but he had no authority to enforce his recommendation, and the Government of the United States had not the magnanimity to adopt it.

"While the ships lay in the River of Canton, the sailors carried on a brisk trade with the Chinese for the sea-otter skins which they had brought with them from the north-west coast of America, and which were every day rising in their value. 'One of our seamen,' says Lieutenant King, 'sold his stock alone for 800 dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean and had been well preserved, were sold for 120 each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of £2000 sterling; and it was generally supposed that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, or otherwise disposed of in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently

used for bedclothes and other purposes; and that probably we had not got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appeared to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.' These observations of Lieutenant King point to that which eventually proved to be the most important result of this expedition. A great branch of trade in the Pacific Ocean, which had hitherto escaped the notice of the nations most interested in its development, and possessing establishments most conveniently situated for carrying it on, was suddenly discovered, and soon after vigorously prosecuted by a maritime people from the opposite side of the globe. The crews of both ships were astonished, as well as overjoyed, at the price paid them for their furs by the Chinese; and their rage to return to Cook's River, in order to procure a cargo of skins, proceeded at one time almost to mutiny. A few, indeed, contrived to desert, and were among the first adventurers who crossed the Pacific Ocean in the newly discovered fur trade. The seamen thus unexpectedly enriched soon underwent a total metamorphosis; they arrived at Macao in rags, many of them having inconsiderately sold their clothing in the South Sea Islands; but, before they left that harbour, they were decked out in gaudy silks and other Chinese finery. Nothing of importance occurred during the remainder of their voyage home; and on the 4th of October, the ships arrived safe at the Nore, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days. In the whole course of the voyage the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, of whom three were in a precarious state of health when the expedition left England; the Discovery did not lose a man.

"In order to estimate the merits of Captain Cook, it will be only necessary to survey generally the extent and nature of his discoveries, and to examine what influence they exerted immediately on the commercial enterprise of nations. In the extent of the coasts which he surveyed or discovered, he far surpasses every other navigator. The eastern coast of New Holland, 2000 miles in extent, was totally unknown till he traced it; escaping from the dangers of that intricate navigation solely by his cool intrepidity and the resources of his skill. He also circumnavigated New Zealand, the eastern and southern parts of which were quite unknown, and supposed by many to be united to the Terra Australis Incognita. New Caledonia and Norfolk Island were both discovered by him; and the New Hebrides, from his labours, first assumed a definite shape in our maps. He rendered an essential service to geography also by his circumnavigating the globe in a high southern latitude; for, though the exertions and dangers of that difficult navigation were not repaid by any brilliant discoveries, it set at rest a question which had for ages divided the opinions of speculative geographers. Sandwich Land, or Southern Thule, may be numbered among his discoveries, although it is probably the land which Gerritz had descried a century before.

"His discoveries on the north-west coast of America were still more important and more extensive. In one voyage, he effected more than the Spanish navigators had been able to accomplish in the course of two centuries. In sailing through Behring's Strait, he determined the proximity of Asia and America, which Behring himself had failed to perceive; and he assigned the coast of the Tshuktzki to its true place, which, in many maps of his time, was placed some degrees too far to the westward.

"It is needless to recapitulate here the large additions which he made to our knowledge of the groups of islands scattered through the Pacific Ocean. Some of the Society and Friendly Islands were known before his time; but he carefully surveyed those archipelagoes, and fixed the positions of the

chief islands, such as Otaheite and Tongataboo, with an accuracy equal to that of a European observatory. He prided himself especially on having discovered the Sandwich Islands, and there is no good reason to refuse him that honour; for even if it be true that a Spanish navigator, named Gali, discovered those islands in 1576, and that he gave to Owhyhee the name of Mesa or Table Mountain, which is marked in old Spanish charts twenty-two degrees to the west of the Sandwich Islands, but in the same latitude with them; yet no stress can be laid on a discovery from which mankind derived no knowledge. The Spaniards seem soon to have totally forgotten the Sandwich Islands, if they ever knew them, notwithstanding the advantages which they might have derived from those islands in their frequent voyages from New Spain to Manilla. Anson and many other navigators might have been spared infinite distress and suffering in their voyages across the Pacific had anything certain been known of the existence and situation of the Sandwich Islands.

"But Cook's merit is not more conspicuous in the extent of his discoveries, than in the correctness with which he laid down the position of every coast of which he caught a glimpse. His surveys afford the materials of accurate geography. He adopted in practice every improvement suggested by the progress of science; and instead of committing errors amounting to two or three degrees of longitude, like most of his predecessors, his determinations were such as to be considered accurate even at the present day. Nor was this the merit of the astronomers who accompanied him on his expeditions. He was himself a skilful observer, and at the same time so vigilant and indefatigable, that no opportunity ever escaped him of ascertaining his true place. He possessed in an eminent degree the sagacity peculiar to seamen; and in his conjectures respecting the configurations of coasts he very rarely erred. La Perouse, who was a highly accomplished seaman, always mentions the name of Cook with the warmest admiration, and frequently alludes to the remarkable correctness of his surveys. Crozet, also, who wrote the narrative of Marion's voyage, speaking of Cook's survey of the shores of New Zealand, says—'That its exactness and minuteness of detail astonished him beyond expression;' but Cook's skill as a marine surveyor may be still better estimated from the chart which, at the commencement of his career, he constructed of the coasts of Newfoundland; and of that chart, Captain Frederick Bullock, the able officer who has recently[1] completed the survey of Newfoundland, speaks in those terms of warm commendation which a man of ability naturally bestows on whatever is excellent.

"From the second expedition of Cook may be dated the art of preserving the health of the seamen in long voyages. Before that time, navigators who crossed the Pacific hurried precipitately by the shortest course to the Ladrones or the Philippine Islands; and yet they rarely reached home without the loss of a large proportion of their crew. Cook, on the other hand, felt himself perfectly at home on the ocean; he did not care to limit his voyages either in space of time or of distance; he sailed through every climate, crossing both the arctic and antarctic circles; and proved that a voyage of four years' duration does not necessarily affect the health of seamen. This was a discovery of far greater importance than that of a new continent could have been. By his banishing the terror that arose from the frightful mortality that previously attended on long voyages, he has mainly contributed to the boldness of navigation which distinguishes the present day.

"Among the immediate effects of Captain Cook's voyages, the most important was the establishment of a colony at Botany Bay. That great navigator seems to have contracted a partiality towards the New Zealanders; he admired their generosity,

[1] This was published in 1831.

their manly carriage, and their intelligence. Their country appeared to him fertile; abounding in commodities which might become valuable in commerce; and he hints, though with diffidence, at the possibility of a trade being carried on between Europe and New Zealand. His observations on this subject had influence, no doubt, on the minds of the English ministers, and they resolved on establishing a colony at New Holland; and the result has justified Cook's sanguine anticipations.[1] The fur trade also, which soon caused such a concourse of European shipping in the Pacific Ocean, originated with this third voyage; but his familiarity with the South Sea Islanders, the trade which he established with them, and the practice which he commenced of purchasing sea stores from them, have had, perhaps, a still stronger influence on navigation in the Pacific.

"Finally, to complete the eulogium on this great navigator, it will be sufficient to enumerate some of the distinguished seamen who served under him, such as Vancouver, Broughton, Bligh, Burney, Colnett, Portlock, Dixon, &c.; these men learned under Cook the arduous duties of their profession, and they always spoke of him with unqualified admiration and respect."

[1] Infinitely more so, in this third quarter of the nineteenth century.

END OF COOK'S VOYAGES.

INDEX.

A.

Acapulco described by Dampier, 209.
Accomack, 152.
Acheen, 296.
Alashka, 729.
Alvarado, 120.
Ambergris, 39, 153.
Amsterdam Island, 532.
Anatacan Island, 433.
Anderson, Mr, explorations at the Cape, 550.
,, narrative of Cook's reception at Wateeoo, 573.
,, account of the native dances at Hapaee, 588.
,, at Oparre, 659.
,, observations on Sandwich Islands, 704.
Anson, Captain George, Voyage Round the World—
,, Dedication, 321.
,, Introduction, 322.
,, war with Spain inevitable, 325.
,, expedition to Manilla, 326.
,, equipment of an expedition to the South Seas, 327.
,, defective equipment of the squadron, 328.
,, sails from Spithead to St Helens, 329.
,, sails from St Helens, 331.
,, strength of the squadron, 332.
,, at Madeira, 333.
,, visit to the Governor, 334.
,, news of a Spanish squadron, 334.
,, history and strength of Pizarro's squadron, 335.
,, sails from Madeira, 340.
,, on the coast of Brazil, 342.
,, at anchor at St Catherine's Island, 343.
,, refitting of the Trial, 345.
,, sails from St Catherine's, 346.
,, in the Bay of St Julian, 348.
,, sails from Bay of St Julian, 350.
,, in Straits le Maire, 351.
Anson, Captain George—*continued.*
,, a violent storm, 353.
,, Cape Noir, 356.
,, coast of Patagonia, 359.
,, extreme distress of the crew, 361.
,, arrival at Juan Fernandez, 363.
,, the stay on the island, 364.
,, arrival of the Gloucester, 369.
,, arrival of the Anna pink, 371.
,, narrative of what befell the Anna pink, 373
,, mutiny of the crew of the Wager, 377.
,, deaths in the squadron during the voyage, 381.
,, capture of a Spanish merchantman, 383.
,, cruising off Valparaiso, 389.
,, capture of the Santa Teresa de Jesus, 391
,, capture of the Nuestra Senora del Carmen, 393.
,, attack on Payta, 396.
,, Payta taken, 399.
,, generous treatment of prisoners, 403.
,, prize taken by the Gloucester, 406.
,, Island of Quibo, 407.
,, from Quibo to the coast of Mexico, 409.
,, news of the Manilla galleon, 413.
,, the track of Manilla galleon, 415.
,, in the harbour of Chequetan, 421.
,, disappearance of a cutter, 425.
,, release of prisoners, 427.
,, leaves the coast of America, 428
,, appearance of scurvy amongst the crew, 429.
,, distress of the Gloucester, 431.
,, on the Island of Tinian, 435
,, Centurion driven out to sea, 437.
,, return of the Centurion, 441.
,, from Tinian to Macao, 445.
,, proceedings at Macao, 449.
,, difficulty of obtaining supplies, 451.
,, interview with a mandarin, 453.
,, the Centurion re-fitted, 455.

Anson, Captain George—*continued.*
,, leaves Macao, 467.
,, preparations to meet the Manilla galleon, 458.
,, capture of the galleon, 461.
,, treasure found in the galleon, 463.
,, Spanish prisoners sent ashore, 465.
,, Chinese tricks in trade, 467.
,, arrival in Canton, 469.
,, destructive fire, and bravery of English sailors, 471.
,, license granted by the Viceroy, 473.
,, return voyage and at anchor at Spithead, 474.
Annamooka, 582.
Armada of Spain described by Dampier, 189.
Atooi, 700-704.
Australia or New Holland visited by Dampier, 281; by Cook, 528, 529, 531.
Aves, Island of, described by Dampier, 145, 146.

B.

Baldivia, gold of, 64.
Banks, Sir Joseph, explorations on Tierra del Fuego, 490.
,, interview with Tomio, 483.
,, explorations by, 488.
,, observatory set up, 494.
,, has his clothes stolen, 503.
,, preparations to observe transit of Venus, 505, 519.
,, remarks on treatment of the dead, 507.
,, explorations with Cook, 511.
,, further explorations, 519.
,, his life despaired of, 529.
Banana, the, 230.
Baskerville, Sir Thomas, 100, 104, 107, 110.
Batavia, visited by Cook, 529.
Behring's voyage, remarks on, by Cook, 761.
Bencoolen, 301.
Betel-nut, the, 231.
Blanco or Blanquilla Island, 148.
Boca del Toro or Bluefields River, 138, 139, 140.
,, description of, 141.
Bolabola, 681.
,, the men of, 683.
Bond, Captain, 153-155.
,, treachery of, 193.
Borabora, 525.
Botany Bay, 528.
Bouton Island, 278.
Brava, volcano of, 41, 154.
Brazil, coast of, 43, 342.
Buenavista, 39.
Buen Ayre, 144, 145.
Buenos Ayres, 337.

C.

Cacafuego, the capture of, by Drake, 70.
,, mentioned by Dampier, 174.
Cacao-tree, the, 148.
California visited by Drake, 75.
,, Lake of, described by Dampier, 220.
Campeachy, Bay of, 117, 118, 119, 123.
Canton visited by Anson, 469.
,, River of, 468.
Cape Barbas, 38.
,, Blanco, 167, 176, 347.
,, Denbigh, 763.
,, of Good Hope, 97, 308.
,, Horn, 60, 156, 157.
,, Verd Islands, 42, 44, 152, 340, 548.
Caracas described by Dampier, 149.
Carthagena, 142, 143.
Caulin, Cape, 37.
Celebes, Island of, 91, 95.
Chagres River, 104, 106, 135, 140.
Chepillo, Island of, 197.
Chepo River, 134.
,, description of, 197.
Chequetan, 421.
Chili, 64.
Chinese temples, 257.
,, customs of the, 261.
,, junks, 263.
Christmas Island, 695.
Clerke, Captain, 545.
,, arrival at the Cape, 550.
,, instructions from Captain Cook, 551.
,, narrow escape of, 554.
,, present from natives of Watecoo, 571.
,, observations on eclipse, 612.
,, remarkable present of cloth, 657.
,, instructions to proceed northward, 677.
,, in danger from the natives, 680.
,, in Nootka Sound, 724.
,, present from Derramoushk, 769.
,, second voyage to the Northern Ocean, 820.
,, death of, 820.
Cochineal insect, 204.
Cocos, Island of, 167, 174.
Colima, volcano of, 212.
Concepcion River, 135.
Cook, Captain James, the Three Voyages of—
,, Life of, 477.
,, expedition to South Seas, 479.
,, arrival of the Endeavour at Otaheite, 481.
,, rules to be observed by crew of the Endeavour, 481.
,, a visit paid to two chiefs, 483.
,, disturbance with the natives, 485.
,, visit from Tubourai Tamaide and Tootahah, 486.
,, cases of theft, 489.
,, changeable temperament of natives, 491.
,, Tubourai Tamaide's use of tobacco, 493.
,, theft of a quadrant, 495.
,, a visit to Tootahah, 497.
,, names bestowed by the natives, 499.
,, the natives attend divine service, 501.
,, Mr Banks has his clothes stolen, 503.
,, preparations to observe transit of Venus, 505.
,, observations on transit of Venus, 506.
,, treatment of the dead, 507.
,, seizure of fishing canoes, 509.
,, Oamo's visit to the fort, 511.
,, other cases of theft, 515.
,, description of a "morai," 517.
,, arrival at Atahourou, 518.
,, explorations made by Mr Banks, 519.

Cook, Captain James—*continued.*
,, seeds planted by Mr Banks, 520.
,, desertion of two marines, 521.
,, preparations for leaving Otaheite, 523.
,, remarks on Cook's stay in Otaheite from Dr Lardner's "Cabinet Cyclopædia," 524.
,, Tupia, 525.
,, explorations on New Zealand coast, 527.
,, on the coast of Australia, 528.
,, ship strikes on a coral reef, and their remarkable preservation, 528.
,, naming of New South Wales, 529.
,, second voyage, 529.
,, in command of the Resolution and Adventure, 529.
,, at the Cape of Good Hope, 530.
,, visit to Otaheite, 531.
,, in the Antarctic Seas, 533.
,, visits Davis Land or Easter Island, 533.
,, the Marquesas of Mendana, 533.
,, at Otaheite, 534.
,, at the Friendly Islands, 535.
,, at New Zealand for third time, 536.
,, barbarous treatment of crew of Adventure, 537.
,, Bougainville's and Kerguelen's explorations, 539.
,, preparations for third voyage, 541.
,, equipment of Resolution and Discovery, 543.
,, Omai taken on board, 543.
,, crews of Resolution and Discovery, 545.
,, in the road of Santa Cruz, 547.
,, arrival at the Cape, 549.
,, departure from the Cape, 551.
,, the Isle of Rendezvous, 553.
,, Kerguelen's Land visited, 555.
,, from Kerguelen's to Van Diemen's Land, 557.
,, interviews with natives, 559.
,, arrival at New Zealand, 561.
,, news of massacre of Adventure's crew, 563.
,, live stock left ashore, 565.
,, an island called Mangeea discovered, 569.
,, natives of Wateeoo, 571.
,, interviews with the natives, 573.
,, at Palmerston's Island, 581.
,, at Annamooka, 583.
,, at Hapaee, 585.
,, island of Lafooga, 591.
,, island of Kotoo, 593.
,, arrival at Tongataboo, 595.
,, reception there, 597.
,, Mareewagee's entertainment, 599.
,, confinement of Poulaho, 605.
,, sails from Tongataboo and arrival at Mooa, 613.
,, processions and ceremonies, 615.
,, at Eooa, 621.
,, remarks on Friendly Islands, 623.
,, natives of Feejee, 625.
,, manners, customs, and native ceremonies of inhabitants of Otaheite and Friendly Islands, 627-639.
,, sails from Friendly Islands, and continuation of voyage, 640.
,, the Island Tooboual discovered, 641.
,, arrival at Otaheite, 641.
Cook, Captain James—*continued.*
,, traces of a visit made by Spaniards, 643.
,, a mad prophet, 645.
,, European animals landed, 647.
,, war with Eimeo decided on, 649.
,, a human sacrifice, 651.
,, animals presented to Otoo, 659.
,, present of a war canoe to Omai, 663.
,, account of a Spanish expedition, 665.
,, sails from Eimeo and arrival at Huaheine, 668.
,, remarks on the conduct of Omai, 675.
,, arrival at Ulietea, 677.
,, instructions given to Captain Clerke, 677.
,, at Bolabola, 682.
,, account of the productions of Otaheite, 685.
,, progress after leaving Society Islands, 693.
,, an eclipse of the sun observed, 695.
,, at Christmas Island, 695.
,, burial-place of the human sacrifices, 699.
,, at Oneeheow, 701.
,, at Atooi, 705.
,, natives of Sandwich Islands, 707.
,, prosecution of voyage northward, 715.
,, appearance of American coast, 717.
,, behaviour of natives, 719.
,, articles brought to barter, 721.
,, arrival in King George's or Nootka Sound, 725.
,, of the skins brought for sale, 727.
,, personal appearance of the natives, 731.
,, their manner of preparing and procuring food, 739.
,, progress along the coast of America, 745.
,, an attempt to plunder the Discovery, 751.
,, a wide inlet called Prince William's Sound, 753.
,, on the Tshuktzki coast, 753.
,, voyage northward prevented by fields of ice, 754.
,, remarks on the sea-horse or walrus, 755.
,, on the formation of ice-fields, 757.
,, return along coast of Asia, 759.
,, remarks on Behring's Voyage, 761.
,, progress southward, 767.
,, the Island of Oonalashka, 768.
,, intercourse with the natives there, 769.
,, charts of Russian discoveries, 771.
,, Russian settlements visited, 773.
,, the home life of the natives, 775.
,, sets sail from Samganoodha, 779.
,, arrival at Owhyhee, 782.
,, the efforts made to preserve the health of the crews, 783.
,, at anchor in Karakakooa Bay, 788.
,, ceremonies at landing, 791.
,, society of priests, 793.
,, Terreeoboo visits the ship, 795.
,, boxing match, 797.
,, Terreeoboo's presents to Captain Cook, 799.
,, suspicious conduct of the natives, 803.
,, cutter of the Discovery stolen, 805.
,, search made by Cook in the pinnace, 805.

Cook, Captain James—*continued.*
,, a chief of the first rank accidentally shot, 806.
,, disturbance among the natives and death of Cook, 806.
,, warlike attitude of the natives, 809.
,, perfidy of Koah and the chiefs, 811.
,, recovery of the remains of Cook's body, 813.
,, the remains committed to the deep, 819.
,, the ships leave Owhyhee, 819.
,, the homeward voyage, 820.
,, merits as a discoverer, 821.
,, distinguished seamen who served under him, 823.
Coxon, Captain, 135, 141.
Crab Island, 91.
Crews of Resolution and Discovery, 545.
Curaçoa, 144, 145.
Cyppo or Coquimbo, town of, 65.

D.

Dampier, Captain William—Voyage Round the World.
,, Life of, 115.
,, Dedication, 121.
,, Preface, 122.
,, Introduction, 123.
,, sails from London to Jamaica, 123.
,, march across the Isthmus of Darien, 124.
,, embarks for Santa Maria, 125.
,, capture of a bark at Cape Pasado, 126.
,, description of Mosquito Indians, 128.
,, march to the coast, 129-134.
,, on board a privateer, 135.
,, at Isle of St Andreas, 138.
,, the natives described, 138.
,, at Blewfields River, 138.
,, striking manatee or sea-cow, 139.
,, off Point San Blas, 141.
,, at Rio La Hacha, 143.
,, a prize taken, 143.
,, at Curaçoa, 144.
,, description of island, 144.
,, at Buen Ayre, 145.
,, at Isle of Aves, 145.
,, Roques and Tortuga Islands, 147.
,, at Blanquilla, 148.
,, the guana and cacao-tree described, 148.
,, at Caracas, 149.
,, at Virginia, 151.
,, the sucking-fish, 151.
,, sails from Virginia, 152.
,, among Cape Verd Islands, 152.
,, island of Sal, and poverty of natives, 152.
,, Mayo and Santiago described, 154.
,, on the Guinea coast, 155.
,, at Sibble de Ward Islands, 156.
,, passage round Cape Horn, 156.
,, at Juan Fernandez, 157.
,, Robin the Mosquito Indian, 158.
,, productions of Juan Fernandez, 159.
,, leaves Juan Fernandez, 160.

Dampier, Captain William—*continued.*
,, capture of a timber prize, 161.
,, at Lobos de la Mar, 161.
,, capture of three small vessels, 162.
,, the Galapagos Islands, 162.
,, produce of the islands, 163.
,, hawksbill and green turtle, 164.
,, island of Cocos, 167.
,, at Nicoya, 168.
,, proposed attack on Realejo, 171.
,, at Mangera, 171.
,, natives of Amapalla, 172.
,, failure of an attack on the town, 173.
,, at anchor at Island of Plata, 174.
,, description of island, 174.
,, the town of Payta, 177.
,, Indians of Colan, 177.
,, at Lobos de la Mar, 179.
,, description of Island of Puna, 179.
,, commerce of Quito and Guayaquil, 180.
,, attempt on Guayaquil abandoned, 183.
,, sails from Punta Arenas to Plata, 184.
,, From Plata to the Bay of Panama, 184.
,, Island of Gallo, 185.
,, Island of Gorgona, 186.
,, Tumaco town taken, 186.
,, King's or Pearl Islands described, 187.
,, waiting for the Spanish Fleet, 188.
,, Old Panama, 188.
,, the Spanish Armada described, 189, 192.
,, story of John Gret the Indian, 189, 190.
,, treachery of Captain Bond at Taboga, 192, 193.
,, sails for the Gulf of San Miguel, 194, 195.
,, meeting with Captain Townley, 195.
,, at Taboga again, 196, 197.
,, strength of the privateer fleet, 198.
,, the Islands of Quibo, Quicara, and Rancheria, 199.
,, town of Puebla Nueva taken, 200.
,, city of Leon taken, 201.
,, the march to Realejo, 202.
,, the trade of Guatemala, 203.
,, otto, indigo, and cochineal dyes, 203, 204.
,, at Huatulco, 205.
,, the *Buffadora* or Snorter, 206.
,, description of the vinello, 206.
,, the town of Acapulco described, 209.
,, seizure of a mule train, 211.
,, cruising off Cape Corrientes, 213.
,, deadly encounter with the Spaniards, 215.
,, among the Islands of Mazatlan, 216.
,, seizure of an Indian village, 217.
,, on the River Santiago, 218.
,, at Santa Pecaque, 219.
,, remarks on a north-west passage, 221.
,, the Marias Islands, 221.
,, proposals to sail to Guam, 222, 223.
,, the island described, 224.

Dampier, Captain William—*continued.*
,, boat-making at Guam, 225.
,, at Mindanao, 227.
,, the island described, 229, 230.
,, jealousy of the Dutch merchants, 231.
,, natives of the island, with their manners and customs, 233-240.
,, at Meangis Island, 240.
,, a visit from Raja Laut, 241.
,, schemes of East India Company, 243.
,, at Mindanao, 244.
,, hospitality of the Mindanayans, 245.
,, discourse with the native women, 247.
,, mutiny on board, 249.
,, at Chambongo, 251.
,, description of Islands of Mindoro and Luson, 253.
,, islands on the Cambodia coast, 255.
,, Chinese temples and idols, 257.
,, at Pulo Obi, 258.
,, St John's Island, 260.
,, home customs of the Chinese, 261.
,, a Chinese junk described, 263.
,, a "corposant" or electric light, 264.
,, at Pescadores, 265.
,, Grafton and Monmouth Islands, 267.
,, death of Captain Swan, 275.
,, off Celebes, 276.
,, the Sultan of Bouton, 279.
,, Australia or New Holland, 281.
,, wretchedness of the natives, 283.
,, leave New Holland, 285.
,, Island of Sumatra, 286.
,, Nicobar Island, 287.
,, leaves the ship, 289.
,, a canoe upset, 291.
,, sails in a canoe for Acheen, 292.
,, illness at Acheen, 297.
,, desertions from the Cygnet, 299.
,, arrival at Bencoolen, 301.
,, story of the Painted Prince, 303.
,, acts as gunner at Fort of Bencoolen, 304.
,, sails for the Cape, 305.
,, soil, fruits, and animals at the Cape, 309.
,, touches at St Helena, 313.
,, description of the island, its produce, and inhabitants, 314.
,, at anchor in the Downs, 316.

Darien, isthmus of, 124, 183.

Davis, Captain, 171, 172, 182, 186.
,, attempt on Guayaquil, 182.
,, at Plata, 184.
,, at Otoque, 196.
,, parts from Captain Swan, 203.

Davis Land or Easter Island visited by Cook, 533.

Doughty, Thomas, superseded by Thomas Drake, 41, 51.
,, death of, 52, 53.

Drake, Sir Francis—Voyage Round the World.
,, his desire to visit South Pacific, 36.
,, made Captain of the Pelican, 36.
,, equipment for the voyage, 36.
,, sets sail from Plymouth, 37.
,, arrival at Mogador, 37.

Drake, Sir Francis—*continued.*
,, three Spanish caunters taken, 38.
,, lands at St Iago, 39.
,, capture of a Portuguese vessel, 41.
,, among Cape Verd Islands, 41.
,, arrival at River Plate, 42.
,, on the coast of Brazil, 43.
,, his self-dependence, 45.
,, in Port St Julian, 49.
,, search for water, 49.
,, treachery of the natives, 50.
,, execution of Thomas Doughty, 52.
,, Pelican changed to Golden Hind, 54.
,, violent storm on entrance to South Seas, 57.
,, passes round Cape Horn, 60.
,, on coast of Peru, 61.
,, at anchor in Philip's Bay, 63.
,, at Valparaiso, 64.
,, taking of the Captain of Moriall, 64.
,, adventure with Spaniards, 65.
,, seizure of treasure from Spaniard and Indian boy, 66.
,, treasure taken at Arica, 68.
,, at Lima, 68.
,, capture of the Cacafuego, 70.
,, at Guatulco, 72.
,, sufferings through extreme cold, 73 74.
,, at anchor in the Bay of San Francisco, 75.
,, presents from the natives, 76.
,, native sacrifice, 77.
,, leaves Bay of San Francisco, 83.
,, arrives at Mindanao, 84.
,, visit from the King of Ternate, 85.
,, leaves Ternate, 90.
,, at anchor off Crab Island, 91.
,, on a shoal, 92.
,, off the coast of Celebes, 95.
,, at Java, 96.
,, passes the Cape of Good Hope, 97.
,, at Sierra Leone, 97.
,, arrival at Plymouth, 98.
,, last voyage, 98.
,, made Commander of expedition to West Indies, 99.
,, Sir John Hawkins given equal command, 99.
,, the Puerto Rico scheme, 99.
,, departure from Plymouth, 99.
,, quarrel with Hawkins, 100.
,, at the Canaries, 101.
,, at Guadaloupe, 101.
,, death of Sir John Hawkins, 102.
,, engagement at Puerto Rico, 102.
,, Rio de la Hacha taken, 103.
,, burning of La Rancheria, 103.
,, march to Panama, 104, 105.
,, death of Sir Francis Drake, 107.
,, end of Maynarde's narrative, 110.

Drake, Thomas, 41, 49.

Dusky Bay, 530.

E.

Eimeo, 666.
Elizabeth Island, 55.
Elizabethides, the, 61.
Endeavour River, 528.
Eoos, 621.
Erromango, 535.

F.

Feejee, 624.
Fletcher, Mr Francis, 53.
Fogo, volcano of, 41, 154.
Franklin, Dr, requisition to American Government with regard to Cook's expedition, 820.
Furneaux, Captain, massacre of his crew, 537.
Fur trade with America, 820, 821.

G.

Galapagos Islands, 162, 163.
Ghir, Cape, 38.
Gore, Lieutenant, 545.
,, at Wateeoo, 572.
,, at Mareewagee's entertainment, 600.
,, in danger from the natives, 680.
,, at Onecheow, 702.
,, exploration of Prince William's Sound, 753.
,, given command of the Resolution, 820.
Gorgona, Isles of, 124.
,, visited by Dampier, 186.
Grafton Island, 267.
Guana, the, 148.
Guatemala, the trade of, 203, 205.
Guatulco, harbour of, 72.
Guayaquil, 161, 180, 183.
Guinea, coast of, 155.
Guam, Island of, described by Dampier, 222-227.

H.

Hapaee, 584.
Harris, Captain, 197.
Hawkins, Sir John, 99.
,, quarrel with Drake, 100.
,, death of, 102.
Hobby, Mr, privateer expedition by, 124.
Hottentots or Hodmadods described by Dampier, 310.
Huaheine, 525, 534, 668.
Huanchaco, 161, 162.
Huatulco, 205, 206, 207.

Indians, the, of Valparaiso, 63.
,, of Coquimbo, 65.
,, towns of, 67.
,, the Mosquito, 128, 157.
,, of the Pearl Islands, 138.
,, Robin, the Mosquito, of Juan Fernandez, 157.
,, of Amapalla, 171.
,, of Manta, 175.
,, of Colan, 177.
,, of Darien, 189.
,, of California, 217.
,, of Guam, 225.
Indigo, trade in, 203.
Ismyloff, Mr, his charts of Russian discoveries, 771.
,, his knowledge of geography, 772.

J.

Jamaica, 106, 116, 117, 121, 124, 137.
Java, Island of, 96, 97, 115.
Juan de Fuca's Strait, 718.
Juan Fernandez, Island of, 124, 195.
,, described by Dampier, 157-160.
,, described in Anson's voyage, 363.

K.

Karakakooa Bay, 789.
Kaye's Island, 747.
Kerguelen's explorations, 539, 555, 556.
King, Captain, at Cape Frangois, 555.
,, in Adventure Bay, 557.
,, observations by, 561.
,, at Harvey's Island, 580.
,, sent to Komango, 582.
,, reception at Tongataboo, 597.
,, observations on eclipse, 612.
,, observations at Matavai, 647.
,, at a mock fight, 660.
,, observations on eclipse at Christmas Island, 695.
,, in Nootka Sound, 721.
,, explorations in Norton Sound, 765.
,, journal after returning to Sandwich Islands, 789-819.
,, given command of the Discovery, 820.
,, in the River of Canton, 820.
King's or Pearl Islands, 187.
King George's Sound, 725.
Kotoo, 593.

L.

La Vera Cruz, 118, 120.
Lefooga, 591.
Leon, city of, 200, 201.
Lima, 61, 63, 69, 161.
Llama, the, 67.
Lobos, Island of, 161, 176, 179, 184, 393.
Luconia or Luzon, 228, 253, 274.

M.

Macao, 448, 449.
Madeira, Island of, 333.
Mallicolo, Island of, 535.
Manatee or sea-cow, 139.
Mangeea, Island of, 569.
Mangera, Island of, 171.
Manilla, 210, 260.
Manilla galleon, the, 411; capture of, by Anson, 461.
Marias Islands, 221.
Marquesas, the, 533, 534.
Maynarde's, Thomas, narrative of Drake's last voyage, 98-110.
Mayo described, 40, 153.
Mexico, Gulf of, 123.
Middleburg Island, 532.
Mindanayans, 233.
Mindanao, Island of, 84, 189, 227, 244.
Mindoro, Island of, 253.

Mocha, or Mucha, 61.
Mogador, town of, 87.
Moluccas, Islands of the, 83-85.
Monmouth Islands, 267.
Moral, a, described, 517, 698.
Mosquito Indians, an account of the, 128, 129, 139.
Mowee, 800.
Mormorena, 67.
Morgan, Sir Henry, 188.
Mountague, Charles, Dampier's dedication to, 121.

N.

Narborough, Sir John, observations on Bay of St Julian, 349.
Neapulco, Port of, 120.
Negril Bay, 124.
New Holland or Australia visited by Dampier, 281; by Cook, 528, 529, 531.
New Zealand visited by Cook, 526, 527, 529, 530, 532, 536, 561.
New Guinea, 529.
Nicobar Island, 287.
Nombre de Dios visited by Drake, 104, 107.
Nootka Sound, 725.
Norfolk Island, 536.
North-west Passage, 221; equipment of Cook's expedition in search of, 541.

O.

Oberea, 496, 497, 503.
Oheteroa, 525.
Old Panama, 188.
Omai accompanies Cook, 543.
,, two youths embark with, 567.
,, presented with a war canoe, 663.
,, settlement at Huaheine, 673.
One Bush Key, 117.
Oneeheow, 700, 704.
Oonalashka, 768; natives of, 774.
Oparre, 657.
Opoureonu, 512, 516.
Otaheite first sighted by Cook, 481.
,, visited, 531, 534.
,, productions of, 685.
,, language of, 687.
,, system of religion, 689.
Owhyhee, 782, 786, 819.
Oxenham, John, execution of, 86.

P.

Palliser's Islands, 534.
Palma Maria trees, 199.
Palmerston's Islands, 581.
Panama, 104, 184, 188; Bishop of, 131; strength of, 135; described, 192.
Payta, town of, 177, 394; taken by Anson, 398.
Pescadores Islands, 265.
Petit Goave, 118, 136, 151.
Philip's Bay, 63.
Pizarro, Don Joseph, fate of his squadron, 335.
Plantain walks, 132, 134; the plantain, 230.
Plata, Island of, 124, 125, 174, 184.
Plate, River of, 44, 46, 337.
Porto Bello, 107, 124, 137.
Port Royal, 116, 124.
Prince Jeoly, 242; life of, 304, 315.
Prince William's Sound, 753.
Providence Island, 137, 139.
Puerto Rico scheme, 99; attack on the fort, 102.
Pulo Obi, Island of, 258.
Puna, Island of, 179.

Q.

Queen Charlotte's Sound, visited by Cook, 527, 530, 531, 532, 537.
Quibo Islands, 124, 407.

R.

Raiatala, 525.
Realejo, attack on, by Dampier, 170, 171, 202.
Rendezvous, Isle of, 553.
Rio de la Hacha, 103, 104.
Rio do Ouro, 88.
Rio Grande, the, 143.
Robin, the Mosquito Indian of Juan Fernandez, 158.
Roques Islands, 147, 150.

S.

Sago palm, the, 229.
Santiago, town of, 64.
Sambaloes, the, 124.
Samganoodha, 767, 779.
Sandwich Islands, naming of, 535, 707.
San Francisco, Bay of, 75.
San Miguel, Gulf of, 195.
Santa Cruz, 547.
Santa Marta, 143.
Santa Pecaque, 219, 221.
Scurvy, deaths from, in Anson's squadron, 357.
Sea-leek, or rock-weed, seen by Anson, 416; by Cook, 715.
Sea-lion, described by Dampier, 159.
Seal, described by Dampier, 159.
Sharpe, Captain, 125.
Sibbie de Ward Islands, 156.
Sierra Leone, 97.
Solander, Dr, explorations on Tierra del Fuego, 480.
,, explorations by, 488.
,, thefts from, 489.
,, observations on transit of Venus, 506.
,, death of, 529.
South Sea, passage into, 55.
Spragge, Sir Edward, 115, 116.
Staten Island, 156, 351.
St Catherine, Island of, 342,
,, George, Island of, 55.
,, Helena, 313.
,, Helen's, 329.
,, Iago, Island of, 39, 40, 154.
,, James, Islands of, 83
,, Julian, Port of, 49, 348, 350.
,, Mary, Cape of, 44.
Sumatra Island, 286.

Swan, Captain, of the Cygnet, 176.
,, at Plata, 184.
,, parts from Captain Davis, 203.
,, search for River Cullacan, 217.
,, at Santa Pecaque, 219.
,, at Cape Corrientes, 221.
,, sails for Guam, 223.
,, at Mindanao, 229.
,, mutiny of the crews, 249.
,, leaves for Manilla, 257.
,, at the Pescadores, 265.
,, his death, 276.

T.

Taboga, Island of, 192, 193, 196, 197.
Ternate, King of, 85.
,, Viceroy of, 85.
,, Chinaman of, 89.
Tiarrabou or Otaheite Ete, 512, 515.
Tidore, Island of, 85.
Tinian, Island of, 435.
Tongataboo, 595, 624, 625.
Toobouai discovered, 641.
Tootahah, presents given to, by Cook, 483, 497.
Tortuga Island, 147, 151.
Townley, Captain, search for, 194.
,, his skirmish with Spaniards, 205.
,, encounter in the Val d' Iris, 214.
Trinidad, 148.
Tristian, Captain, 135, 140, 151.
Trist Island, 117, 120, 121.
Truxillo, 161.
Tschutski, the, 761.
Tubourai Tamaide, Cook's reception by, 483.
,, presents given to Cook, 486.
,, his use of tobacco, 493.
Tucker, Captain, 135, 138.

U.

Ulietea, 525, 664, 677.

V.

Vacca, Isles of, 123.
Valdivia Island, 157.
Van Dieman's Land visited by Cook, 557.
Vinello, 141; curing of the, 207.
Virginia, 151, 152.

W.

Wager's, Sir Charles, scheme, 32..
Wafer, Mr, surgeon to Dampier, accident with gunpowder, 131, 133.
Wallesaw, the Devil of the Indians, 129.
Walrus, the, 755.
Whalley, Mr, 116.
Williams, Captain, 135, 141.
Wright, Captain, 135.
,, capture of Spanish tartane, 137.
,, sails for the Corn Islands, 138.
,, in search of provisions on the coast of Carthagena, 141.
,, quarrel with Captain Yanky, 143.
,, capture of an Indian boy, 189.
Warwick, Earl of, Drake's Dedication to, 35; Earls of, 139.
Waterspout seen by Dampier, 278.

Y.

Yanky, Captain, cruises near Carthagena, 141.
,, quarrel with Captain Wright, 143.
,, parts from Dampier, 148.

THE END.

M'Farlane & Erskine, Printers, Edinburgh.